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The church historians of  
England













THE CHURCH HISTORIANS  
OF ENGLAND.

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✓  
THE CHURCH HISTORIANS  
OF ENGLAND.

REFORMATION PERIOD.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF  
✓  
JOHN FOXE.

CAREFULLY REVISED, WITH NOTES  
AND APPENDICES.

VOL. II.—PART II.

Seeleys,  
FLEET STREET AND HANOVER STREET.  
MDCCCLIV.





But let us proceed further in this holy progress. The French king with his army seeing himself distressed, and no good there to be done against the Soldan of Egypt, after he had sufficiently fortified the city of Damietta with an able garrison left with the duke of Burgundy, he removed his tents from thence to go eastward. In his army also followed William Longspath (of whom mention was made before), accompanied with a picked number of English warriors, retained unto him: but such was the disdain of the Frenchmen against this William Longspath and the Englishmen, that they could not abide them, but flouted them in opprobrious manner, with "English tails," insomuch that the good king himself had much ado to keep peace between them.

*Henry  
III.  
A. D.  
1250.*

Grudge  
between  
the  
French  
and the  
English  
soldiers.

The original cause of this grudge between them began thus: there was, not far from Alexandria in Egypt, a strong fort or castle, replenished with great ladies, and rich treasure of the Saracens; this hold it chanced the said William Longspath, with his company of English soldiers, to get, more by good luck and politic dexterity, than by open force of arms; whereby he and his retinue were greatly enriched. When the Frenchmen had knowledge hereof, they, being not made privy thereto, began to conceive a heart-burning against the English soldiers, and could not speak well of them after that. It happened, not long after, that the said William had intelligence of a company of rich merchants among the Saracens, going to a certain fair about the parts of Alexandria; having their camels, asses, and mules, richly laden with silks, precious jewels, spices, gold and silver, with cart-loads of other wares, besides victuals and furniture, whereof the soldiers then stood in great need. He, having secret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of Englishmen unto him that he could, and so, by night, falling upon the merchants, some he slew with their guides and conductors, some he took, some he put to flight. The carts with the drivers and the oxen, and the camels, asses, and mules, with the whole carriage and victuals, he took, and brought with him, losing in all the skirmish but one soldier, and eight of his servitors; some of whom, notwithstanding, he brought home wounded to be cured.

Booty  
gotten by  
the Eng-  
lish sol-  
diers  
about  
Alexan-  
dria.

Ventur-  
ous act  
of Wil-  
liam  
Long-  
spath

Enriched  
by Sara-  
cens'  
goods.

This being known in the camp, forth came the Frenchmen, who all this while loitered in their pavilions, and meeting their carriage by the way, took all the aforesaid prey wholly unto themselves, rating the said William and the Englishmen, for so adventuring and issuing out of the camp without leave or knowledge of their general, contrary to the discipline of war. William said again, he had done nothing but what he would answer to, whose purpose was to have the spoil divided to the behoof of the whole army. When this would not serve, he being sore grieved in his mind, so cowardly to be spoiled of that for which he had so adventurously travailed, went to the king to complain. But when no reason or complaint would serve, by reason of the proud earl of Artois, the king's brother, who, upon despite and disdain, stood against him, he, bidding the king farewell, said he would serve him no longer. And so William de Longspath with the rest of his company, breaking from the French host, went to Acre. Upon whose departure, the earl of Artois said, "Now is the army of Frenchmen well rid of these tailed people." Which words,

Wronged  
by the  
French.

Depart-  
eth to  
Acre.  
Despite-  
ful word  
of the  
king's  
brother  
against  
the Eng-  
lish.

*Henry III.* spoken in great despite, were evil taken of many good men that heard him.<sup>1</sup>

*A. D. 1250.* Before the arrival of the French army in the land of Egypt, the Soldan of Babylon, having beforehand intelligence of their coming, committed the custody of Damietta to a certain prince of his whom he specially trusted, committing also to his brother the keeping of Cairo and Babylon. It followed now after the taking of Damietta, that the Soldan of Babylon accused the prince who had the custody thereof, before his nobles, of treason, as giving the city unto the Christians; who, notwithstanding, in judgment did sufficiently clear himself, declaring how he was certified that the king would land at Alexandria, and therefore bent all his power to prevent the king's arrival there; but, by stress of weather, he missing his purpose, and the king landing about Damietta, by reason thereof the city was taken unprovided, he, notwithstanding, with his company resisting as well as they might, till they could no longer, and so departed, cursing (said he) Mahomet and his law. At these words, the Soldan, being offended, commanded him to be had away as a traitor and blasphemer, and to be hanged, albeit he had sufficiently purged himself by the judgment of the court. His brother, who was the keeper of Cairo and Babylon, being therewith not a little grieved, and bearing a good mind to the christian religion, devised, in himself, how to give the said city of Cairo with Babylon to the French king; and so, in most secret wise, he sent to the king, showing his full purpose and what had happened: and, furthermore, instructing the king in all things how and what he should do; and, moreover, requiring the sacrament of baptism, meaning indeed good faith, and sending also away all the christian captives which he had with him in prison. The king, being glad hereof, sent in all haste for William Longspath, promising a full redress of all injuries past, who upon hope of some good luck, came at the king's request, and so joined again with the French power.

Damietta taken by the Christians.

The keeper or tribune wrongfully put to death.

The tribune of Cairo desirous to be christened.

William Longspath sent for, and cometh.

#### THE LAMENTABLE OVERTHROW AND SLAUGHTER OF THE FRENCH ARMY FIGHTING AGAINST THE INFIDELS, THROUGH THE SINISTER COUNSEL OF THE POPE'S LEGATE.

To make the story short, the king, setting forward from Damietta, directed his journey towards Cairo, slaying by the way such Saracens as were set there to stop the victuals from Damietta. The Soldan, in the mean time, hearing of the courageous coming of the French host, as being in great hope to conquer all, sent unto the king by certain that were next about him, offering to the Christians the quiet and full possession of the Holy Land, with all the kingdom of Jerusalem, and more; besides other infinite treasure of gold and silver, or what else might pleasure them, only upon this condition, that they would restore again Damietta, with the captives there, and so would join together in mutual peace and amity. Also they should have all their christian captives delivered up, and so both countries should freely pass one to another with their wares and traffic, such as they chose to adventure. Furthermore, it was firmly affirmed and spoken,

Fair offers of the Soldan to the French.

that the Soldan, with most of his nobles, was minded no less than to leave the filthy law of Mahomet, and receive the faith of Christ, so that they might quietly enjoy their lands and possessions. The same day great quietness would have entered, no doubt, into all Christendom, with the end of much bloodshed and misery, had it not been for the pope's legate, who (having commandment from the pope, that if any such offers should come, he should not take them) stoutly "*et frontose contradicens*," (as the words be of the story) in nowise would receive the conditions offered.<sup>1</sup>

Henry  
III.A.D.  
1250.The  
pope's le-  
gate  
causes all  
this mis-  
chief.

Thus, while the Christians unprofitably lingered the time in debating this matter, the Soldan, mean while, got intelligence of the compact between the tribune of Cairo and the French king; whereupon he sent in all haste to their city to apprehend the tribune till the truth were fully tried, which seemed to him more apparent, for that the christian prisoners were already delivered. Hereupon the Soldan being in some better hope and less fear, refused that which before he had offered to the Christians; albeit, they with great instance afterward sued to the Soldan, and could not obtain it. Then the Soldan, being wholly bent to try the matter by the sword, sent to the east parts for an infinite multitude of soldiers, giving out by proclamation, that whosoever could bring in any christian man's head, should have ten talents, besides his standing wages. And whosoever brought his right hand should have five. He that brought his foot should have two talents, for his reward.

The Chris-  
tians re-  
fusing  
good of-  
fers, could  
not have  
them  
when  
they  
would.Cruel pro-  
clamation  
of the Sa-  
racens  
against  
the Chris-  
tians.The earl  
of Artois,  
with the  
third part  
of the  
christian  
army,  
passeth  
over the  
Nile.

After these things thus prepared on both sides to the necessity of war, the king cometh to the great river Nile, having gotten together many boats, thinking by them to pass over, as upon a sure bridge. On the other side the Soldan pitched himself to withstand his coming over. In the mean time happened a certain feast amongst the Saracens, in which the Soldan was absent, leaving his tents by the water-side. This being foreseen by a certain Saracen, lately converted to Christ, serving with earl Robert, the king's brother, and showing them withal a certain shallow ford in the river Nile, where they might more easily pass over; the said earl Robert, and the master of the Temple, with a great power, amounting to the third part of the army, passed over the river, after whom also followed William Longspath, with his band of English soldiers. These, being together joined on the other side the water, encountered the same day with the Saracens remaining in the tents, and put them to the worse. After this victory, the French earl, surprised with pride and triumph, as though he had conquered the whole earth, would needs advance, dividing himself from the main host, thinking to win the spurs alone; to whom certain sage men of the Temple giving contrary counsel, advised him not so to do, but rather to return and take their whole company with them, and so should they be more sure against all deceits and dangers, which there might be laid privily for them. The manner of that people (they said) they better knew, and had more experience thereof than he; alleging, moreover, their wearied bodies, their tired horses, their famished soldiers, and the insufficiency also of their number, which was not able to withstand the multitude of the enemies, especially at this present brunt; in

Victory of  
the Chris-  
tians  
against  
the Sara-  
cens.Good  
counsel  
given, but  
not fol-  
lowed.

Henry  
III.

A. D.  
1250.

Rebukes  
of earl  
Robert, to  
them that  
gave him  
good  
counsel.

which the adversaries did well see the whole state of their dominion now to consist either in winning all, or losing all; with other such like words of persuasion. When the proud earl did hear this, being inflamed with no less arrogancy than ignorance, with opprobrious taunts he reviled them, called them cowardly dastards, and betrayers of the whole country; objecting unto them the common report of many, who said, that the land of the holy cross might be won to Christendom, were it not for the rebellious Templars, with the Hospitallers and their fellows.

To these contumelious rebukes the master of the Temple answered again for himself and his fellows, bidding him display his ensign when he would, and where he durst, for they were as ready to follow him, as he to go before them. Then began William de Longspath, the worthy knight, to speak: desiring the earl to give ear to those men of experience, who had better knowledge of those countries and people than he had, commending also their counsel to be discreet and wholesome, and so turning to the master of the Temple began with gentle words to mitigate him likewise. The knight had not half ended his talk, when the earl, taking the words out of his mouth, began to fume and swear, crying out on these cowardly Englishmen with tails. "What a pure army," said he, "should we have here, if these tails, and tailed people were purged from it?" With other like words of great villany and much disdain. Whereunto the English knight answering again, "Well, earl Robert," said he, "wheresoever you dare set your foot, my step shall go as far as yours; and, as I believe, we go this day where you shall not dare to come near the tail of my horse:" as in the event proved true.<sup>1</sup>

Worthy  
answer of  
the Eng-  
lish  
knight to  
him.

A num-  
ber of  
French  
soldiers  
sent to  
Dami-  
etta,  
drowned  
or slain  
by the  
way.

See  
Appendix.

In the mean time the French king, intending to set forward his army, thought best to send away such as were feeble and lacked armour unto Damietta, by boats. The Soldan, hearing thereof, prepared a great number of boats to be carried, by wain and cart, to the water-side; who, meeting them by the way, drowned and destroyed by wildfire every one, so that of all that company of our Christians, of whom some were burned, some slain, some drowned, not one escaped alive, save only one Englishman, named Alexander Giffard; who, although he was sore wounded in the chace in five places in his body, yet escaped to the French camp, bringing word unto the king what was done. And this was upon the water.

Mansor  
assaulted  
by the  
French.

Now upon the land: seeing earl Robert would needs set forward, weening to get all the glory unto himself before the coming of the host, they invaded first a little village or castle which was not far off, called Mansor. The country boors and pagans in the villages by, seeing the Christians come, ran out with such a main cry and shout, that it came to the Soldan's hearing, who was nearer than our men did think. In the mean while the Christians, invading and entering into the munition uncircumspectly, were pelted and pashed<sup>2</sup> with stones by them that stood above; whereby a great number of our men were lost, and the army sore maimed, and almost in despair. Then, immediately upon the same, cometh the Soldan with all his main power; who, seeing the Christians' army to be divided, and the

(1) Ex Matth. Paris fol. 256.

(2) "Pashed," struck.—Ed.



one brother separated from the other, had that which he long wished for, and thus enclosing them round about so that none should escape, had with them a cruel fight. Then the earl began to repent him of his heady rashness, but it was too late; who, then seeing William the English knight doughtily fighting in the chief brunt of the enemies, cried unto him most cowardly to fly, "seeing God," said he, "doth fight against us." To whom the knight, answering again, "God forbid," saith he, "that my father's son should run away from the face of a Saracen." The earl then, turning his horse, fled away, thinking to escape by its swiftness, and so taking the river of Thafnis, oppressed with harness, there sunk and was drowned. Thus the earl being gone, the Frenchmen began to despair and scatter. Then William de Longspath, bearing all the force of the enemies, stood against them as long as he could, wounding and slaying many a Saracen, until at length his horse being killed, and his legs maimed, he could no longer stand; who yet notwithstanding, as he was down, mangled their feet and legs, and did the Saracens much sorrow, till at the last after many blows and wounds, being stoned of the Saracens, he yielded his life. After the death of him, the Saracens setting upon the residue of the army, whom they had compassed on every side, devoured and destroyed them all, insomuch, that scarce one man escaped alive, saving two Templars, one Hospitaller, and one poor rascal soldier, who brought tidings hereof to the king.

These things being known, in the French camp, to the king and his soldiers; first of their drowning who were sent to Damietta, then of the ruin and slaughter of the army, with the king's brother, near the town of Mansor, there was no little sorrow and heaviness on every side, with great fear and doubt in themselves what it was best to do. At last, when they saw no remedy, but they must stand manfully to revenge the blood of their brethren, the king, with his host, passed over the flood of the Nile, and coming to the place where the battle had been, there they beheld their fellows and brethren, pitifully lying with their heads and hands cut off. For the Saracens, for the reward before promised by the Soldan or Sultan, unto them that could bring the head or hand of any Christian, had so mangled the Christians, leaving their bodies to the wild beasts. Thus, as they were sorrowing and lamenting the rueful case of their christian fellows, suddenly appeareth the coming of the Soldan, with a multitude of innumerable thousands, against whom the Frenchmen eftsoons prepare themselves to encounter, and so the battle being struck up, the armies began to join. But, alack for pity! what could the Frenchmen here do, their number at first so maimed, their hearts wounded already with fear and sorrow, their bodies consumed with penury and famine, their horses for feebleness not able to serve them? In conclusion, the Frenchmen were overthrown, slain, and despatched; and, seeing there was no flying, happy was he that first could yield himself. In this miserable conflict, the king, with his two brethren, and a few that clave unto him, were taken captives, to the confusion of all christian realms, and presented to the Soldan. All the residue were put to the sword, or else stood at the mercy of the Saracens, whether to be slain or to remain in woeful captivity. And this was the end of that sorrowful battle, wherein almost all the nobility of France were slain,

*Henry III.*

A. D. 1250.

Earl Robert's army enclosed by the Soldan of Babylon.

Earl Robert cowardly flying away, is drowned.

The manly courage and death of William Longspath.

Sorrows in the French camp for loss of their brethren.

See Appendix

Heads and hands of the Christians cut off.

Pitiful slaughter of the French.

The king with his two brethren taken by the Soldan.

*Henry  
III.*

A.D.  
1250.

and in which there was hardly one man of all that multitude who escaped free, they being either slain or taken prisoners. Furthermore, they that were slain or left half alive, had every one his head and hand cut off upon the Soldan's proclamation above mentioned.

The Soldan or Sultan, after the taking of the French king, fraudulently suborning an army of Saracens to the number of the French army, with the arms and ensigns of them that were slain, made towards Damietta, where the duke of Burgundy, with the French queen, and Otho, the pope's legate, and other bishops and their garrisons were remaining; supposing, under the show of Frenchmen, to be let in: but the captains, mistrusting their hasty coming, and misdoubting their visages, not like those of the Frenchmen, shut the gates against them, and so returned they, frustrated in their intent.

The purpose of the Soldan was, if he might have gotten Damietta, to send the French king up higher into the east countries to the Caliph,<sup>1</sup> the chief pope of Damaseus, to increase the titles of Mahomet, and to be a spectacle or gazing-stock to all those quarters of the world. The manner of Caliph was, never to let any christian prisoner come out, whosoever came once in his hand. But forasmuch as the Soldan missed his purpose, he thought, by advice of council, to use the king's life for his own advantage in recovering the city of Damietta, as in the end it came to pass. For although the king at first was greatly unwilling, and had rather die than surrender Damietta again to the Saracens, yet the conclusion fell out, that the king was put to his ransom, and the city of Damietta was also resigned; which city, being twice won and twice lost by the Christians, the Soldan or Sultan afterwards caused it utterly to be razed down to the ground. The ransom of the king, upon condition that the Soldan should see him safely conducted to Acre (which I take to be Cesarea), came to a hundred thousand marks. The number of Frenchmen and others who miscarried in that war, by water and by land, came to eighty thousand persons.<sup>2</sup>

And thus have ye the brief narration of this lamentable peregrination of Louis, the French king; in which, when the Frenchmen were once or twice well offered by the Soldan, to have all the kingdom of Jerusalem, and much more, in free possession; they, not contented with that which was reasonable and sufficient, for greediness to have all, lost all; having at length no more than their naked bodies could cover, lying dead upon the ground, and all through the original cause of the pope, and Otho, his legate. By their sinister means and pestilent pride, not only the lives of so many Christians were then lost, but also to the said pope is to be imputed all the loss of other cities and christian regions bordering in the same quarters: forasmuch as, by the occasion hereof, the hearts of the Saracens, on the one side, were so encouraged, and the courage of the Christians, on the other, so much discomfited, that in a short space after, both the dominion of Antioch and that of Acre, with all other possessions belonging to the Christians, were lost, to the great diminishing of Christ's church.

During the time of this good king lying at Acre, or Cesarea, Almighty God sent such discord betwixt the Soldan of Halaphia and the Soldan of Babylon, for letting the king so escape, that the said Soldan or Sultan of Babylon, to win the king unto his side, entered

Damietta  
resigned  
to the  
Saracens.  
Sum of  
the king's  
ransom.  
Number  
of the  
French  
slain.

See  
Appendix.

The two  
Soldans'  
variance  
about the  
French  
king.

(1) See Note I. p. 294.—Ed.

(2) Hæc Matth. Paris. fol. 237, 238.

league with him (whom both his brethren, and all his nobles almost, at home had forsaken), and remitted his ransom, and also restored unto him such prisoners as were in the said battle found to be alive.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Lord worketh, where man commonly forsaketh.<sup>2</sup>

*Henry  
III.*

A. D.  
1250.

Another cause, moreover, why the ruin of this French army may worthily be imputed to the pope, is this : for that when Louis, the French king, perceiving what a necessary friend and helper Frederic, the emperor, might be to him in these his affairs against the Saracens, was an earnest suitor for him to the pope to have him released, neither he, nor the king of England, by any means could obtain it. And, although the emperor himself offered to pope Innocent, with all humble submission, to make satisfaction in the council of Lyons, promising, also, to expugn all the dominions of the Saracens, and never to return into Europe again, and there to recover whatsoever the Christians had lost, so that the pope would only grant his son Henry to be emperor after him ; yet the proud pope would not be mollified, but would needs proceed against him with both swords ; that is, first, with the spiritual sword, to accurse him, and then with the temporal sword, to depose him from his imperial throne. Through the occasion whereof, not only the French king's power went to wreck, but also such a fire of mischief was kindled against all Christendom, as yet to this day cannot be quenched ; for, after this overthrow of the French king and his army, the Christians of Antioch and of other christian regions thereabouts, being utterly discouraged, gave over their holds and cities ; whereupon the Saracens, and after them the Turks, got such a hand over Christendom, as, to this day, we all have good cause to rue and lament. Besides this, where divers Christians were crossed to go over and help the French king, the pope for money dispensed with them to tarry still at home.

*How Frederic the emperor might have served in good stead against the Saracens, but the pope would not suffer him.*

*Tyranny and devilish mischief of the pope against the emperor.*

But as I said, the greatest cause was, that the emperor, who could have done most, was deposed by the pope's tyranny, whereby all those churches in Asia were left desolate : as touching the which emperor Frederic, because we have divers and sundry times made mention of him before, and for that his story is strange, his acts wondrous, and his conflicts tragical, which he sustained against four or five popes, one after another, I thought not out of story in a whole narration to set forth the same, for the reader to consider what is to be judged of this cathedral see of Rome, which hath wrought such abominable mischief in the world, as in the sequel of the story following, faithfully translated out of Latin into English, is to be seen.

\* Forsomuch as the story of Frederic is incident in the same time of this king Henry III., and containeth matter much worthy of memory, considering the utility thereof, after the tractation of our English stories I could not but also insert the whole narration of this tragical history of the said Frederic, which I have caused faithfully and amply to be collected and translated out of the Latin book of Nicholas Cisnerus, containing as followeth."<sup>3</sup>

#### THE TRAGICAL HISTORY OF FREDERIC II., EMPEROR.

Frederic II. came out of the ancient house of the Beblins or Ghibellines ; which Ghibellines came of the most famous stock of the French kings and emperors. He had Frederic Barbarossa to his

A. D.  
1194  
to  
1250.

(1) This was the seventh and last principal crusade.—*Ep.*

(2) *Matth. Paris.* fol. 261

(3) This passage between asterisks is from the edition of 1570. See Appendix.—*Ed.*

*History of Frederic II. Emperor.* grandfather, whose son, Henry VI., was emperor after him; who of Constantia, the daughter (or, as some write, the niece) of Roger I., king of Sicily, begat this Frederic II.

*A.D. 1194.* This Constantia was fifty years of age<sup>1</sup> before she was conceived with him; whom the emperor Henry VI., to avoid all doubt and surmise that of her conception and childing might be thought, and to the peril of the empire ensue, caused his regal tent to be pitched abroad in a place where every man might resort; and, when the time of his queen's travail approached, Constantia, in presence of divers ladies, matrons, and other gentlewomen of the empire, a great number, was brought to bed and delivered of this Frederic, the seventh day before the kalends of January, A.D. 1194, who by inheritance was king of Naples, Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily.

Frederic  
born  
Dec. 26th,  
A.D. 1194.

Henry, his father, shortly after he was born obtained of the princes-electors by their oath to him given, that they would choose his son Frederic for their emperor after his decease; and so they did, and immediately called him Cæsar,<sup>2</sup> being yet but in his cradle.

Sept. 28th,  
A.D. 1197.

This Henry when he died, which was shortly after the birth of Frederic, committed the protection of him to Constantia, his wife, to Philip, his brother, chief governor of Etruria, and to the bishop of Rome, A.D. 1197.

Constantia, not long after the death of Henry, her husband, being sickly and growing into age, and thereby not so well able to govern the troubled and unquiet state of the empire, resigned; and willed by her testament the safety both of her son Frederic, and also of his dominions, to the protection and government of Innocent III., thinking thereby safely to have provided.

Conspiracies of  
pope  
Innocent  
against  
Frederic  
during  
his minority.

See  
Appendix.

This pope Innocent, as soon as he had the protection of the young emperor and his seigniories, became, instead of a patron and protector to him and his dominions, both an enemy and a conspirator. The examples are many: one is, he persuaded Sibylla, the widow of Tancred, whom Henry put from the kingdom of Sicily, to endeavour to recover the same again, and that she should thereunto ask aid of Philip, the French king. Whereupon, with king Philip's counsel, co-operation and aid, one Walter (who was sprung from the earls of Brenno, an ancient and illustrious house in the Terra di Bari, and who had married Alteria, king Tancred's eldest daughter) in hope of obtaining the kingdom invaded Campania and Apulia. At which time, also, the same worthy protector, Innocent III., sent his legates with letters of excommunication against all those that would not admit and take the said Walter for their king.

Another example is, that whereas the princes-electors and other nobles (as before is said) had promised by their oath to Henry, that they would make Frederic, his son, emperor after his decease, the pope, seeing them to put their endeavour thereunto to bring it to pass, absolved them all from the oath which they had taken and given for the election of Frederic, the emperor, as one not content he should obtain the same. And further, he raised slanders and defamations against Philip, whom the electors had chosen to govern the empire during the minority of Frederic his nephew. He wrote an epistle, which is yet extant, to Barthold duke of Zaringhen, inviting him to be emperor; and when the latter gave place to Philip, he went about to procure that Otho, the son of Henry Leo, should be made emperor,

(1) See Appendix.

(2) Rather, 'King of the Romans,' that is, heir apparent — Ed



and that the princes-electors and lords of Germany should crown him forthwith (after the manner) at Aix-la-Chapelle,<sup>1</sup> and he deprived all such bishops as he knew to favour Philip as emperor, in the defence of his nephew's right ; but Philip, whose cause was better, his skill in martial affairs greater, and who in power and strength was mightier, after divers and great conflicts, to the marvellous disturbance and vastation of the whole empire, by God's help put the other to the worse. All these calamities and mischiefs Conrad de Lichtenau,<sup>2</sup> at that time living, in his Annals most pitifully complaineth of, and accuseth the bishop of Rome and his adherents to be the chief authors and devisers of this great and lamentable mischief, as such that, for to make themselves rich by the spoil thereof, sought by all means and desired the same.

Not long after, a peace was concluded between Philip and Otho, and Philip reconciled again to the pope ; which Philip, within a while after, was murdered in his chamber and slain by Otho de Wittelsbach. After this event Otho was raised by the nobles of Germany to the imperial seat, and consecrated at Rome for emperor by this Innocent III., his friend and patron ; and so continued till a great variance and discord chanced to arise between the said Otho and the pope ; whereupon Innocent sought by all means, how against Otho, likewise, he might work mischief, and bring him to his end. The occasion of this sudden change and alteration my author maketh no mention of, but that Otho (now being of great power) not only invaded and ravaged Flaminia, Picenum, Umbria, and Etruria, but also occupied most part of Campania and Apulia, which properly appertained to the inheritance of Frederic, A. D. 1211.

Thus you see, first, how by the counsel and consent of Pope Innocent and by his instigation, besides his secret conspiracies, this good Frederic and his dominions were hurt and damaged ; then, again, through his default what damage the said Frederic sustained by Otho, who was made so strong as he was by the pope and his means, notwithstanding the great trust he was put in, for the protection both of Frederic and his dominions.

At this time Frederic was come unto the eighteenth year of his age ;<sup>3</sup> who in his youth, by the provision of Constantia, his mother, was so well instructed in letters and with virtuous principles so imbued, that at these years there appeared and did shine in him excellent gifts both of wisdom and knowledge. He was excellently well seen in Latin and Greek learning, which was just then beginning to emerge from the barbarism under which it had been long buried. He also acquired the German, the Italian, and the Saracen languages. He had also cultivated those virtues which nature had implanted in him by the precepts of piety, wisdom, justice, and fortitude, and by habitual practice. Insomuch that he might well be compared with the worthiest and most redoubted emperors and kings that have ever lived.

Being now called to the empire by a deputation from the German princes, he immediately quitted Sicily and set out for Germany. On his way thither he stopped at Rome, where, according to Fazellus,<sup>4</sup> he was honourably entertained by Innocent ; who, nevertheless, would make him no promises, for that he mistrusted the name of Frederic, from recollection of the grandfather.

*History of  
Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.*

A. D.  
1212.

*See  
Appendix.*

Philip  
slain,  
June 22d,  
A. D. 1208.  
*See  
Appendix.*

Variance  
between  
Otho and  
the pope.

Frederic's  
learning  
and  
know-  
ledge.

*See  
Appendix.*

Suspected  
for his  
grand-  
father's  
sake.

(1) See *infra*, pp. 458, 663.—Ed. (2) See *supra*, vol. i. p. 136, note (3).—Ed. (3) See Appendix. (4) Fazellus flourished in the sixteenth century : he wrote "De rebus siculis," folio, Panormi, 1558; translated into Italian by M. Remigio, 4to. Venez, 1574.—Ed.

*History of  
Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.*

A. D.  
1220.

Death of  
Otho,  
May 19th,  
A. D. 1218.

Consecra-  
tion of  
Frederic  
the em-  
peror.

Frederic then, quitting Rome, set forward for Germany. On reaching Trent, he learnt that the more easy and direct road was preoccupied by the enemy: he therefore with much painful travel crossed the Rhætian Alps, and pushed along the tract of the Rhine, the cities all the way submitting to him. Otho, who had hastened out of Italy into Germany, intending to meet him at the Rhine and stop his passage, was thus disappointed of his object, and Frederic was crowned, first at Mentz, and afterwards (as the manner is) at Aix-la-Chapelle.<sup>1</sup> Having subsequently held several diets, and Otho dying, he settled the empire and succeeded in appeasing almost the whole of Germany. And then, accompanied by all his nobles and princes, he returned to Rome, and of Honorius III. was with great solemnity consecrated and called Augustus, Nov. 22d, A. D. 1220. Which Honorius succeeded<sup>2</sup> Innocent III. in the papal see, and was a great help to Frederic (although he loved him not) in this behalf, to revenge himself upon Otho.

After his consecration, Frederic gave many great and liberal gifts, as well to the bishop of Rome himself, as also to the court of Rome besides. Also he gave and assured by his charter to the church of Rome the principality of Fondi; for by the insatiable covetousness of the Romish bishops this wicked use and custom grew, that unless the emperors, elect and crowned, would give them such-like great and large gifts, they could not obtain of them their consecration or confirmation, which for that intent they devised.

Furthermore, Frederic, the emperor, willing to show himself more bountiful and liberal to the church, neither yet to restrain any privilege that might benefit the same, gave and admitted those constitutions which the pope himself would desire, and which are yet extant in the civil law; by which his doings he delivered to their hands a sword (as it were) to cut his own throat: for the bishops of Rome, now having even what they listed, and all in their own hands, might by the pain of proscription bring what emperor or king under "coram nobis," that them listed, and keep them by their own laws, as if it were bound in certain bands, out of the which they might not start. For whatsoever he were, who for the diminution of the liberties of the church was excommunicate and so continued a year's space, he should be within the danger of this proscription, and should not be released before he had made satisfaction, and were admitted by the pope to the church and congregation of good men again. Whereby it came to pass, that whatsoever emperor, in the government of his dominions, should in any point displease or do contrary to the lust of the bishop of Rome, he then as enemy to the church was excommunicate; and, unless within a year he were reconciled to them again, by this their principal law he was in the proscription; and often it chanced that princes, to avoid the pain of this proscription, were ready to do whatsoever the pope would have them, and commanded them, to do.

After the consecration of Frederic was with great solemnity finished, and that the pope and church of Rome in all ample manner (as is partly described) were gratified, and yet larger constitutions to them confirmed, he departed from Rome and went to Italy, there to set things in order and receive the homage of the cities and great towns which belonged to the imperial jurisdiction; and from

Frederic  
gave,  
through  
his libe-  
rality, a  
sword to  
cut his  
own  
throat.

Canon of  
proscrip-  
tion  
granted  
and con-  
firmed by  
Frederic.

*See  
Appendix.*

(1) Dec. 6th. A. D. 1212, and July 25th, A. D. 1215. L'Art de V. des D. See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Crowned pope July 24th, 1216.—Ed.

thence into his own provinces and dominions, where he heard of certain, who began to raise and make new factions against him; amongst others Thomas and Richard, brothers of Innocent III. and earls of Anagni, who held certain castles in the kingdom of Naples: these he discovered to have conspired with Otho, when he invaded that kingdom, in the hope of obtaining it for themselves. He therefore seized their castles, and all he found therein. Richard he took, and sent as a prisoner into Sicily; but Thomas escaped, and came speedily to Rome; whither also repaired certain bishops and others who were conspirators against Frederic; as also such others as the fear of the emperor's laws and their own guilty consciences caused to fly: all of whom were (that notwithstanding) by this bishop of Rome, Honorius III., to gratify again the liberality of the emperor bestowed upon him, under his nose succoured, maintained, and defended. Which thing when Frederic understood, he began to expostulate with the pope, considering the unseemliness of that his fact; against whom the pope, on the other side, was so chafed and vexed, that he immediately, without further delay, thundereth out against him, like a tyrant, his curses and excommunications.

*History of  
Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.*

A. D.  
1226.

*See  
Appendix.*

*The libe-  
rality of  
Frederic  
well re-  
com-  
pensed of  
Honorius  
III.  
Frederic  
expostu-  
lateth;  
the pope  
curseth.*

Thomas Fazellus declareth the origin of this misunderstanding between them, somewhat otherwise. There were (saith he) amongst those who were found traitors to the emperor certain bishops, who, fleeing to the pope, requested his aid: whereupon the pope sent his legates to the emperor, and requested him, that he would admit and receive to favour those bishops whom he had banished and put from their offices; and that he would not intermeddle with any ecclesiastical charge wherewith he had not to do: and said further, that the correction and punishment of such matters pertained to the bishop of Rome, and not to him; and, moreover, that the oversight of those churches in that kingdom, from the which he had expelled the bishops, pertained and belonged unto him.

*See  
Appendix.*

Whereunto Frederic thus replieth, "that forasmuch as now, for four hundred years and more, from the time of Charlemagne, all emperors and kings in their dominions might lawfully commit to apt and fit men for the same, such ecclesiastical functions and charges as within their territories and kingdoms fell, he looked to have the like privilege and authority also, that other his predecessors before him had." And he further said, "that he had the same and like authority in the empire that his father Henry, and Frederic his grandfather, and other his predecessors before them had; neither had he so deserved at the hands of the church of Rome, neither of Honorius himself, to be deprived of those privileges which his ancestors before him had, and kept." And further, Frederic being chafed and moved with these demands of the pope, breaketh forth and saith, "How long will the bishop of Rome abuse my patience? When will his covetous heart be satisfied? Whereunto will this his ambitious desire grow? with such-like words more, repeating certain injuries and conspiracies, both against him and his dominions, as well by Honorius as by Innocent III. his predecessor; as also other like injuries of popes to his ancestors practised. "What man," saith he, "is able to suffer and bear this so incredible boldness, and intolerable insolency of so proud a bishop?" "Go," saith he unto the legates, "and tell

*The em-  
peror re-  
plieth to  
the pope's  
demand*

*Strife be-  
tween the  
pope and  
the empe-  
ror for the  
election  
and depri-  
vation of  
bishops.*

*History of Frederic II. Emperor.* Honorius, that I will lay down the insignia of my empire and the crown of my kingdom, rather than I will suffer him thus to diminish the authority of our majesty.<sup>71</sup>

*A. D. 1226. see Appendix.* Now, because much disquietness and controversy hath arisen, for the most part throughout all Christendom, in every kingdom and realm severally, for and about the authority of choosing and depriving of bishops (as may be seen by the example of this Frederic), which the pope only and arrogantly challengeth to himself, and not to appertain to any other, I thought good not with silence to overpass, but somewhat to say, and to prove the authority of christian kings and princes, in this behalf, to be both sufficient and good.

*See Appendix.* And first, by the holy Scriptures, and by decrees of councils, as also by the ancient custom of the primitive church, it may easily be proved, that in the first age of the church the chief care and power of distributing ecclesiastical offices were vested in the christian people, regard, however, being had to the counsels of the administrators of ecclesiastical concerns. Whereunto appertain certain places collected and gathered out of the 'Decretum' of Gratian, and specially in these canons, the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, and thirty-fourth, of the sixty-third Distinction.

*Election of bishops to be in princes and their subjects.* Furthermore, when kings and princes began to embrace Christ's religion, both for honour and order's sake it was granted, that when the people desired such ministers as were by them thought meet, the princes should either confirm such as were so nominated, or else themselves should place fit men over the churches; who should then be presented for consecration to those who were chiefest in the ecclesiastical function and authority. So did the emperors of Constantinople (receiving the order and manner from Constantine the Great) use the right of bestowing ecclesiastical functions with the consent both of the people and of ecclesiastical persons; and long so retained they the same, as appears in the rescript of Honorius, the emperor, to Boniface,<sup>2</sup> also, in the examples of Pelagius and Gregory the Great, of whom one was appointed bishop of the church of Rome in the reign of Justinian, the emperor,<sup>3</sup> when Totila was governing Italy; and the other in the time of Maurice, the emperor, when the Lombards possessed Italy.<sup>4</sup>

*See Appendix.* And whereas Gratian in the beginning of the ninety-sixth and ninety-seventh Distinctions doth declare, that the rescript of Honorius, the emperor, is void and of none effect, for that in determining the election of the bishop of Rome he acted contrary to the authority of the holy canons, and because there can nowhere be read of any license given to the civil magistrate to meddle at all with ecclesiastical matters, still less with sacred orders—each man may plainly discern his great folly and want of understanding in so saying: as though at that time any holy canons existed which should debar emperors from the constituting of ecclesiastical ministers; or as though it were doubtful whether the emperors, at that time, had passed any laws touching matters of ecclesiastical discipline, or whether such laws were really in use; when the contrary most manifestly, both by the laws and histories of that age

(1) Thomas Fazellus, lib. 8.

(2) Can. 8. dist. 79. et can. 2. dist. 97.

(3) Justinian flourished from A.D. 527 to 565; Mauritius, from A.D. 582 to 602.—F.D.

(4) Dist. 63. can. 15 10, 21.

and time, as well of the church as of the empire, may appear. And not to seek far for the matter, this thing is sufficiently proved by reference to these titles, 'De sacro-sanctis ecclesiis,' 'Episcopis,' 'Clericis,' besides other ecclesiastical chapters touching religion, which are to be seen in the books of the principal and chief constitutions, collected and set forth by Justinian; in which many of the chapters are attributed to Honorius and Theodosius: so, in like case, the twenty-first canon of the sixty-third Distinction doth declare, that the Grecian emperors, who next ensued after Justinian, did observe that manner of ordaining and electing the bishops of Rome, although at that time "Interpellatum erat," they somewhat spurned at it. The emperor of whom mention is made in that canon is Constantine IV., surnamed Pogonatus.<sup>1</sup>

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*See  
Appendix.*

Charlemagne, in like manner, followed their steps in this particular; for (as in the twenty-second canon of the same Distinction is declared) at a synodal council in Lateran (Adrian I. being pontiff), where were assembled one hundred and fifty-three other bishops, it was decreed, that the right of electing and ordering the bishop of Rome and all other prelates should be in Charlemagne, as well in Italy as other his dominions and provinces; and that whosoever was not promoted and allowed by him should not be consecrated of any one; and that those who repugned and disobeyed this decree should be under anathema, and except they repented should incur the most severe punishment of proscription and confiscation of all their goods. A most striking example of this is to be seen in a rescript, extant in the eighteenth canon of the same sixty-third Distinction. Yet notwithstanding, Stephen IV., the author of that rescript, in spite of the said decree, without the emperor's consent was made bishop of Rome; who, to the intent he might elude the punishment in that case decreed, went into France to Louis the Pious, son of Charlemagne, to excuse himself, and at Rheims crowned he him with the imperial diadem. (A. D. 816.) Neither could this bishop here stay himself, but, spying the great lenity of the emperor, essayed to make frustrate the aforesaid constitution. For his purpose was, and so he brought to pass (as in the twenty-eighth canon of the same Distinction appeareth), that it should be lawful for the ecclesiastical order, with the senate and people of Rome, without the authority of the emperor, to choose the bishop of Rome; reserving, that he should not be consecrated without the will and consent of the emperor. Thus is it manifest, that the bishops of Rome themselves, not regarding but despising the strait penalty and sanction of the aforesaid decree of the Lateran council, were not only the first that brake the same, but also by contrary rescripts and constitutions laboured and endeavoured to extol and set up themselves above all others.

The election decreed by one hundred and fifty-three bishops in the council of Lateran to be in the emperor.

*See  
Appendix.*

Bishop of Rome the breaker of the decree of the council.

After this, Lothaire, the grandson of Charlemagne, being emperor, and coming into Italy, there to dissolve the conspiracy and confederacy of Leo IV. about the translation of the empire, renewed and established again the synodal decree of Lateran, touching the jurisdiction of the emperor for the election of the bishop of Rome and other ecclesiastical persons; and hereof it came, that those epistles were written by Leo, which are extant in the sixteenth and seventeenth canons of

Lothaire reneweth the Lateran decree for election of bishops.

(1) Constantine Pogonatus, A. D. 668 to 685; Charlemagne, A. D. 766 to 814.—ED.



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Frederic  
II.  
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1223.

the same Distinction ; who also (as appeareth in the ninth canon of the tenth Distinction) made a profession, that he would always maintain the same imperial precepts. This Leo, when he was reproved of treason and other evils, pleaded his cause before Louis II., emperor of Rome, and son of Lothaire above recited.<sup>1</sup>

The election once again ratified to be in the emperor's jurisdiction.

See  
Appendix.

But after this, as time grew on, the bishops of Rome nothing relinquishing their ambitious desires, Otho, the first emperor of that name, deprived and put from the see of Rome that most filthy and wicked bishop, John XII., both for divers and sundry wicked and heinous acts by him committed, as also for his great treasons and conspiracies against his royal person, and did substitute in his place Leo VIII. ; who, calling a synod at Lateran, in the same temple and place where the other before was kept, did promulgate a new constitution with consent of the senate and people of Rome concerning the emperor's jurisdiction, which is contained in the twenty-third canon of the sixty-third Distinction, whereby the old right and power of the emperor in the election of the bishop of Rome and other ecclesiastical prelates was again, with even a more weighty sanction, confirmed and ratified. By Otho III. again this right was re-asserted ; by whom John XVIII. (whom Crescentius the Roman, usurping the sovereign power, had made pontiff with the consent of the people of Rome and the ecclesiastical order), having his nose cut off and his eyes put out, was hurled from the Capitol.<sup>2</sup> But when, notwithstanding, the bishops of Rome would not alter their old accustomed disposition, but with all their industry endeavoured to abrogate that jurisdiction of the emperor over the bishop of Rome (as people loath to be under subjection), Henry III. (Leo IX. being then bishop of Rome) did once again ratify the same, and caused that bishop, who extolled himself at the council of Mentz (A.D. 1049) before all his fellow-bishops, to stoop and give place to the archbishop of Mentz.

So after the death of the aforesaid emperor Henry III., Nicholas II., although in his decree (which in the first canon of the twenty-third Distinction is recited) he gave the cardinals the primacy, in respect of other ecclesiastics and of the people of Rome, in the election of the Roman pontiff ; yet he willed that his proper prerogative therein should be reserved to Henry IV., to whom the empire had devolved, but who was then a mere child.

The election hitherto in the emperors, becometh to fall by Hildebrand.

But after this, when Hildebrand, who was called Gregory VII., was elected pope (A.D. 1073), this prerogative of the emperors in the election, which the time before (in the creation of Alexander II.) had been neglected and broken, the bishop of Rome now not only did seek to diminish the authority thereof, but also to evacuate and quite undo the same ; for he not only aspired to that dignity without the consent and appointment of the emperor, but also made restraint that no emperor, king, duke, marquis, earl, or any other civil magistrate, should assign and appoint to any man any ecclesiastical function and charge ; and that no one should be so hardy as to take such preferment at any of their hands : as in Cause sixteen, Question seven, canons twelve and thirteen, may be seen.

Henry IV. again challengeth the election.

Yet notwithstanding, after that this horrible monster Hildebrand was proscribed and thrust out of the papal seat, and Clement III. put in

(1) [Causa] 2. Quest. 7. can. 41

(2) See Appendix.

his stead, Henry again challenged his imperial prerogative of election. But when the bishops who succeeded this Hildebrand, led on by his example, began to derogate from the imperial prerogative of election, and Henry, on the other side, by all the means possible sought to defend and maintain the same; by the subtle fraud and mischievous policy of the bishops, who set the son against the father and found means to steal from him the hearts of his nobles and subjects and to set them all against him, and especially the princes of Germany, he was deposed and disappointed of his purpose.

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And although Henry V., coming to Rome, brought Pascal II. (A.D. 1111) to that point, that he both in a public discourse, and in writing sealed and by oath confirmed, restored again to the emperors the prerogative of election and of giving ecclesiastical dignities; yet notwithstanding, after that Henry, the emperor, was gone from Rome, Pascal, the pope, greatly repenting and sorrowing that he had done (in allowing and confirming through fear the privileges of the emperors touching the giving and disposing of ecclesiastical functions), excommunicated the emperor, and in a synodal council at Lateran ordained and decreed, that he should be had and accounted a wicked enemy, who would take any ecclesiastical function or preferment at the hands of a civil magistrate; whereupon were made these decrees, Cause sixteen, Question seven, chapters sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, and nineteen.

Priests  
accused  
that take  
any bene-  
fice at the  
hands of a  
layman.

Therefore, when these decrees touching the designation of bishops in spite and contempt of the emperor were practised and put in use, and when that now (especially by the means and procurement of the bishops) intestine and civil wars began to rise in the empire, the imperial jurisdiction in this matter was not only weakened and much debilitated, but also in a manner utterly broken and lost. For when Henry V., the emperor, was sharply of Lothaire and his vassals, the bishops, beset and laid unto by the provocation of the pope, and was mightily by the bishops that took his part on the other side requested and entreated (in hope of public peace and tranquillity), that he would condescend and somewhat yield to the pope's demands; he at length (the more was the pity), that he might be reconciled and have peace with Pope Calixtus II., in the city of Worms resigned that his prerogative or jurisdiction of giving ecclesiastical preferments to the pope and his prelates (A.D. 1122), which had been now more than three hundred years (from the time of Charlemagne) in the hands of the emperors of Rome, and until this time with great fortitude and princely courage conserved and kept; which resignation turned to no small detriment both of the church of Christ and the christian commonwealth.

Henry V.  
resigneth  
his prero-  
gative of  
election.

Then first, and never before, the bishop of Rome obtained and quietly enjoyed that prerogative of election and bestowing of benefices, which he so long before with such great policies, now secretly, now openly and with force, had sought for. For the canons by which Gratian would prove, that before this time the city of Rome enjoyed the prerogative of electing the pope without the emperor's consent (as canons twenty-nine and thirty of the said sixty-third Distinction, and the 'Palea' added to the latter, and canon thirty-three), are plainly forged, and were introduced by Gratian himself, to

The elec-  
tion got-  
ten to the  
bishops of  
Rome.  
*See  
Appendix.*

Gratian  
a forger  
of canons.

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*See  
appendix.*

flatter the papacy; as both Carolus Molinæus sufficiently in divers places hath noted, and by the observation of dates may by any one ordinarily conversant with the French and German histories soon be spied and discerned. For, First, five bishops, one after another, succeeded that Gregory IV. upon whom the said twenty-ninth canon is entitled or fathered, before you come to Adrian II. mentioned in the canon, who certainly was made pope, the people having by force taken the election into their own hands; whereas Gregory (especially to be noted) would not take on him the papacy before that the emperor had consented to his election. Secondly, Molinæus opposeth the authority of Raphael Volateran to the thirtieth canon, which is to be suspected for this reason, that when Eugenius was pope, the successor of that Pascal I. with whom Louis the Pious is stated in the canon to have made a compact, the same Louis with his son Lothaire (in the capacity of king of the Romans) made laws at Rome, both for all the subjects of the empire, and also for the Romans themselves; to say nothing of Lothaire's renewal of the decree of the Lateran synod, lately mentioned.<sup>1</sup> Then again, how could Leo IV. write to Lothaire and Louis, the emperors, that 'Palcæ' (or counterfeit or forged decree)<sup>2</sup> beginning with 'Constitutio,' &c., when in the same mention is made of Henry the Fowler and of Otho I., who did not come to the empire till more than threescore years after them and Leo IV. Thirdly, with what face dare this fond fellow Gratian make Otho I. to be the author of the thirty-third canon, when Otho deprived John XII. of the papacy, and not only subtracted nothing from the imperial jurisdiction over the city of Rome, or over the bishop of Rome, or over any other bishops subject to the Roman empire, but added somewhat more thereunto, as was said before. And yet notwithstanding, so shameless and senseless was this Gratian, that he durst in the compiling of his "Decretum" obtrude and lay before the reader such manifest fraud and evident legerdemain, feigned and made of his own brains (being so necessary, as he thought, for the dominion and primacy of the Roman bishops), in the stead of good and true laws; not considering that the same must be detected by posterity, and that to his own great discredit. Where<sup>3</sup> also by the way is to be noted, that as this graceless Gratian, to please these holy fathers, and to erect their kingdom, would give so impudent an attempt to the blinding and deceiving of all posterities, inserting for grounded truths and holy decrees such loud lies and detestable doctrine, what may be thought of the rabble of the rest of writers in those days? what attempts might hope of gain cause them to work, by whom and such-like is to be feared the falsifying of divers other good works now extant, in those perilous times written?

How  
shameless  
and im-  
pudent  
Gratian  
is, in for-  
ging the  
decrees.

The  
election  
wrested  
from the  
emperor.  
*See  
Appendix.*

Thus, when the bishops had once wrested this authority out of the emperor's hands, they then so fortified and armed themselves and their dominion, that although afterwards Frederic I. and his grandson this good emperor Frederic II., as also Louis of Bavaria, and Henry of Luxemburg (as men most studious and careful for the dignities of the empire, unfeigned lovers and maintainers of the utility of the commonweal, and most desirous of the preservation and prosperity of

(1) Suprà, p. 461.—E.

(2) See Du ange and Hoffman on the term 'Palcæ,' prefixed to certain chapters of the Canon Law.—Ed.

(3) This sentence is not in Cusner.—En.



the church) did all their endeavours, with singular wisdom and energy, as much as in them lay, to recover again this lost authority of the imperial jurisdiction from the bishops of Rome,<sup>1</sup> most cruelly and wickedly abusing their power to the destruction of the empire, the undoing of the commonwealth, and the utter subversion of the church of God; yet could they not bring the same to pass in those dark and shadowed times of perverse doctrine and errors of the people, and most miserable servitude of civil magistrates.

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II.  
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Not without good cause desired they to muzzle the people in ignorance.

Every king and prince in their several kingdoms, had also till that time the prerogative of election. See Appendix.

The same and like privilege also in the election of their bishops and prelates and disposing of ecclesiastical offices as the emperor of Rome had, every prince and king in their several dominions had the like. For by the decree of the council of Toledo, which in the twenty-fifth canon of the sixty-third Distinction is mentioned, the authority of creating and choosing bishops and prelates in Spain was in the king of Spain. In like manner by the histories of Clovis, Charlemagne, Louis IX., Philip Augustus, Philip the Fair, Charles V., Charles VI., and Charles VII., kings of France, it is apparent and well known, that all these kings had the chief charge and government of the French church, and not the bishops of Rome.

And by our English histories also, as you have heard, it is manifest, that the authority of choosing ecclesiastical ministers and bishops was always in the kings of England, till the reign of king Henry I., who by the labour and procurement of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, was deprived of the same by Pascal II.

Also, how the princes of Germany and electors of the emperor, till the time of Henry V., had all (every prince severally in his own province) the same jurisdiction and prerogative, to give and dispose ecclesiastical functions at their pleasure; and how after that, it appertained to the people and prelates together; and how at length, in the reign of Frederic, the prelates got unto themselves alone this immunity—John Aventine, in the seventh book of his “*Annales Boiorum*,” doth describe.

Also it is probable, that the kings of Sicily had the same faculty in giving and disposing of their ecclesiastical promotions and charge of churches;<sup>2</sup> and because Frederic defended himself against the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, therefore (as Fazellus saith) he was excommunicated by Honorius. That Platina and Blondus allege other causes wherefore he was excommunicate of Honorius, I am not ignorant: howbeit, he who will compare their writings with those of others who were contemporary with Honorius and him shall easily find, that they more sought the favour of the Roman bishops than truth. But now again to the history of Frederic.

Nicolas Cisner affirmeth, that whilst Frederic the emperor was in Sicily, his wife Constantia died at Catania. In the mean time the Christians, who with a great navy had sailed into Egypt and taken the city formerly called Pelusium or Heliopolis, now commonly called Damietta, and were in good hope to drive the Sultan out of Egypt, had a great and marvellous overthrow by the conveying of the water of the Nile (which then overflowed into their camp), and were fain to accord an unprofitable truce with

Death of Constantia, wife of Frederic.

Great overthrow of the Christians in Egypt.

(1) What Rome catcheth, that she keepeth. (2) Andreas de Isthmia ad prim. const. Neap. nu. 12.

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Frederic  
and the  
pope  
made  
friends.

the Sultan for certain years, and to deliver the city again; and so departing out of Egypt, they were fain to come to Acre and Tyre, to the no small detriment and shame of the christian commonweal. Whereupon John, surnamed de Brienne, king of Jerusalem, arrived in Italy, and prayed aid against his enemies of the emperor, in whom he had great hope to find a remedy for the evils and calamities before declared; and from thence he went to Rome to the pope, declaring unto him the great discomfit and overthrow past, as also the present peril and calamity that they were in, desiring also his aid therein. By means of this king John (as Cisner saith) the emperor and the pope were again made friends together: that king also gave the emperor in marriage Iole, his daughter by the daughter of Conrad, king of Jerusalem and marquis of Montferrat, with whom he had for dowry the kingdom of Jerusalem, she being right heir thereunto by her mother (whence those who afterwards obtained the kingdom of Naples and Sicily used the title of king of Jerusalem): after which he promised that as soon as possible he would make an expedition for the recovery of Jerusalem, and be there himself in person; which thing to do for that upon divers occasions he deferred (whereof some think one thing, some another), pope Honorius, unto whom he was lately reconciled, purposed to make against him some great and serious attempt, had he not been by death prevented; upon whom were made these verses:—

“ O pater Honori, multorum nate dolori,  
Est tibi dedecori vivere, vade mori.”

Gregory  
IX. as  
great an  
enemy to  
Frederic  
as Honorius.

Frederic  
refuseth  
to go into  
Asia at  
the pope's  
bidding  
The pope  
is angry.

The cause  
of the  
stay of the  
emperor's  
journey  
into Asia.

See  
Appendix.

After whom succeeded Gregory IX. A.D. 1227, as great an enemy to Frederic as was Honorius; which Gregory came of the race whom the emperor, as before ye heard, condemned of treason which they wrought against him. This Gregory was scarcely settled in his papacy, when that he threatened Frederic, and that greatly, with excommunication, unless he would prepare himself to go into Asia, according to his promise (as ye heard before) to king John of Jerusalem; and what the cause was why the pope so hastened the journey of Frederic into Asia, you shall hear hereafter. In effect, he could not well bring that to pass which in his mischievous mind he had devised, unless the emperor were further from him. Notwithstanding, Frederic, it should seem, smelling a rat, or mistrusting somewhat (as well he might), alleged divers causes and lets, as lately and truly he did to Honorius.

Fazellus saith, that the special cause of the emperor's stay was, for the oath of truth and peace during certain years, which was made between the Saracens and Christians (as you heard), which time was not yet expired.

The same Fazellus also writeth thus of king John of Jerusalem, that when his daughter was brought to Rome, the emperor and the pope were reconciled together. And being called up to Rome to celebrate the marriage, pope Gregory, as the manner of those proud prelates is, offered his right foot unto the emperor to kiss. But the emperor, not stooping so low, scarcely with his lip touched the upper part of his knee, and would not kiss his foot; which thing the pope took in very evil part, and was therewith marvellously offended. But for that no opportunity at that time served to revenge his conceived grudge and old malice, he dissembled the same as he might for that time,

thinking to recompense at the full, as time would serve and fall out there-for.

After this, the emperor hearing how the Christians were oppressed by the Sultan in Syria, and that by his instigation Arsacidus<sup>1</sup> had sent persons into Europe to assassinate the Christian kings, and that the French king had received letters warning him of the plot, he made the more haste, and was the more desirous to set forward his journey into Asia. Wherefore he gave in commandment to Henry, his son, whom not long before he had caused to be created Cæsar, that, assembling the nobility of the empire at Ravenna and Cremona, he should persuade them to take the cross likewise: who all engaged to be ready to put to their helping hands, in furthering this his journey and enterprise. This writeth Fazellus; howbeit, some others affirm that these things were done in the time of Honorius. But howsoever the matter is, this thing is manifest; that Frederic, to satisfy the pope's desire, who never would lin,<sup>2</sup> but by all means sought to provoke him forward, gave him at length his promise, that by a certain time he would prepare an army, and fight himself against those who kept from him the city of Jerusalem (which thing he also confesseth himself in his epistles, and also how he desired and obtained of the peers and nobility of the empire their aid thereunto); and he also appointed a convenient time when they should be at Brundisium.<sup>3</sup>

In the mean season, he with all his endeavour made speedy preparation for the war. He rigged and manned a puissant navy; he made a levy of soldiers through the whole kingdom, and made warlike provision and furniture for every thing that to such a voyage and expedition appertained. Neither was the matter slackened, but at the time appointed great bands both of German soldiers and others had, under the command of Louis, landgrave of Thuringia, and Sigibert, bishop of Augsburg, assembled and mustered at Brundisium;<sup>3</sup> where they for a long time lying and waiting for the emperor's coming, who was let by infirmity and sickness, great pestilence and sundry diseases molested them, by reason of the great heat and intemperance of that country, and many a soldier there lost his life, among whom also died the landgrave of Thuringia, one of the generals. The emperor, when he had somewhat recovered his health, with all his navy launched out, and set forward from Brundisium. And when he came to the straits between Peloponnesus and the island of Crete, and there for lack of convenient wind was stayed, suddenly the emperor (his diseases growing upon him again) fell sick; and sending forward all or the most part of his bands and ships into Palestine, promising them most assuredly to follow them so soon as he might recover, he himself with a few ships returned and came to Brundisium, and from thence went into Apulia.

When tidings hereof came to the pope's ear, he sent out his thundering curses and new excommunications against the emperor.<sup>4</sup> The causes whereof I find thus noted and mentioned in his own letters; that is, for that, he had robbed and taken at Brundisium the deceased landgrave of Thuringia's horses, his money, and very valuable baggage,

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*Preparation  
of the  
voyage of  
Frederic,  
and stay  
thereof.  
See  
Appendix.*

*Great  
sickness  
in the  
emperor's  
army.  
See  
Appendix.*

*The pope  
excom-  
muni-  
cates the  
emperor  
for stay-  
ing his  
voyage.*

(1) Prince of a curious fanatical tribe near Damascus, sometimes called the Old Man of the Mountain. See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) "Lin," to give over.—Ed.

(3) Frederic in his letters says Hydruntum, *i.e.* Otranto: the same remark applies to the other instances in this and the next page, where Brundisium is mentioned.—Ed.

(4) Sept. 29th, A.D. 1227. L'Art de Verifier des Dates.—Ed.

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Frederic  
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*See  
Appendix.*

The emperor  
purgeth  
himself  
of crimes  
which the  
pope laid  
against  
him, by  
his letters  
dedicated  
to all  
christian  
princes.

and had then sailed for Asia, not for the intent to make war against the Turk, but to conceal and convey away his prey that he had taken at Brundusium; and that, neglecting his oath and promise which he had made, and feigning himself to be sick, he came home again; and that by his default also Damietta was lost, and the host of the Christians sore afflicted. Fazellus, besides these causes spoken of before, doth write that the pope alleged these also; that he seduced a certain damsel who was in the queen's nursery, and then whipped and put to death in prison his wife Iole, for declaring this mischievous act to her father king John. But all the writers, and also Blondus himself, declare, that this Iole died after the publication of the proscript and excommunication;<sup>1</sup> wherefore the pope could not allege as the cause thereof the death of Iole: the settled belief is, that she, of her son Conrad, died in childbed. Then Frederic, to refel and avoid the aforesaid slanders, sendeth the bishop of Brundusium and other ambassadors to Rome; whom the pope would not suffer to come to his presence, neither yet to the council of the cardinals, to make his purgation. Wherefore the emperor, to purge himself of the crimes which the pope did so falsely accuse him of, both to all christian kings, and especially to the princes of Germany and all the nobles of the empire, writeth his letter (which is to be seen), that those things are both false and also of the pope's own head feigned and invented; and sheweth, how that his ambassadors with his purgation could not be suffered to come to the pope's presence; also doth largely intreat, how unthankful and ungrateful the bishops of Rome were towards him for the great benefits which both he and also his predecessors had bestowed upon them and the Roman church; which letter, for that it is over-tedious here to place, considering the discourse of the history is somewhat long, the sum of the purgation is this:—

He protesteth and declareth universally, that he had always great care for the christian commonwealth, and that he had determined even from his youth to fight against the Turks and Saracens; that he made a vow and promise on his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, that he would take the war upon him; and that afterwards he had renewed his promise at Rome, when he was consecrated of Honorius: since which he had married the daughter of the king of Jerusalem, who was heir to the same; so that it was become a matter of personal interest to him, that that kingdom should be defended from the injuries of enemies: accordingly, he had prepared a huge navy, and gathered a strong army, neither had he neglected any thing that belonged to the furniture of war: but when the time was come, and his band was gathered together, his sickness would not suffer him to be there; and afterwards, when he had recovered from the same and had come to Brundusium, and from thence without injuring any one had forthwith put to sea, he fell into the same sickness again, by the which he was let of his purpose, which thing (saith he) he is able to prove by sufficient testimony: that the pope, moreover, laid the losing of Damietta, and other things which prospered not well, to his charge unjustly; whereas he had made great provision for that journey, both of soldiers and of other necessary things. But he that will understand these things more plainly, among other epistles of

*See  
Appendix*

(1) A. D. 1228. L'Art de Ver. des D.—Ed.

Petrus de Vineis, written in the name of Frederic, let him read those especially which begin thus: "In admirationem," "Ut justitiam, et innocentiam," and "Levate oculos." And truly, even as Frederic the emperor declareth in his letters concerning this matter, all the old writers of Germany do accord and agree in the same.

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Matthew Paris' also briefly collecteth the effect of another letter which he wrote to the king of England, complaining unto him of the excommunication of the pope against him, whose words are these:—

And amongst other catholic princes (saith he) he also wrote his letters unto the king of England, embulled with gold; declaring in the same, that the church of Rome was so inflamed with the fire of avarice and manifest concupiscence, that she was not contented with the goods of the church, but also shamed not to disherit emperors, kings, and princes, and bring them under tribute and subjection to herself; and that the king of England himself had experience thereof, whose father (that is to say, king John) she so long held excommunicate, till she had brought both him and his dominions under obligation to pay her tribute; also, that all men had example of the same by the earl of Toulouse and divers other princes, whose persons and lands she so long held under interdict, till she brought them also into like servitude. "I pass by" (saith he) "the simonies and sundry sorts of exactions (the like whereof was never yet heard of) which daily are used toward ecclesiastical persons, to notice their gross usury, so cloaked indeed hitherto to the simple sort, that therewithal they infect the whole world; also the fair speeches, sweeter than honey and smoother than oil, of these insatiable horse-leeches, saying, that the court of Rome is the church, our mother and nurse, whereas it is indeed the most polling court in the whole world, the root and origin of all mischief, using and exercising the doings not of a mother but of a wicked step-dame, making sufficient proof thereof by her manifest fruits to all the world apparent. Let the noble barons of England consider these things, whom, fortified by his bulls, Pope Innocent encouraged to rise and rebel against king John, as an obstinate enemy to the church. But, after that the aforesaid king had monstrously humbled himself, and, like an effeminate person, had enslaved both himself and his kingdom to the church of Rome; then the aforesaid pope, setting aside all shame of the world and fear of the Lord, trampled on those very barons when they were exposed to death and miserable confiscation, whom he had before maintained and stirred up, in order that, after the Roman manner, he might, alas! draw the fatness unto his own greedy, gaping jaws; by whose greedy avarice it came to pass, that England, the prince of provinces, was brought under miserable subjection and tribute. Behold the manners of our Roman bishops; behold the snares wherewith these prelates do seek to entangle us, one and all, to wring our money from us, to make slaves of freemen, to disquiet such as would live in peace, being clothed with sheep's clothing when inwardly they be but ravening wolves, sending their legates hither and thither with power to excommunicate, suspend, and punish whom they list, not that they may sow seed, that is the word of God, to fructify, but that they may extort and gather money, and reap that which they never did sow. Thus cometh it to pass, that they spoil the holy churches of God, which should be a refuge for the poor, and the mansion-houses of saints; which our devout and simple parents for that purpose founded that they might be for the refecton of poor men and pilgrims, and for the sustentation of such as were well disposed and religious. But these degenerate varlets, whose own letters alone prove them to be mad, do strive and gape to be both kings and emperors.

*A letter  
of the em-  
peror to  
the king  
of Eng-  
land.*

*Many  
kingdoms  
have ex-  
perience  
of the  
pope's  
practices.*

*The  
church of  
Rome the  
mother of  
mischief.*

*King  
John's  
submis-  
sion to  
the pope  
blamed  
by the  
emperor.*

*Who be  
the ra-  
vening  
wolves in  
sheep's  
clothing.*

*Christ's  
church  
builded in  
humility.*

"Doubtless the primitive church was builded and laid in poverty and simplicity of life, and then as a fruitful mother begat she those her holy children, whom the catalogue of saints now maketh mention of; and verily no other foundation can be laid of any church, than that which is laid by Jesus Christ. But this church, as it swimmeth and walloweth in all superfluity of riches, and doth build and raise the frame in all superfluous wealth and glory, so is it to be feared lest the walls thereof in time fall to decay, and when the walls be

*See  
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The  
pope's  
church is  
all super-  
fluity :  
ergo, the  
pope's  
church  
is not  
Christ's  
church.

down, utter ruin and subversion follow after. He who is the Searcher of all hearts knoweth how furiously these men rage against ourselves, saying, that I did not choose to cross the seas as I had promised at the term prefixed; whereas many unavoidable and arduous matters, pertaining to the pope himself, as well as to the church of God, and also to the empire, besides the annoyance of mine infirmity and sickness, did detain me at home, but especially the insolency of the rebellious Sicilians. For we did not think it sound policy as to our empire, nor expedient for the christian state, that we should take our journey into Asia, leaving behind us at home an intestine and civil war; no more than for a surgeon to lay a healing plaister to a wound in which the weapon is still sticking." In conclusion, he addeth an admonition to all the princes of the world to beware of like peril and danger to themselves from such avarice and iniquity, because that, as the proverb is, "It behoveth him to look about, that seeth his neighbour's house on fire."<sup>1</sup>

Another  
journey  
of the  
emperor  
to Jeru-  
salem.  
*See  
Appendix.*

But now, that Frederic the emperor might in very deed stop the slanders of the cruel pope, who did persist and go forward still in his excommunication against him; and that he might declare to the whole world, how that the last year he foreslowed<sup>2</sup> not his journey by his own voluntary will, but by necessity; when he had devised and prepared all things meet for the war, and had again gathered a large army and refitted his fleet, he departed from Brundisium, committing the government of his kingdom to the son of Reginald, duke of Spoleto, and to Anselm, baron of Justingen, and came by sea to Cyprus, with his host.

The em-  
peror op-  
pressed by  
famine,  
and by  
prayer  
miracuo-  
lously  
relieved.  
*See  
Appendix.*

From Cyprus the emperor with his whole navy sailed to Joppa, which city he fortified; but, for that the passages by land were stopped and kept of the enemies, and by sea might he not pass nor travel by reason of the tempestuousness of the weather, thereby it came to pass, that within short space they lacked victuals, and were sorely afflicted with famine. Then fell they to prayer, and made their humble supplication to God; with whose tears his wrath being appeased, the long-continued foul and tempestuous weather ceased, whereby (the seas now being calm) they had both victual in great plenty and all other necessary things for their need brought unto them; whereby immediately it came to pass, that both the emperor and his army, as also the inhabitants of Joppa, were greatly refreshed and animated, and on the other side their enemies, being disappointed of their purpose, were greatly discouraged; insomuch that the sultan of Egypt, who with a great power, accompanied by Scarapho, his brother, prince of Gaza, and the prince of Damascus, their nephew, with many other dukes and nobles, had encamped themselves within one day's journey of Joppa, thinking to besiege the same, were contented, upon the coming of the emperor's heralds to them, to treat of a peace; whereupon ambassadors were sent unto them with the emperor's demands, right profitable to the christian commonweal. The Saracens, immediately consulting upon the same, granted thereunto; so that a peace for ten years was concluded, and confirmed by solemn oath on the behalf of both princes,<sup>3</sup> according to their several usages and manner: the form and conditions of which peace, briefly collected, are these:—

Peace  
during  
ten years,  
between  
the Turks  
and Chris-  
tians.

1. That Frederic, the emperor, should be anointed king of Jerusalem, according to the manner of the kings of Jerusalem before him.

*See  
Appendix.*

(1) Matth. Paris, p. 69. ["Tunc tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet."]—Ed. 1

(2) "Foreslowed," delayed.—Ed. (3) February 18th, A.D. 1229. L'Art de Ver. des D.—Ed

II. That Jerusalem itself, and all the lands and possessions which were situate betwixt it and Ptolemais, and consequently the greatest part of Palestine, and the cities of Tyre and Sidon in Syria, and all other territories which Baldwin IV. at any time had held, should be delivered unto him, only a few castles reserved.

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III. That he might fortify what cities and towns, fortresses and castles, he thought good, in all Syria and Palestine.

IV. That all the prisoners should be set at liberty without paying any ransom. And, on the other hand, that the Saracens might have leave, unarmed, to come into the church of the Lord's sepulchre outside the city, and for purposes of devotion even into the Temple itself; and that they should hold and keep still Chrath,<sup>1</sup> and the King's Mount.

Frederic now, for that he thought the conclusion of this peace to be so necessary and also profitable for all Christians, and had also gotten as much thereby as if the wars had continued, sent his ambassadors with letters into the West, to all christian kings, princes, and potentates, as also to the bishop of Rome, declaring unto them the circumstance and success of his journey and wars, as partly ye have heard; requiring them that they also would praise and give God thanks for his good success and profitable peace concluded: and desireth the pope, that forasmuch as he had now accomplished his promise, neither was there now any cause wherefore he should be with him displeased, that he might be reconciled and obtain his favour.

*Letters  
of Frederic  
to the  
princes  
and pope  
of his  
success.*

In the mean season, the emperor with all his army marcheth to Jerusalem, where upon Easter-day<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1229 he was, with great triumph and comfort, of all his nobles and also of the magistrates of that kingdom (only the patriarch of Jerusalem, the clergy, the king of Cyprus's ambassador, and Oliver,<sup>3</sup> the grand-master of the Temple, with his knights, excepted) solemnly and with great applause crowned king.

*The emperor  
crowned  
king of  
Jerusalem.*

After this, he re-edifieth the city and walls thereof, which by the Saracens were beaten down and battered. After that, he furnisheth it with munition, he buildeth up the churches and temples that were ruinous, and fortieth Nazareth and Joppa with strong garrisons, victual, and all other things necessary.

Now see and behold, I pray you, whilst that Frederic was thus occupied in the kingdom of Jerusalem, what practices the pope had in Italy; not, I warrant you, any whit at all careful in the affairs of the christian commonwealth, but studying and labouring what mischief and spite he might work against the emperor, whom of a set purpose ye may be sure (partly for hate, and partly to enrich himself), he had so occupied in Asia and Jerusalem, so far out of Italy. First, he caused the soldiers which the emperor sent for out of Germany to the maintenance of the holy wars to be stayed as they passed through Italy, hindering them of their journey, and taking from them and spoiling them of all such provision as they had. And not only this, but he sent secretly also his letters into Asia to those that were of his own faction, that is, to the patriarch of Jerusalem, and to the knights Templars and Hospitallers, enticing and inciting

*The first  
secret  
practice of  
pope Gregory IX.*

*See  
Appendix*

(1) "Chrath præsidium, quod Arabiam spectat." Fazellus.—Ed.

(2) So says Fazellus. Easter-day, 1229, fell on April 15th. But Aventine and others with more probability say, that he arrived at Jerusalem 16 cal. Aprilis, i.e. Saturday March 17, and wore the insignia of royalty the next day.—Ed.

(3) According to the list given in *L'Art de Ver. des Dates*, we should read "Peter" instead of "Oliver," for which, however, Cisner had Fazellus's authority.—Ed.

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them to rebel against the emperor, which thing Blondus himself, that popish parasite or historiographer, dissembleth not. Furthermore, he dissuaded the princes of the Saracens that they should make no league nor take any truce with Frederic, neither deliver up unto him the crown and kingdom of Jerusalem. Which letters, as they were manifest testimonies of his treachery and treason towards him whom God had instituted and made his liege lord and sovereign, and the mightiest potentate upon earth; so was it His will that he should come to the knowledge thereof, and that those letters should fall into his hands. And Frederic, in his epistle to the christian princes just mentioned, declareth that he considered his discovery of the letters quite providential, and that he kept them for the more credible testimony thereof.

The emperor with-standeth the secret treason which the pope had wrought against him at Jerusalem.

*See  
Appendix.*

Neither were the pope's letters written to that leavened and factious sect in vain; for the patriarch of Jerusalem, and his allies the knights Templars,<sup>1</sup> did mightily contend against Frederic. They raised a tumult in Ptolemais against him; they accused him and his ambassadors openly of treason; and did malapertly and boldly withstand the right worthy and good order he made amongst them. But as God would, by the help of the Pisans and the Genoese, and of the knights of the Teutonic order, both their false accusations were refelled, and also their seditious purpose and tumult repressed. And for the same cause when all other men testified unbounded respect and gladness at the inauguration of Frederic, these were making complaints as of an iniquitous compromise, and detracting from his praise.

The second treason of the pope against Frederic.

The pope, when through perfidy he had laid these snares for Frederic, and had betrayed the christian emperor to the public enemy, could not, so soon as he had committed so great a crime, rest satisfied with one piece of wickedness, but must contrive another against him. For, by reason of those slanders (which a little before I mentioned) of the death and slaughter of his wife Iolc, he incited John de Brienne, his father-in-law, to make war against him, who caused the subjects of his empire to withdraw from him their allegiance, as also the inhabitants of Picenum, and those of Lombardy. And thus, joining themselves together, they craved further aid of the French king, whereby they made a great power. That done, they divided their host into two armies, invading with the one the empire, and with the other the proper territories and ditions belonging to the inheritance of Frederic; John de Brienne and Pandulph Savellanus leading the one into Campania and the kingdom of Naples; the other with John Columna, cardinal and legate, and Thomas, before convicted of treason, Gregory sendeth into Picenum.

The pope's generals and leaders of his host.

*See  
Appendix.*

Of this treason of the pope against Frederic during his wars in Asia doth also Matthew Paris make mention, "who," saith he, "purposed to have deposed him, and to have placed any other, he cared not whom (so that he were the child of peace and obedience), in his stead."<sup>2</sup> And for the more certainty thereof, the said Matthew Paris<sup>3</sup> repeateth the letter which a certain earl sent unto him in Syria

(1) Fazellus adds the Venetians.—Ed.

(2) "Alium quolibet filium pacis et obedientie loco ejus subrogare" Matth. Paris.

(3) Ibid. fol. 71. [The following translation is revised from the original.—Ed.]



concerning the same, which letter hereunder ensueth word for word.

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To his most excellent lord, Frederic, by the grace of God emperor of the Romans, and ever Augustus, and most puissant king of Sicily, Thomas, earl of Acerra, his faithful and devoted subject in all things, health and victory over his enemies. After your departure, most excellent prince, Gregory, the bishop of Rome and the public enemy of your magnificence, gathering together a great host by John de Brienne, late king of Jerusalem, and other stout captains, whom he hath made generals of the same his host, in hostile manner invading your dominions and the possessions of your subjects, aimeth against the law of christianity to subdue you with the material sword, whom he cannot master with the spiritual sword, as he saith. For the aforesaid John de Brienne, gathering out of France and other countries adjoining a considerable army, in hope (if he can but master you) of getting the empire himself, is supplied with the money to pay his troops from the papal treasury. And furthermore, the same John and others, the captains of the apostolic see, invading your land, burn and destroy all as they go, and carry off for booty as well cattle as other things; and such as they take prisoners, they constrain, by afflicting them with grievous tortures, to ransom themselves for great sums of money; neither spare they man, woman, nor child, except such as may have taken sanctuary in the churches and churchyards; they take your towns and castles, having no regard to the fact that you be engaged in the service of Jesus Christ; and if any make mention of your majesty unto him, the aforesaid John saith, there is none other emperor but himself. Your friends and subjects, most excellent prince, and especially the clergy of the empire, do much marvel hereupon with what conscience or upon what consideration the bishop of Rome can do such things, making such bloody wars upon christian men; especially seeing that Christ commanded Peter, when he struck with the material sword, to put up the same into the scabbard, saying, "All that strike with the sword, shall perish with the sword:" equally do they marvel, by what right he almost daily excommunicateth pirates, incendiaries, and torturers of christians, and separateth them from the unity of the church, when he is the patron and maintainer of such himself. Wherefore, most mighty emperor, I beseech you to provide for your own safety, for that the said John de Brienne, your enemy, hath placed in all the seaports this side the sea armed scouts in great number; that if (not knowing thereof) your grace should happen to arrive in any of them, he might apprehend and take you prisoner; which thing to chance, God forfend.

Whilst the host of this hostile enemy the pope was thus encamped in the dominions of Frederic, he received the letters which Frederic by his ambassadors sent into Europe, as you heard, whereby he understood the good success he had in Asia; who not only took no delectation at all therein, but was also in a vehement perturbation therewith. Whereby manifestly it may appear, what was the cause and meaning of the pope, that he was so solicitous and urgent to have Frederic, the emperor, make a voyage into Asia. Doubtless even the same that Pelias had, when by his instigation he procured Jason, with all the chosen youth and flower of Greece, to sail into Colchis to fetch away the golden fleece; viz., that by the opportunity of his absence he might use, or rather abuse, his power and tyranny; and that Frederic might either be long afflicted and molested in the Asiatic war, or that he might perish and lose his life therein, was that he sought, and all that he desired.

*What  
meaning  
the pope  
had to  
send Fre-  
deric to  
fight  
against  
the Turk.*

And when he saw that fortune neither favoured his fetches, nor served his longing lust, he was as a man bereft of his wits, specially at these tidings of the prosperous success of the emperor. He threw his letters on the ground, and with all opprobrious words rebuked and reviled the ambassadors for the emperor their master's sake; which thing also Blondus himself denieth not, though he writeth

*The pope  
chafeth  
and fret-  
teth at  
the pros-  
perous  
success  
of the  
emperor*

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Blondus  
reproved,  
who wrote  
so greatly  
in the  
pope's  
favour.  
*See  
Appendix.*

altogether in favour of the pope. And to the intent that he might cover this his rage and unbridled fury with some cloak and colour of reasonable dolour, he feigned himself therefore so much to mislike the peace, as though the emperor therein had only respected his own private commodiety, not regarding the utility of the Christians; for that the Saracens had license, although without armour and weapon, to have repair unto the sepulchre of Christ, and had left for them somewhat near the same a hostery or lodging place; for which cause, saith Blondus, the pope reviled the emperor to his ambassadors as a perfidious traitor. Now go to, friend Blondus; by what strong arguments prove you and your lord pope, either that the peace which the emperor had concluded was against the christian commonwealth, or that the emperor was a traitor? But who is it that seeth not these things, either by reading of old and ancient writers, or else partly by me who have gathered and collected the same out of divers monuments and histories,—I mean, the conspiracies and treasons of your good lord the pope, so notable and filthy, as also his manifest baseness and infamy? What? there be divers that write how the pope commanded these ambassadors of Frederic to be made secretly out of the way, and also how he commanded divers soldiers, returning out of Asia, to be slain; to the intent that none should hear the report of those good news which were in Asia, nor any go thither to tell the fetches he had in hand at home. But I will make report of no more than of those things which all the writers, with most consent, agree upon. 'This is most certain, that the pope caused a rumour to be spread of the capture and death of the emperor, with the design of craftily obtaining the submission of those cities in the kingdom of Naples, which yet kept their allegiance unto Frederic, of whom they should now hope no longer for refuge. And of that doth the emperor, in his epistle entitled '*Levate oculos,*' greatly against him complain.

The third  
practice of  
pope Gre-  
gory.

Setteth  
the son  
against  
the fa-  
ther, as a  
good fa-  
ther of  
peace.

Henry,  
the Caesar,  
at the  
pope's  
entice-  
ment put-  
teth from  
him his  
trusty coun-  
sellors.

*See  
Appendix.*

Great are these injuries of the pope against Frederic, and most wicked were these treasons. But herewith could not his cruel and tyrannical mind be contented, nor yet his lust satisfied, but it so far exceeded, as scarcely is credible that it could: for he presumed not only to set variance between Henry (whom Frederic his father had caused to be made king of Germany) and him, but also by his allurements he caused him to become an enemy to him. To whom when his father had assigned Louis, duke of Bavaria, to be his overseer and counsellor (neither knew he amongst all the princes of Germany a man more faithful to him in his office and duty, or else more virtuous, or else more grave and apt to be in authority), Henry, fearing lest, if he should come to know of these secret counsels which he with the conspirators had in hand against his father, he would either utter the same to his father, or else would go about to dissuade him from what he was purposed to do, dismissed him from the court and from the senate. And this was the fetch of all their policy, that together and at one instant, but in divers and sundry places far one from another, sharp and cruel war might be made against the emperor; so that his power being distracted by having several contests on his hands at once, he might be the more easily overwhelmed.

When the emperor now understood what stir the pope kept in all his dominions in his absence, having set every thing in order in his

kingdom of Jerusalem, and feeling that not a moment must be lost in defeating the pope's purpose and confirming in their friendship those who in his absence had been steady to their allegiance, he left in Asia Reynaldus<sup>1</sup> in charge of certain garrisons, and, ordering the rest of the army to follow, he himself came with all speed in two galleys to Calabria. He tarried twenty days at Berletta, waiting for his army from beyond sea: during which time he assembled his friends and mustered what forces he could. Here he was joined by the duke of Spoleto; and at length moving thence, he came with all his host into Apulia, and removed John de Brienne, his father-in-law, from the siege of Calatia, and within short time by God's help recovered again all his holds and dominions there. And from thence going into Campania he winneth Benevento, and as many other towns and holds as the pope had there, even almost to Rome, and so, after that, Umbria and Picenum. But even now, although the emperor had obtained the means of an immediate entrance upon the pope's dominions, whereby he might have taken revenge of all the injuries done to him (being moved thereunto upon good occasion and upon the pope's worthy desert); yet notwithstanding, because he preferred nothing before the tranquillity of Christendom, for the love of which he restrained his wrath so vehemently urged and kindled, he sendeth unto him ambassadors to entreat a peace, declaring unto him, that if he had no other conceived grudge towards him than that which he pretended, he promiseth that he would make to him a voluntary account of all things that ever he had done in his life, and that he would submit himself unto the church; and also that for this cause he willingly offered unto him both duty and observance. Furthermore, with a view to the entreating of this peace and investigating the causes of the controversies between himself and the pope, he sent to Rome the noblest and chiefest about him, as Barthold, the patriarch of Aquileia, and his brother Otho,<sup>2</sup> prince of Dalmatia and Istria, Everhard, archbishop of Saltzburg, Sifrid, bishop of Ratisbon, Sibot, bishop of Augsburg, Leopold, duke of Austria and Styria, and Bernard, duke of Carinthia.

But yet so great was the insolency and pride of that stubborn pope, that by no gentleness or beneficence he of those princes could be brought that year to the profitable concord of the church and Christian commonweal. O worthy head! that challengeth all authority to himself in the church of Christ, and in respect of his own wilful revenge setteth nothing by the health and utility of all Christendom! When, therefore, nothing could be done in the matter for that time, the most part of these noblemen departed from Rome. At length, in the following year, peace was made between them by the interposition and management of Leopold of Austria, Herman, master of the Teutonic order, and the archbishop of Messina. The pope then absolving the emperor Frederic of his excommunication,<sup>3</sup> took of him there-for one hundred and twenty thousand ounces of gold, restoring to him again the titles both of his empire, and also of his kingdoms. Now, considering the uncourteous dealing of the pope with Frederic the emperor herein, who can sufficiently muse

*History of  
Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.*

A.D.  
1230.

The emperor returneth secretly out of Asia.  
*See  
Appendix.*

God prospereth  
Frederic  
in all his  
affairs.

The pope refuseth peace with the emperor.

*See  
Appendix*

The price of the emperor's absolution.

(1) "Raynaldum Bavarum, magistrum equitum." Fazellus: others call him "Richard Felingher."—Ed.

(2) Called also "duke of Merania." See L'Art de V. des D. v. Meranie.—Ed.

(3) August 28th, A.D. 1230. L'Art de Ver. des D.—Ed.

*History of  
Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.*

A.D.  
1230.

and marvel at the unshamefastness of Blondus, who hath the face to write, that the pope, notwithstanding, had dealt more gently and courteously with Frederic than was meet, or becomed him to do?

Who is it that doth not see his manifest flattery, coloured neither with reason, nor secret dissimulation? But much more truly and better writeth Cuspinian concerning this matter, who saith, that the pope doth occupy very profitable merchandise, who for so much money selleth that he received freely, paying nothing there-for, if he had received it of Christ indeed, as he saith he had.

And yet, although this peace which the emperor concluded with the pope was so unprofitable for himself, yet he performed those things that were agreed upon faithfully and diligently. But the pope, who thought it but a trifle to break his promise, would not stand to the conditions of the peace he made. For by the way, to pass over other things, neither had he restored, as he promised, his rights in the kingdom of Sicily, neither yet the city Castellana, which he before the peace concluded between them did occupy and enjoy. And that doth both Frederic in his epistles testify, and also Fazellus in the eighth book of his 'de rebus Siculis.' Yet that notwithstanding, Frederic, for the quietness and utility of the commonwealth, purposed with himself to bear and suffer all these injuries, and further studied in all he might, as well by liberal gifts as otherwise, to have the pope to be to him a trusty friend. As, when the Romans and other of the ecclesiastical number made war against the pope for certain possessions which he kept of theirs, he, coming to him at Reati, offered his own son as a hostage for his fidelity to the church of Rome, and as one that tendered the unity of the church, and thinking to help the pope in these matters, at his earnest request sent his ambassadors unto them, willing them to lay down their armour which against the pope they bare. And when that would not serve, at the pope's further request and desire he levied an army against them at his own charge, and drave them from the siege of Viterbo; with other such-like assured tokens of amity and friendship which he showed him: who, notwithstanding, as soon as the emperor was departed with a small company which he took with him into Sicily, leaving with him the greater and most part of his army for the maintenance of his wars, concluded a peace with the Romans unknown to the emperor, whom he had procured to travail and labour therein with great expenses; affirming, that without his will and commandment the emperor had expelled them, and driven them out of the territories of Viterbo. And hereof doth Frederic also himself make mention in his second and third epistles, where he complaineth of the injuries of the pope towards him. Therefore greater commendation had Blondus deserved, if he had acknowledged these treacheries of the pope, instead of asserting as he does—both contrary to the tenor of his own narrative (forgetting himself, as unto liars it often chanceth), and contrary to the truth of Frederic's history—that the Romans were incited to these tumults by his enticing and setting on. As though men of common understanding could not gather the contrary, both by the offering of his son as a hostage, by his great preparation for the war, and by the event especially of the thing itself. But too, too impudent, will Blondus needs show himself.

*See  
Appendix.*

What beneficence the emperor useth to have the pope's friendship, which he shall never get.

A well-recompensed good turn of the pope to the emperor.

*See  
Appendix.*

Whilst that these things were passing in Italy and Sicily, great rebellions were moved in Germany against the emperor, Henry the Cæsar, his own son, and Frederic duke of Austria, being the chief authors thereof. For Henry, as ye heard, had been alienated from his father and perverted by the lord pope and those of his faction, and was secretly aiming at the empire. And for that cause, as before is said, he put from him Louis, whom he knew to be unto the emperor, his father, so loving and assured a friend; who as willingly (perceiving and smelling what mischief he went about) forsook his court, and went to Bavaria; who had not been there much above a year, when, as he walked abroad at Kelheim, he was wounded with a mortal blow, and presently died, his servants being not far from him; of whose death divers diversely write. Notwithstanding, the sequel doth show them to write truliest, who affirm the assassin to be suborned by Henry the Cæsar, who coming unto him in the habit of a messenger, delivered unto him certain letters, which he feigned to be sent from the emperor; and whilst Louis was reading the same, he stabbed him with a dagger, and gave him his mortal wound, and with speed fled upon the same. After whose death succeeded in that dukedom his son Otho, who, when solemnly according to the manner of the Bavarians he should have been created, was also let by the same Henry the Cæsar, who forbade the assembly of the magistrates and citizens of the same. They notwithstanding, neglecting his unjust restraint, created him; wherefore he first besieged Ratisbon, and with another company sacked, burnt, and wasted Bavaria; with many more such great outrages and rebellions.

When intelligence was brought of these things to the emperor, he sent his ambassadors, and commanded that both the Cæsar, his son, and the other princes of Germany who had assembled their armies should break up and disperse the same; and because he saw and perceived now manifestly that his son made such open rebellion against him, and fearing greater insurrections to ensue in Germany, he thought good to prevent the same with all expedition; wherefore he determined to go in all haste into Germany with his army, from whence he had been absent now fourteen years, and hereunto he maketh the pope privy. The pope promised the emperor hereupon, that he would write his letters in his behalf to all the princes of Germany; but persuaded him to the uttermost of his power, that he should in no case go into Germany himself. For why? his conscience accused him that he had written to the nobles of Germany, even from the beginning of his papacy (for the hate and grudge he had against the emperor), that they should not suffer him neither any of his heirs to enjoy the empire; and, further, had stirred them all up to rebel against him, and had moved Henry, the emperor's son, by his bribes and fair promises, to conspire against his father; and to conclude, he was the author and procurer of the conspiracy which the Lombards made then against him; and fearing lest these things should come now to the emperor's ear, he was greatly troubled and careful. But the emperor not thinking it good at so needful a time to be absent, he (all doubt set apart) with his second son Conrad went speedily into Germany. Assembling there a council in the city of Mentz,<sup>1</sup> Henry the Cæsar, his son, after his

*History of  
Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.*

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1235.

The emperor's  
son rebels  
against  
his father.  
*See  
Appendix.*

Wicked  
murder by  
Henry, the  
Cæsar, for  
true and  
faithful  
service

His  
outrages  
against  
the emperor  
his father.

The emperor  
fourteen  
years out  
of Germany.

The pope  
feareth  
that his  
treason  
should be  
spied by  
the emperor.

Henry,  
the Cæsar,  
condemned  
of treason,  
and  
dieth in prison.

*See  
Appendix.*

(1) August, 1235. L'Art de Verif. des D.—Ed.



*History of  
Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.*

A. D.  
1235.

Frederic  
of Austria  
proclaim-  
ed an open  
enemy to  
his coun-  
try, and  
disin-  
herited.  
*See  
Appendix.*

The em-  
peror  
marrieth  
King  
John's  
daughter  
of Eng-  
land.

The pope  
again be-  
ginneeth to  
play his  
part.

*See  
Appendix.*

conspiracy was manifestly detected, which he had in practice with the Lombards (whereof the pope was chief author), was by judgment and sentence of seventy princes condemned of high treason, and being commanded by his father to be bound, was as prisoner brought to Apulia, where, eight years after (A.D. 1242) he died in prison; in whose stead he ordained Conrad, his second son, Cæsar, by consent of all the peers and princes. Furthermore, he proscribed Frederic of Austria, for refusing obedience to his commands, and caused him to be proclaimed for an enemy to the public weal. And further, when he saw that punishment would neither cause him to remember himself, nor to acknowledge his offences, the emperor, with a great army, accompanied by divers of the noblemen of Germany, took from him all Austria and Styria, and brought them under his own obedience and fidelity.

The same year the emperor married his third wife, named Isabella, the daughter of King John of England. Then, when he had set Germany in a stay and quietness, he left there Conrad the Cæsar, his son, and with his host returneth again into Italy, there to punish such as with Henry, his eldest son, had conspired against him; whose treasons were all detected at the condemnation of Henry Cæsar, his son, chiefly set on by the pope. When the pope had understanding that the emperor with warlike furniture marched toward Italy, although he feigned himself reconciled and to be a friend to Frederic, yet was he, notwithstanding, to him a most secret and infestive enemy; and, understanding that he brought with him such a power both of horsemen and footmen to do execution of such as he understood to have been conspirators against him in the late tumult and rebellion, those who were faulty herein and guilty, and all other who took their parts, he admonished to join themselves together, and that they should furnish strongly their cities with garrisons, that they should send for aid to their friends, and that, with all the force they were able, they should prepare them for the war. The rest of the cities also in Italy, whether they were the emperor's or his own, he endeavoureth to make them all his, and proper to himself.

Furthermore, unto the emperor the pope sendeth his legates: to whom he gave secret commandment that they should prohibit his coming with an army within the borders of Italy, under pretence of preserving the peace which he had some time since proclaimed to be observed throughout Christendom in order to help the holy war; and also to say, not by way of entreaty, but commandingly, that what cause of controversy he had with the Lombards, the same he should commit to him, and stand to his arbitrement. Whereunto the emperor replying maketh his legate this answer:—

“The very day,” saith he, “the peace was made between the pope and me, he called me for a chief defence both of the church and himself against the Romans who made war with him; and at his request, with mine own proper charge I maintained that his war, and gave his enemies the overthrow.” He thence argued that the pope would not now do well, through the pretence of peace, to be a hindrance to him from that which both by law and right he might and ought to do; viz. from putting himself in a condition with force to restrain and expel those who gathered themselves together as rebels, and to subdue and punish as they deserved those who had renounced their allegiance to him and his government, and had hindered soldiers

and others whom he had sent for on the public service from getting to him, and had in many ways wickedly plotted his destruction. And touching that which the pope demanded of him, that he should commit and defer so great a cause, whereon the well-being and safety of the empire depended, to his arbitrement, by him to be determined, without any limitation of time or any condition annexed, or any saving clause in favour of his imperial dignity or the rights of the empire, he could not (he said) but marvel, seeing that neither it appertained to his calling and faculty, nor to the benefit and commoditv of the empire. To this effect writeth Frederic himself in his last epistle.

*History of  
Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.  
A. D.  
1239.  
See  
Appendix.*

And in the same his letter he showeth, that when the emperor at a certain time had been with the pope, at his going away he requested, that when he came again, he would come into Italy only with his household-band and family; for that if he should come as before he did accustom with his army, he should terrify them overmuch; "amongst whom," saith he, "you may assure yourself to be in great safety, and find all things in rest and quiet;" when quite contrary, as the emperor for a certainty found, he had there all things ready and prepared for his destruction; so that when he pretended unto him greatest friendship, he was busiest in conspiring his death. The certain time when the pope had this exercise in hand against the emperor I cannot search out, neither may it be in his epistles easily found out, as they generally bear no date.

*Secret  
conspira-  
cy of the  
pope  
against  
the em-  
peror.*

The emperor then, as he had determined, prosecuted his purpose and marched into Italy, where he brought under his subjection those cities that against him rebelled, as Mantua, Verona, Treviso, Padua, and others. And then he afterwards set upon the great host of the Milanese, the Breschians, the Piacenzans, and other confederators, unto whom the pope's legate, Gregory Longomontanus, had joined himself; of whom he partly took prisoners, partly slew, ten thousand persons, and among the former their general, being the Podesta, or chief magistrate, of the city of Milan, named Petro Tiepolo, the son of the doge of Venice, and took their Caroccio<sup>1</sup> with all their ensigns. And in this campaign, especially at the recovering of the March of Treviso, he used the friendly aid of Actiolinus,<sup>2</sup> A. D. 1239.

*The  
emperor  
marcheth  
into Italy,  
notwith-  
standing  
the pope's  
forbid-  
ding.  
See  
Appendix*

The pope, now somewhat dismayed at this overthrow of his confederates and mates, though not much, began yet somewhat to fear the emperor; and whereas before, that which he did he wrought secretly and by others, now he goeth to work with might and main to subdue and deprive the emperor. But, although the emperor saw and perceived what inward hate and mortal malice he bare towards him, not only by that he so apertly stood with his conspirators against him, but also that on every side he heard and from all parts was brought him certain word how greatly he laboured against him, with opprobrious words, and naughty reports and slanders, to the intent to pull from him the hearts and fidelity of his subjects, and make those that were his friends his enemies, neither that he meant at any time to take up and cease from such evil and wicked practices; yet

*The em-  
peror loth  
to break  
the peace*

(1) See Appendix.

(2) An eminent Ghibelin captain of that period, called also Ezzelin, Ecclin, and Iceilin. See Moreri.—ED.

*History of  
Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.*

A. D.  
1239.

The pope  
refuseth  
to speak  
with the  
emperor's  
ambassa-  
dors.

*See  
Appendix.*

Hireth  
galleys to  
spoil the  
coasts of  
the empe-  
ror.

Edict  
against  
the em-  
peror.

*See  
Appendix*

notwithstanding, for that there should be no default in him found for the breach of the league and peace between them a little before concluded, he sendeth four ambassadors to the bishop of Rome, the archbishops of Palermo and Florence, the bishop of Reggio, and Thaddeus de Suessâ, who should answer unto and refute those criminous objections which he laid unto him, as also make him privy to his purpose, and what he meant to do, thereby to declare his innocency towards him in such causes, and his simplicity.

The pope, when he understood these ambassadors to be not far off from Rome, and knew the cause of their coming, thinking with himself, that in hearing the excuse and reasonable answer of the emperor, perhaps he might be provoked to desist from his purpose, and so degenerate from the example of his predecessors, refuseth to speak with them; and at the day appointed pronounceth the sentence of proscription against him, depriving him of all his dignities, honours, titles, prerogatives, kingdoms, and whole empire. And, that the pope had no occasion herunto, beside Pandolpho Colenuccio the emperor's own letters plainly shew; in short he seems to have been bent on Frederic's ruin. Looking about for suitable instruments, he cast his eye on Jacomo Tiepolo, doge of Venice, whom, for the displeasure he must have conceived at the emperor's imprisoning of his son, he doubted not to win over to his schemes: Blondus in fact asserts that this was the pope's chief reliance amidst the troubles which surrounded him. He therefore wrote him a highly complimentary letter, in which he styles him lord of the fourth part of Croatia and Dalmatia, and of half the Roman empire, and solicits his aid against Frederic. Further, inviting the Venetians and Genoese, who were at variance touching some naval interests, to refer their dispute to him, he made peace between them, and covenanted with them upon this condition, that at their joint charges they should rig and man five-and-twenty galleys, which should spoil and burn all along the sea-coasts of the kingdoms and dominions of Frederic.

Further, when the pope saw the good will and fidelity which the Germans bare unto the emperor, and saw also what aid the emperor had of them, and that he was not likely to win them to his purpose, then had he recourse again to his old crafty practices and subtleties. Above all he resolved to sow dissension, if possible, among the German nobility. To this end, he devised to put forth an edict at Rome, addressed to the christian world at large, the beginning whereof is, "Ascendit de mari bellica bestia;"<sup>1</sup> wherein he declareth the causes wherefore he curseth and giveth the emperor to the devil of hell, and dejected him from all his princely dignity. He in the same accuseth him of so many and so huge a heap of mischiefs, as to nominate them my heart detesteth. For besides that he denies to his sovereign lord, the emperor, the very name of a man, he slandereth him of treason, perjury, cruelty, sacrilege, killing of his kind, and all impiety; he accuseth him for a heretic, a schismatic, and a misercant; and to be brief, what mischief soever the pope can devise, with that doth he charge him and burden him. "All this doth he," saith the pope, "that when he hath brought our holiness and all the ecclesiastical



estate to beggary, he might scoff at, and deride the religion of Christ." *History of Frederic II. Emperor.*  
 This edict he sendeth by the hands of divers his creatures into Germany. And now, for that the pope had a great and special trust in one Albert Beham,<sup>1</sup> dean of the cathedral at Passau (a man of good family, but as crafty an apostle as the best), as one whom he saw ready to lean to his lust, to him the pope delivered, besides the aforesaid edict, also two mandates in separate letters, in which he commanded all bishops, prelates, and other of the clergy, that they should solemnly recite the said edict in their churches instead of their sermon, showing how he had excommunicate Frederic out of the fellowship of christian men, and had put him from the procuration or government of the empire, and that he had released all his subjects from their allegiance and fidelity towards him; and furthermore chargeth them and all other christian men, under pain of cursing and damnation, that neither they should succour the emperor, nor yet so much as wish him well. Thus he, being the pope's special and trusty servitor, and made to his hand, caused a most horrible confusion and chaos of public quietness, as shall hereafter appear.

Threateneth to curse those that wish well to the emperor.

Amongst all other noblemen of Germany at that time was Otho, the palatine of the Rhine and duke of Bavaria, both towards the emperor most serviceable, and also a prince of great honour, riches, and estimation. This prince, both with fair promises and also rewards, Albert seduced from him; for that he was made by him to believe, that Louis, his father, of whom we spake before,<sup>2</sup> was by the emperor murdered and slain. And the same Otho again caused three other princes to revolt from the emperor to the pope, who were his neighbours and intimate friends, viz. Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, Bela, king of Hungary, and Henry, duke of Poland and Silesia. To whom came also Frederic, ex-duke of Austria, who, because he was proscribed or outlawed by the emperor and had his dukedom taken away from him, as you heard,<sup>3</sup> was easily won to the pope. These resolved to translate the empire unto the son of the king of Denmark, and requested of the pope to send his legates to an assembly which they would convene for that purpose.

Divers princes of Germany, by the pope's means, forsake the emperor.

See Appendix.

The emperor was at Padua when news was brought to him of what the pope had done at Rome. He therefore commanded Peter de Vineis, his secretary, on Easter-day to make an oration to the people of his great and liberal munificence to the bishops and church of Rome, and, again, of the injuries done by them towards him in recompense thereof; of his innocency also in that whereof he had been accused, and of the unseemliness of such treatment; of the right use of the ecclesiastical censure; and of the errors and abuses of the church of Rome. By which oration of his he so removed from many men's hearts the cloud of blind superstition, and the conceived opinion of holiness of the church of Rome and bishops of the same, and also of their usurped power and subtle persuasion, that they both plainly saw and perceived the vices and filthiness of the church of Rome and of the bishops of that see, as also their fraudulent deceits and flagitious doings, most vehemently lamenting

What good the oration of Peter of Venice did for the emperor.

(1) "Albertus Behamus (ipse Boiemum nominat)." Clsner.—F.D.

(2) See *suprà*, p. 477.—E.D.

(3) See *suprà*, p. 478.—E.D.

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and complaining of the same. Alberic maketh mention of certain verses which were sent and written between the bishop of Rome and the emperor, which verses in the latter end of this present history of Frederic you shall find.

The emperor, moreover, both by his letters and ambassadors, giveth intelligence unto all christian kings, to the princes of his own empire, to the college of cardinals, and to the people of Rome, as well of the feigned crimes wherewith he was charged, as also of the cruelty of the bishop of Rome against him. The copy of which letter or epistle here followeth.

### The Emperor to the Prelates of the World.<sup>1</sup>

The emperor's letter to all prelates, to bridle the pope and restrain him of his will.

Man being made of two parts hath two several regiments, God's word, and the material sword.

Apology of the emperor to the pope's edict, beginning "Ascendit de mari," &c.

Antichrist long ago descried to the world by the emperor.

Confession of the emperor's faith, wherof he was accused by the pope.

In the beginning and creation of the world, the wise and ineffable providence of God (who asketh counsel of none) placed in the firmament of heaven two lights, a greater and a less, the greater to govern the day, and the less to govern the night, which two are so allotted to their proper offices and duties in the zodiac, that although oftentimes the one move obliquely to the other, yet the one does not run against the other; nay the superior doth communicate his light to the inferior. Even so, the same eternal foreknowledge hath appointed upon the earth two regiments, that is to say priesthood and kingly power; the one for knowledge and wisdom, the other for defence; that man, who in his two component parts had too long run riot, might have two reins to govern and bridle him withal, and so peace thereby and love might dwell upon the face of the earth, all excesses being restrained. But, alas! the bishop of Rome of our time, sitting in the chair of perverse doctrine, that pharisee anointed with the oil of iniquity above his fellows, is endeavouring to set aside the fact that he is but an inferior imitation of the celestial order, and fancies perhaps that he is to correspond in all particulars with those heavenly bodies on high which are impelled by their nature not by will. Accordingly, he purposeth to bring under an eclipse the brightness of our majesty, whilst that (substituting fable for truth) he sends his papal letters, stuffed with lies, into sundry parts of the world; out of his own ill temper, and upon no reasonable cause, discrediting the purity of our religious character. For this—pope in name only—hath declared us to be "the beast rising out of the sea full of names of blasphemy and spotted like a leopard."<sup>2</sup> But we say, that he is himself that beast of whom we thus read: "And there went forth another horse that was red out of the sea, and he that sat on him took peace away out of the earth, that the dwellers upon the earth should destroy one another."<sup>3</sup> For since the time of his promotion, he, acting as a father not of mercies but of discord, and as a promoter of desolation instead of consolation, hath excited all the world to commit offence. And, to take his own allusions in their right sense and interpretation, he is that "great dragon that deceived the whole world;" he is that Antichrist, of whom he hath called us the forerunner; he is another Balaam, hired for money to curse us; the chief among those princes of darkness, who have abused prophecies: he is that angel leaping out of the sea, having the vials filled with bitterness, that he may hurt both the sea and the land. For this counterfeit vicar of Christ hath inserted among his other fables that we do not rightly believe in the Christian faith, and that we have said that the world is deceived by three impostors. But God forbid that such a thing should have escaped our lips; seeing that we openly confess the only Son of God, coeternal and coequal with the Father and the Holy Ghost, our Lord Jesus Christ, begotten from the beginning and before the worlds, and in process of time sent down upon the earth for the succour of mankind; not by delegated, but by his own, power; who was born of the glorious Virgin Mary, and after that suffered and died as touching the flesh; and that, by virtue of his godhead, the other nature which he assumed in the womb of his mother rose from death the third day. But we have learned that the body

(1) Corrected and revised from the original in "Petri de Vineis Frederici II. Epistolæ," lib. i. ep. 31.—Edo.

(2) Rev. xiii. 1, 2.—Edo.

(3) Ib. chap. vi. 4.—Edo.

of Mahomet hangeth in the air beset by devils, and that his soul is in hell-torments; whose works were contrary to the law of the Most High. We hold also, being taught by the page of truth, that Moses was the familiar friend of God, and that he talked with God in Mount Sinai; unto whom the Lord appeared at the burning bush (Exod. iii. 4), by whom also he wrought signs and wonders in Egypt, and delivered the law to the Hebrew nation; and that afterwards he showed him in glory with the elect. In regard of these and other things our enemy and envier of our state, bringing a scandal on a true son of Mother Church, hath written against us venomous and lying slander, and hath sent the same to the whole world. But if he had rightly followed the Apostle's mind,<sup>1</sup> and had not preferred passion, which beareth such sway with him, before reason, he would not have written such things, at the suggestion of men who call light darkness and evil good, and who suspect honey to be gall; and all for the opinion they have conceived of a place in the prophecies of scripture,<sup>2</sup> which indeed is both weak and infirm for their purpose, since by opinion truth may be converted into falsehood and vice versâ. But surely men ought not to be splitting opinions, which may be true or false and cannot be made matters of faith, at the very door (as it were) of the pope's conscience.

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The pope,  
under  
pretence  
of his  
holiness,  
deceiveth  
simple  
souls and  
ignorant  
men.

Seeing all these things, we are compelled not a little to marvel, and it doth also much disquiet our minds, when we perceive that you, who are the foundations of the church, the pillars of righteousness, the assessors of Peter, the senators of the great city, and the hinges of the world, have not qualified the motion of so fierce a judge; as do the planets of heaven in their kind, which to mitigate the passing swift course of a great orb draw a contrary way by their opposite movings. In very deed, imperial felicity hath always from the beginning been spurned at by papal envy. As Simonides, being demanded why he had no enemies and enviers of his estate, answered and said, "because I have had no good success in any thing that ever I took in hand;" so, for that we have had prosperous success in all our enterprises by the blessing of God (especially in the overthrow unto death of our rebellious enemies the Lombards, to whom in their good quarrel he had promised life), this is the cause wherefore this apostolical bishop mourneth, and now goeth about with the aid of your counsels to impugn this our felicity. But perhaps he vaunteth himself in his power of binding and loosing. Wherever virtue, however, is wanting to power, there presently doth abuse take place: this we see exemplified in him who was so mighty a king and so eminent a prophet, and yet had to crave the restitution of God's Holy Spirit, when he had polluted the dignity of his office. But as things which ought not to be loosed are not to be loosed, so things that ought not to be bound are not to be bound: which thing is manifestly proved from that passage of holy scripture, "they slay the souls that should not die, and save the souls alive that should not live."<sup>3</sup> Therefore God is able to humble and bring down those that are unworthy of power, as much as him pleaseth and when him pleaseth, for God can do all things. Doubtless, if this bishop of Rome were a true pontiff indeed, he would keep himself "harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners:" he would not then be an offerer of dissentious sacrifice, but a peaceable offerer of love and charity; and he would cense, not with the incense of grief and hatred, but with the sweet-smelling incense of concord and unity; neither yet would he alter "suum pontificium in maleficium," that is, make of a sanctified office an execrable abuse. If he were a true pontiff, he would not wrest the preaching of the word to produce contention. Nor will we be accused of being an enemy to mother church in so saying, which mother church is holy in herself, whom with all reverence we worship and with honour we embrace, so beautified and adorned with God's holy sacraments. Some individuals notwithstanding, who are slaves of corruption though they have gone out from the midst of her, we utterly reject. And forso much as the injuries wherewith our majesty is continually molested are not transitory, and that we cannot quietly abide them, nor ought we in very deed to relax our authority, therefore we are enforced to take revenge upon them. You, therefore, that are men of better counsels, and have the excellent gift of wisdom and understanding, restrain you that roaring enemy of ours from these his pro-

The an-  
swer of  
Simon-  
ides ap-  
plied.

The em-  
peror pro-  
phesieth  
of the  
pope's  
fall.

Utterly  
rejecteth  
the pope  
and  
church  
of Rome.

(1) 2 Peter i. 20, 21, is probably referred to.—ED.

(2) Rev. xiii. 1, 2.—ED.

(3) Ezek. xiii. 19.—ED.

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ceedings, whose beginnings are so wicked and detestable; wisely forecasting from preceding cases the consequences which must follow in the present instance. Otherwise you that are under our subjection, as well in the empire as in our other dominions, shall feel and perceive what revenge by sword Augustus shall take, both of his chief enemy and persecutor, and also of the princes that are his fautors and adherents.

Calleth a  
parlia-  
ment or  
council to  
express  
the pope's  
will.

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Appendix.*

This done, he commands, by proclamation, a soleinn parliament or council of all the princes, and other nobility of the empire, to assemble at Ægra; whither came Conrad the Cæsar, the archbishop of Mentz, the Saxon dukes, the lords of Brandenburg, Misnia, and Thuringia, and the representatives of all the nobles of Brabant, to aid the emperor. But Wenceslaus and Otho refusing to attend, and offering through their ambassadors to mediate between the contending parties (in which offer the Austrians likewise joined), the council became divided in opinion, and separated without doing anything for the emperor. Then Frederic of Austria (whom the emperor had deprived, as ye heard) by the aid of the Bavarians and Bohemians recovered again the dukedoms of Austria and Styria, putting to flight and discomfiting the emperor's bands and garrisons which he had there.

Bishops  
of Ger-  
many are  
obedient  
to their  
prince.

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But though the pope's agents (especially that honest man, Albert Beham, the Bohemian) had allured to the pope Otho the duke of Bavaria, as ye heard, and divers other noblemen of Germany; yet notwithstanding, certain prelates in Bavaria, as Everhard, archbishop of Saltzburg, and Sifrid, bishop of Ratisbon, being at that time the emperor's chancellor, Rudiger, bishop of Passau, Conrad, bishop of Frisinghen, and the heads of the religious houses, forsook not the emperor. All which the aforesaid Albert not only did excommunicate, but also by process sought to bring them up to Rome before the pope, giving commandment to their collegioners and cloisterers, that they should deprive them of their offices, and choose such others in their stead as would obey the pope. All which things the pope (understanding by Albert of their fidelity to the emperor) corroborated and confirmed, commanding their inferiors to choose other bishops and prelates in their stead. But the bishops and prelates with one consent contemning the pope's mandates and writs, and also the curses and threatenings of Albert, accused, reproved, and greatly blamed his temerity, and the tyranny which he practised against the churches of Germany, and especially against the good emperor; that he durst be so bold as to meddle in churches committed to the emperor's government without his consent, against the old and ancient customs; that he had excommunicated the emperor without just cause; and that he had condemned the emperor's faithful subjects as enemies to the church, for standing with their liege and sovereign prince (which allegiance they might not violate without horrible iniquity), and had sought to disquiet them likewise in their charges and administrations; and they solemnly appealed to the emperor for redress. They also accused and condemned Albert himself for a most impudent impostor and wicked varlet, and they devoted him to the devil, as a most pestiferous botch and sore of the christian commonweal, and as a ruinous

*See  
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Bishops  
of Germa-  
ny excom-  
municate  
the pope's  
legate.

enemy, as well of the church, as of his own natural country ; and further declared their opinion, that he and all the rest of the pope's pursuivants ought to be driven out of Germany, as being most wicked devisers of all kinds of mischief.

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This done, they make relation hereof to the emperor by their letters ; and further, they advertise all the princes of Germany (especially those who were of the pope's faction or rebellion, and were the favourers of Albert), that they should take heed, and beware in any case of his subtle deceits and pernicious deceivable allurements, and that they should not assist the pope, for all his words, against the emperor. And doubtless (chiefly by the counsel and persuasion of the archbishop of Saltzburg, primate of Bavaria) Frederic of Austria was again reconciled to the emperor ; from whose friendship and alliance he would never after that be detached by any promises, threatenings, bribes, or pains, no, nor for the execrable curses of the pope's own holy mouth. But Albert prosecuteth still his purposed mischief, alluring and inciting by all means possible friends to the pope, and enemies to the emperor, and that not amongst the lowest but the highest classes of his subjects, the nobility and gentry. Unto some he gave the titles to fight against the emperor, to other some he gave the glebe-lands of benefices, and to other some he gave the spoil of such colleges and monasteries as took not part with the pope ; and to some other also he gave the colleges and monasteries themselves. And Aventine<sup>1</sup> actually names the individuals to whom the ecclesiastical tithes were given that they might espouse the pope's cause, and the colleges and monasteries pillaged and sequestered, and the glebe-lands seized, and the doers therein. Hereby was there a window opened to do what they listed, every man according to his ravening and detestable lust, and all things lay open unto their greedy and insatiable desires. Who listeth to hear more hereof, let him read Aventine, who largely treateth of the same in his book before noted, and there shall he see what vastation grew thereby to the whole state of Germany, but specially in Bavaria.

The arch-  
bishop of  
Saltzburg  
a true  
subject to  
his prince.

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The  
pope's  
means  
used to  
maintain  
the war  
against  
his lord  
and  
master.

While these things were thus working in Germany, Frederic, leaving in Lombardy Actiolinus with a great part of his host, and passing with the rest by the Apennines, came to Etruria and set the same in a stay, after that he had allayed certain insurrections there ; and from thence to Pisa, where he was with great amity and honour received and welcomed. This city was always steady and faithful to the emperors of Germany. The pope, understanding of the emperor's coming into Etruria, and knowing what a large part of his troops he had left in Lombardy, with a great army besieged the city of Ferrara, that always loved the emperor full well ; which city when the pope's legate had assaulted sharply the space of five months, and could not win the same, he devised with himself to send for Salingwerra out of the town by way of a parley, pledging his faith and truth to him for his safe return ; who by the persuasion of Hugo Rambartus, that said he might do the same without peril (it being but by way of parley), came to the legate ; who, intercepting his return, took him prisoner, contrary to good faith and justice. And thus gat he Ferrara, and delivered the keeping thereof to Azo, marquis of

Besieged  
Ferrara.

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Fidelity  
of papists  
learned by  
this base  
example.

(1) Lib. 7. Annalium Boiorum.



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The emperor's  
galley  
taken by  
the pope.

Este. And that the pope's legate thus falsified his truth, and circumvented the captain and old man Salingwerra, the same is confessed of the historians friendly to the pope, yea, commended of them as a stroke of warlike policy. But to return again. About the same time also the Venetian navy, at Monte Gargano, chased twelve galleys of the emperor's, which were appointed to the keeping of that coast, and spoiled, burned, and wasted all the region; and, further, took one of the emperor's great ships, being driven by tempestuous weather into the haven of Siponto, fraught with men and munition.

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The Ghibellines  
and  
Guelphs.

Frederic again, getting on his side the cities of Lucca, Volterra, Sienna, and Arezzo, and most of the cities of Etruria, to help his own dominions came from Pisa to Viterbo, which took part with him. Blondus and Platina and some others say, that the names and factions of Ghibellines and Guelphs sprang from Frederic at this time; for that having sent his spies through all the towns and cities of Italy, to ascertain which took part with and favoured the pope, and which the emperor, he called the one by the name of Ghibellines, and the other by the name of Guelphs. But, for that they bring no sufficient proof thereof but only slender conjecture, I rather cleave to the opinion of Nauclerus, Herman Contract, Antoninus of Florence, Castiglioni, and others, who say, that these names had their first beginning in Italy, when Conrad, uncle of Frederic I., was emperor; and that those who were devoted to the pope were called Guelphs from Guelph, youngest brother of Henry the Proud, while the emperor's partisans were called Ghibellines from Vaiblingen, the native place of Conrad or his son. But to our purpose.

The pope  
afraid of  
the emperor's  
coming into  
Italy.

The pope, when he understood that Frederic was come to Viterbo, was much alarmed, for that he feared he would come still nearer to Rome, the good will of which city the pope much mistrusted. He therefore ordered litanies, and caused the heads of Peter and Paul (if we are to believe them genuine) to be carried round in procession; and having in a sharp and abusive oration attacked the emperor, he promised everlasting life, and gave the badge of the cross, to as many as would take up arms against the emperor, as a most wicked enemy of God and his church. Now when the emperor, drawing near to Rome gates, beheld those, whom the pope by his goodly spectacle of St. Peter and St. Paul and by his promises had stirred up against him, coming to meet him with the badge of the cross; disdaining to be accounted for an enemy of the church, when he had been thereunto so beneficial, giving a fierce charge upon them he soon dispersed them; and as many as he took prisoners he put to excruciating torture by burning or cutting the mark of the cross in their flesh. From thence marching into Campania and his own kingdoms, he levied a great mass of money, and mustered new bands, and augmented his army; and in these bands he retained the Saracens also. And to the intent he might find the Saracens the more trusty to him, he appointed them a city named Luceria to dwell in. For which thing although the papistical writers do greatly blame and opprobriously write of Frederic, yet notwithstanding, Nicholas Machiavelli doth write, that for this cause he retained them,—lest, through the pope's execrable curses,

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The emperor  
tortureth  
all the  
crossed  
soldiers.

Retaineth  
the Saracens  
in  
his wars  
against  
the pope.

he should be quite destitute of soldiers, as was Frederic Barbarossa, his grandfather, a little before, when of pope Alexander III. he was excommunicated, as ye have heard.<sup>1</sup>

After this, when the emperor had severely punished the pope's ecclesiastical consorts, such as conspired with the pope against him, and had wasted and destroyed Benevento, Monte Cassino, and Sora (because they took part with the pope against him), and had founded the new city of Aquila, he marched forth with a great host both of horsemen and footmen to Picenum, that he might vanquish his enemies in Italy, and besieged Ascoli, a fortified city belonging to the adverse faction. He there, having understanding of what the pope's emissaries had done with the princes-electors, and other princes of Germany, especially with Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, and Otho the Palatine, writeth his letters unto them. In these he first showed, how those contumelies and spiteful words, which the pope blustered out against him, applied rather to himself; and how the bishops of Rome had taken to them of late such heart of grace and were become so lofty, that they not only sought to bring emperors, kings, and princes under their obedience, but also to be honoured as gods; and impudently affirmed that they cannot err, neither yet be subject to or bound by any obligation however sacred; and that it was lawful for them to do all things what they list; neither that any account was to be sought or demanded of their doings, or else to be made of them to any: and further, that they imperiously commanded (and that under pain of damnation), that men believe every thing they say, how great a lie soever it be; insomuch that, by reason of this inordinate ambition of theirs, all things were going backward, and the whole state of the Christian commonweal was subverted, neither could there any enemy be found more hurtful or perilous to the church of God than they. He wrote unto them, furthermore, that he (to whom the greatest charge and dignity in the whole commonweal was appointed and committed), seeing and perceiving their good hearts, wills, and practices towards him in his great peril, would with all the power and ability that God had given him do his endeavour, that he who in the likeness of the shepherd of the flock, and the servant of Christ, and chief prelate in the church, showed himself so very a wolf, persecutor, and tyrant, might be removed from that place, and that a true and faithful shepherd of God's flock might be appointed in the church. Wherefore he exhorted them, that if they desired the safety and preservation both of the empire and of Christendom in general, they should be unto him no hinderers, but furtherers of his purpose and proceedings; lest, otherwise, they also should happen to fall under the same yoke of servitude to the bishop of Rome. And further, he gave them to know, that if the pope should attain to that he sought for (that is, to be an emperor and king over kings), yet would that be no stay of his insatiable desire, but he would be as greedy and ravenous as now he is; therefore, if they were wise, they would withstand him betimes, lest hereafter, when they would, it would be too late, neither should they be able to withstand his tyranny.—The effect of this epistle I took out of Aventine, who also writeth, that the emperor's legates, when they delivered it, enlarged on the same subject in a speech.

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The effect  
of a letter  
sent by  
the emper-  
or to the  
princes of  
Germany.

No enemy  
more  
hurtful to  
the  
church of  
God than  
the pope  
The em-  
peror  
voweth to  
remove  
the pope,  
and put  
in another  
more  
careful  
shepherd.

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*See  
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(1) Suprà, p. 195.—Ed.

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Wenceslaus re-  
lenteth at  
the emper-  
or's  
letter.  
Otho and  
the pope  
against  
the emper-  
or

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By what  
means  
Otho at-  
tained so  
great pos-  
sessions  
by the em-  
peror and  
his ances-  
tors.

The arch-  
bishop of  
Cologne  
revolteth  
to the  
pope.  
*See  
Appendix.*

Wenceslaus, somewhat relenting at this letter, promiseth to accomplish the emperor's biddings and precepts, and forthwith gathereth an assembly of princes and nobles at Ægra; where, by common consent, they think to renovate with the emperor a new league and covenant. And furthermore, they decree Otho of Bavaria, the author of this defection (who was absent, and would not be at this their assembly), to be an enemy to the commonweal. Otho then, seeing himself not able to stand against the Cæsar and the other princes with whom he was associated, desiring aid of the pope by his letters, came with all speed to Wenceslaus, his kinsman, and entreated him not to desert the party, but could not prevail; he obtaineth, notwithstanding, thus much at their hands, that the league and covenant which they were in hand to make with the emperor should for a time be deferred, and that another assembly should be called, whereat he also would be, and join himself with them. In the mean season, the pope sent his rescript unto Wenceslaus and to Otho, tending to this effect; that in no case they should either forsake him or else the church, to take the emperor's part. And so much prevailed he by the means of Bohuslaus and Budislaus (who were the chief of the senate regal, and whom by his fair promises and bribes he had previously gained to his interest), that a day was appointed for a new assembly to be held at Lebus,<sup>1</sup> for the express purpose of electing a new emperor, in contempt and defiance of Frederic, the true emperor, and his son and heir Conrad. And whilst that this was thus in hand, Conrad the Cæsar casteth Landshuta, the wife of Otho (then absent), in the teeth, for the great benefits and possessions which her husband had and possessed by his ancestors; and threateneth that unless her husband took a better way with himself, and showed his obedience to the emperor, his father, he should not enjoy one foot of that land which now he had by his ancestors. The preferments and dignities which Otho had by the ancestors of Conrad the Cæsar came thus: Frederic Barbarossa, at a parliament holden at Wurtzburg<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1180, condemned Henry Leo of high treason, and deprived him of his dominions of Bavaria and Saxony, and gave Bavaria to Otho of Wittlespach, because he had done him so faithful service in his Italian wars. After that, Louis, the son of that Otho, obtained of this emperor Frederic II., in recompense of his assured and trusty fidelity, the palatinate of the Rhine in reversion; also Agnes, the daughter of Henry, the living earl-palatine, to be given to Otho his son in marriage. But this Henry was the son of Henry Leo, the traitor; unto whom Henry VI. (the father of Frederic II.), having given him in marriage his niece Clementia, the daughter of his brother Conrad, Palatine of the Rhine, gave him also the palatinate itself on precarious tenure.<sup>3</sup> And as touching the government of Bavaria, that had also formerly been held by the ancestors of Otho of Wittlespach. But to our purpose again.

At the same time, the archbishop of Cologne revolted to the pope; who not long after, in a skirmish with the earl of Brabant, was vanquished and taken prisoner. But Frederic of Austria, after he was received into favour again with the emperor keeping most con-

(1) "Libyska," a town of Brandenburg, in the Middle Mark, two miles from Frankfort on the Oder, and a bishop's see: Hoffman. Vide *infra*, p. 492, and vol. iii. pp. 438, 460.—Ed.

(2) See Appendix,

(3) See Ducange, in v. *Precaria*.—Ed.



stantly his promise and fidelity renewed, during this time made sharp war upon the Bohemians and Hungarians, who took part with the pope, and greatly annoyed them. As these things thus passed in Germany, the emperor, when he had gotten Ascoli and led his host into Flaminia, having taken Ravenna, from thence came to Faenza, which city never loved the emperor (the circuit of whose walls is five miles in compass), and pitched his camp round about it. And although the siege was much hindered by the severity of the weather (it being in the very depth of winter), still notwithstanding, through the great fortitude and incredible exertions of the soldiers, to whom he represented that it would be no little disgrace for them to retire from the enterprise unsuccessful, he surmounted all difficulties. And therefore, when now the winter (so extremely cold and hard) was well near ended, and the spring-time now hard at hand, and when by long battery he had made the walls in divers places assaultable, the citizens (being greatly discouraged, and in despair of maintaining the defence thereof) sent ambassadors to the emperor, craving pardon for their offence, and that he would grant them their lives, and so yielded themselves to his mercy.

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The emperor, having against them good and sufficient cause of revenge, yet for that his noble heart thought it to be the best revenge that might be, to pardon the offence of vanquished men, considered it better to grant them their requests, and to save the city and citizens with innumerable people, than by arms to make the same his soldiers' prey, to the destruction both of the city and great number of people therein. So doth this good emperor in one of his epistles, "Adaucta nobis," confess himself. Which epistle, to declare the lenity and merciful heart of so worthy a prince (if with great and marvellous provocations and wrongs he had not been incited), I would in the midst of the history here have placed, but that I have kept you long herein, and yet not finished the same.

*The em-  
peror's  
great le-  
nity and  
clemency.*

In this siege the emperor, having spent and consumed almost all his treasure, both gold and silver, caused other money to be made of leather, which on the one side had his image, and on the other side the spread eagle (the arms of the empire), and made a proclamation, that the same should pass from man to man for all necessities instead of other money; and therewithal promised, that whosoever brought the same money unto his exchequer when the wars were ended, he would give them gold for the same, according to the value of every coin limited; which thing afterwards truly and faithfully he performed, as all the historiographers do accord.

*The em-  
peror  
forced to  
make  
money of  
leather.*

When the pope had thus, as before is said, stopped his ears and would not hear the emperor's ambassadors who came to entreat for peace, but rejected and despised his most courteous and equitable demands, and yet found that he, with his confederates, could not prevail against him in open warfare, although he had left no means untried; he, by his legates, inviteth to a council to be held at Rome all such prelates out of Italy, France, and England, as he thought to favour him and his proceedings; that hereby, as his last shift and only refuge, he by their helps might deprive Frederic of his empire, as an utter enemy to God and to the church. All which things Frederic having understanding of, and knowing that these persons were about to assemble under the pope's influence for his ruin, he de-

*The pope  
sendeth  
for fo-  
reign aid,  
and is pre-  
vented.*

*See  
Appendix.*

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Emperor.*

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The emperor  
rig-  
geth forth  
a navy.

See  
*Appendix.*

A great  
victory  
at sea  
against  
the pope's  
confeder-  
ates.

Another  
victory by  
land at  
Pavia.

terminated to hinder their passage to Rome, as well by sea as by land, in all that ever he might. Accordingly, having preoccupied all the passages by land, he commanded his son Henry,<sup>1</sup> king of Sardinia (whom the Italians call Encio), to take some galleys with him and go to Pisa, and with the Pisans (whom he had likewise ordered to equip a fleet) to meet and intercept (if possible) the pope's partisans on their way to Rome. The pope's partisans, understanding that they could not safely repair to Rome by land, procured forty galleys, with the Genoese navy<sup>2</sup> under the command of Gulielmus Braccius for their convoy; thinking that hereby, if they should fortune to meet with any of the emperor's galleys which might lie in wait for them, they should be able to make their part good, and give them also the repulse. For the emperor, in like manner, Encio and Hugolinus (the commodore of the Pisan fleet) launched forth to sea with forty galleys; and within the isles of Giglio and Monte Christo, which lie between Leghorn and Corsica, they met with the Genoese navy and straightways attacked it; and when Gulielmus the admiral, contrary to the wish of the ecclesiastics, who were for flight, attempted to resist the attack, three of his ships having been bouldged and sunk, the rest (twenty-two in number) with all that they contained fell into the emperor's hands. In these were taken three legates of the pope's, viz. Iacomo Colonna, cardinal-bishop of Palestrine, Otho, of the noble house of the marquisses of Montferrat, cardinal of St. Nicholas, and Gregory de Romania, all cruel enemies against the emperor; and many prelates were taken with them, besides a great number of delegates and proctors of cities, with a countless rabble of priests and monks, besides also more than four thousand Genoese soldiers, with the officers of the navy, and the admiral himself who was of patrician rank.

Pandolpho Colenuccio,<sup>3</sup> in describing the circumstances of the great loss and misfortune of these partisans of the pope by sea, amongst the rest declareth, that besides the great prey and booty which the takers had from them, they also found many writings and letters against Frederic, which much helped them in the defence of that cause wherein the others laboured against him. Another like mischance, also, about the same time happened on the pope's side, by the emperor's soldiers who lay in the garrison at Pavia, thus: 'There went forth upon a time out of Pavia into the borders of the Genoese certain bands, to give them alarums in the country; which bands the scurriers of Milan (where lay a great garrison of the pope's) deservying, told the captain of the town, that now there was a very opportune and fit time to give an assault to Pavia; "since," say they, "the greatest part are now gone foraging." Whereupon they immediately calling together the captains and such as had charge, set their soldiers in array, and marched forward to Pavia. And now, when they were come almost thither, the Pavian bands (whom they thought to have been far off foraging) returned and met with them, and fiercely gave a full charge upon them: who, being dismayed at the suddenness of the matter, fought not long, but gave over and fled. In which skirmish were taken, besides those

(1) An illegitimate son of Frederic.—Ed.

(2) This appears, from what follows, to be the navy of 25 ships mentioned *suprà*, p. 480.—Ed.

(3) He wrote "*Compendio dell' Istoria del regno di Napoli*;" 8vo. Venez. 1541: translated into Latin by Stupanus, 4to. Basil. 1572.—Ed.

that were slain, three hundred and fifty captains, who were brought prisoners into Pavia with all their ensigns.

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News hereof was brought to the emperor not long after, who then was on his march from Faenza to the city of Bologna, thinking to destroy the same. But upon the hearing of this happy success, he altereth his purpose, and, thinking by a decisive blow to end the contest, leadeth his army towards Rome; and in the way he admitted to terms the city of Pesaro. But Fano, because the townsmen shut their gates and would not suffer the emperor to come in, he took by force and destroyed. For the emperor, seeing that neither by petition made to the pope, nor yet by his lawful excusation, he could do any good with him, thought that by his sudden coming thither, and with fear of the peril imminent, he might be brought to reasonable terms, and caused to leave off his accustomed pertinacity. And although the emperor was too strong for him, yet, for that he regarded nothing more than the public tranquillity of the empire, and that he might then take the Tartarian wars in hand if he could by any means conclude a peace, he refused not so to treat with him, as though he had been both in force and fortune much the pope's inferior.

The emperor  
thinketh  
to make  
the pope  
afraid.

Whilst that this ruffle was betwixt the emperor and the pope, Oehodarius, son and successor of Ghengis the first emperor of the Tartars, sent a large and well-appointed army to invade the neighbouring countries, and bring them into subjection to him. Who, almost without opposition, subdued the Russians, Podolians, Moldavians, Wallachians, Poles, and Prussians, laid waste the fields, and plundered, burnt, ruined, and destroyed cities, towns, villages, and buildings of every description; killing man, woman, and child, and sparing none of any sex or age. (A.D. 1235.) At whose sudden invasion the people were in such fear and perplexity, that not a single band, garrison town, or even walled city, dared to resist; but all hastened to leave all they had, and disperse themselves into woods, and flee to marshes and mountains, or wheresoever else any succour did offer itself to them. They had now come as far as Breslau, when Henry, duke of Poland and Silesia, went forth with an army to meet them; who, for the inequality of the number of his forces, had soon an overthrow, and almost all his army being destroyed, he himself was taken and slain with an axe. From thence they came to Moravia, and from thence to the kingdom of Bohemia, which countries, while the king kept himself in strong defended forts and durst not come abroad, they invaded, and destroyed all Hungary; putting to flight and vanquishing Colman, the brother of Bela IV. king of Hungary, also making great spoil in both the Pannonias, both the Mœsias, Bulgaria, and Servia. When Bela, king of Hungary, had gotten to Pola (which is a city of Istria) unto Otho, the duke of Dalmatia and Istria,<sup>1</sup> he sent ambassadors to Frederic, the emperor; promising that if he would send him aid, so that the Tartars might be expelled, Hungary should ever after be under the jurisdiction of the emperor; which thing if he should refuse to do, that then Hungary would be in great danger of being subjected to the Tartars, to the no little peril of the whole empire: and said further, that the cause wherefore he with more instance required the same, was, that so many christian men and

The  
Tartar  
invadeth  
Christen-  
dom with  
a great  
and might  
y power.  
See  
Appendix.

Unmer-  
ciful  
slaughter  
of the  
Chris-  
tians.

The king  
of Hun-  
gary crav-  
eth aid of  
the empe-  
ror.

(1) See p. 475, note (2).—Ed.

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countries made such pitiful lamentation in this their great calamity and misery, and that there was none able to help them: "which," saith he, "is as great shame as possible to the whole christian commonweal;" and also said, that if the malice of this barbarous people were not suppressed, then he thought they would make invasion upon the empire itself and the provinces of the same.

*See  
Appendix.*

The emperor, although he thought it very requisite that with all convenient speed this mischief should be remedied and prevented, yet notwithstanding, his great enemy the pope, with his confederates, was the only let and hindrance thereof. When, therefore, he perceived that he himself could do no good, and only laboured in vain in seeking peace with the pope, he gave commandment to Wenceslaus and Otho of Bavaria to entreat and persuade with him, that, considering the imminent peril like to ensue by reason of such civil dissension to the whole state of Christendom, he would take up and conclude a peace, and mitigate somewhat his fierce and wrathful mood. When, however, he saw further, that neither by that means of entreaty, nor any other, the pope would desist from his stubborn malicious and froward purpose, he writeth back to the king of Hungary that he was right sorry, and greatly lamented their miserable state, and that he much desired to relieve the need and necessity that he and all the rest stood in. But, as the cause why he could not redress the same nor stand him then in any stead, he blamed greatly the bishop of Rome; who refusing all entreaty of peace, he (the emperor) could not without great peril to himself depart out of Italy, lest that, when he should come to the aid of him, by the pope's mischievous imaginations he should be in peril of losing all at home. Notwithstanding, he sent orders to Conrad the Cæsar, to the king of Bohemia, and to other princes more of Germany, to go and meet the enemy: and a great number of those who had taken the cross in Germany were offering their services against the Tartars, when they received orders from Albert, the pope's factor, to stay at home, until they should be called out by him against the emperor. To conclude, such was the loving zeal and affection of the pope and his adherents in this time of calamity towards the christian state and commonwealth, that he had rather bend his force and revenge his malice upon the christian and good emperor, than either himself withstand the Tartar, or suffer and permit by conclusion of any profitable peace that this most bloody and cruel enemy should be let and restrained from such havoc, spoil, and slaughter of the christian men: and yet, forsooth, these men will seem to have the greatest regard of all other to the preservation of Christendom, and think to have the supremacy given therein! What thing else is this, than manifest mockery and deceiving of the people? One good effect, however, came of this spoil and havoc of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, viz. that the conspirators did not meet at Lebus (as had been determined<sup>1</sup>) about the deposing of the emperor and the creation of another.

The pope's fault that the Tartar is not resisted.

Had rather fight against the emperor than against the Tartar.

*See  
Appendix.*

The emperor and his predecessors have trial of the pope's subtle practices.

But now, notwithstanding the provident foresight and wise policy of the emperor (as you heard before) in restraining the passages both by sea and land, who gave most strict charge and had special regard thereunto, that none should pass without privy search and examination, as one having sufficient trial, as well in his own person as by the

(1) See *suprà*, p. 488.—Ed.

example of his predecessors, what great mischief and dissension by their legates every way sent out the popes had procured both to the imperial state and dignity and to the whole country of Germany; yet found they such means and wrought such policies, that they had not only secret passage and repassage with their letters and spies into all Christendom where they listed, but also so laboured the matter and handled the same, that the long-continued league of amity between the French king and the emperor, whose predecessors, as also they themselves, had many years reverently observed it in christian concord and unity, was by this seditious prelate and arrogant vicar of Satan now either utterly infringed, or else in variable suspense; as by their letters to each other, and hereunder ensuing, is to be read and seen; which, for the more probability of this history of Frederic (not being long or greatly tedious), I thought meet here to intext and place.

*History of  
Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.*  
A. D.  
1241.

The Epistle of the French King to Frederic the Emperor, touching the Imprisonment of certain Cardinals of France.<sup>1</sup>

Hitherto, noble emperor, hath our confidence been maintained unshaken, that, owing to the mutual affection which has subsisted for a long course of time between the empire and our realm, no matter could arise to hatch hatred and offence between us. Especially seeing that all the kings of France, our predecessors of blessed memory, have even to our own times taken a warm interest in the honour and dignity of your empire; and also that we, whom God hath placed to reign in succession after them, have been no otherwise minded. None otherwise also, on their part, have the ancient as well as the more recent emperors of the Romans esteemed their empire and the kingdom of France as one, and have preserved the unity of peace and concord; insomuch that there hath not chanced between them so much as one spark of dissension. We therefore cannot but greatly marvel, and not without good cause are troubled, that, without any cause or ground of offence given on our part, you have caused prelates of our realm to be apprehended at sea, making their repair to the apostolic see (to the which as well by their faith as by their allegiance they stood bound, neither could they refuse its mandates), and that you do still detain the same in your custody: whereat (we do your highness to wit) we are more hurt than perhaps you may imagine. For by their own letters we understand that they had contemplated nothing prejudicial to your imperial highness, although the pope should have prosecuted therein further than became him to do. Wherefore, seeing that there is no cause in them why you should detain them, it becometh your highness to set at liberty the said prelates of our realm; whereby also you shall appease our grudge, who account the injury you do to them as done to ourselves. For why? It were a great dishonour to our noble realm, if we should wink hereat and overpass the same with silence. If you will not attend to the above considerations, it will perhaps weigh with you, that when the cardinal-bishop of Palestrine and other legates of the church came imploring our aid to your prejudice, we gave them a flat refusal; neither could they obtain in our kingdom any thing at all which seemed to be against or prejudicial to your majesty. Let therefore your imperial providence ponder in the balance of judgment those things which we write unto you, neither let our lawful request unto you be frustrated or made in vain. For our kingdom of France is not so weak as that it will allow itself to be trampled under your feet. Fare ye well.

*Long continued league between the empire and kingdom of France.*

*The king, without great allurements of the pope, would not so have written to the emperor.*

*See Appendix.*

The Rescript of the Emperor to the same letter of the King of France.<sup>2</sup>

Our imperial excellency hath perused the letters of your royal serenity, wherein if we had not found manifest self-contradiction, they might peradventure

*French king's letters con-*

(1) Petri de Vineis Epist. Fred. II., lib. i., ep. 12.—Ed.

(2) Ibid. Epist. 13. Both this and the preceding are revised from the Latin.—Ed.



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trary to  
them-  
selves.  
A good  
apostoli-  
cal father  
with a  
two-  
handed  
sword.  
One hun-  
dred and  
twenty  
ounces of  
gold, as  
before you  
heard.  
*See  
Appendix.*

The craft-  
ty com-  
passed in  
their craft-  
iness.

Death of  
Gregory  
IX.  
A. D. 1241.  
*See  
Appendix.*

have obtained at our hands all that they required. But even as with a little leaven a whole lump of dough is soured, so a single particular falsely alleged destroyeth the whole argument of your letter. For it is apparent that your grace's letter wanteth the virtue of the middle part in the conclusion of the same, as we will evidently prove to you from facts which are notorious to all. It is notorious then, and to all the world revealed, in what sort the apostolic father hath attacked our innocency, as well with the one sword as with the other; for whilst we, at his commandment, took our journey beyond the seas, the same our adversary and enemy invaded our kingdom of Sicily, and wasted the same, not in one place or two but in divers and sundry parts thereof. After this, when with great entreaty and by the mediation of the princes of Almain on our return from Asia we had concluded a peace with him, and he had again accepted our proffered devotion; although valuable services were actually rendered him, yet the said apostolic father, that notwithstanding, hath since that time rather aggravated his displeasure towards us; and further, hath devised all he could to our deprivation and subversion, no cause in all the world given of us to provoke the same; and further, he hath promulgated, as well by his letters as legates, the sentence of excommunication against us unto all nations, to our great defamation and shame. Lastly, aspiring to supplant our imperial state, that he might raise a tower of Babel against David (God's anointed) he hath called unto a privy council for that purpose all the prelates he could get, as one that meaneth to set all the whole world together by the ears. But the marvellous providence of God by whom we live and reign, beholding the wicked purpose he went about, confounding the crafty in their craftiness hath given into our hands cardinals and prelates, as well of your realm of France, as of other regions and provinces; all whom we imprison and detain as our enemies and adversaries. For where there wanted not a persecutor, there ought not to want a defender also; especially seeing that the imperial majesty transcendeth all mankind, and that every animal shuddereth if it behold but the print of the lion's foot. Let not therefore your kingly highness marvel, if Augustus detaineth "in angusto" your French prelates, who have themselves endeavoured to drive us "in angustias." Fare ye well.

When Frederic now saw there was none other remedy, and that in vain he laboured to have peace with the pope, he prosecuteth his war to the uttermost. Todi opened its gates to him, and was admitted to terms, but he destroyed the towns of St. Gemini and Narni, and gave the spoil of them to his soldiers: he well treated Tivoli, which surrendered to him, but wasted all the country about Rome. The pope overwhelmed by so great misfortunes, and troubled that the council which he had called at Rome was prevented, and his designs against the emperor not succeeding to his wish, being in despair of obtaining his purpose, died for very anger and thought, August 21st, A. D. 1241.

What opinion the prelates of Germany at that time had of this Gregory is to be seen by the oration (yet extant) of Everhard, archbishop of Saltzburg, which he made to the nobility of Bavaria in the parliament at Ratisbon, written by John Aventine in his seventh book. Doubtless he not only brought great and ruinous calamities to the whole christian commonwealth and also the empire, whilst he sought thus to depress and bridle the emperor and advance his papal see and dignity, but he also brought into the church of God much horrible impiety, blasphemy, and wickedness, whereof both Blondus, Platina, Bale, and others make mention; and, amongst others, that most detestable cantilene 'Salve Regina!', in the which he attributeth the honour and worship only due to Jesus Christ unto the Virgin, his mother. This is he in whose name the book of the Decretals was set out, which (to omit the opinion of divers other learned men) John Bale calleth 'the sink or puddle of foolishness and impiety!'

Doubtless Carolus Molinæus (a man of singular judgment both in the civil and canon law) hath taught us what to think of that work when he saith in his 'Annotations on Platina's life of Raymond Pennafort, the collector of the Decretals of Gregory IX.'—"Doubtless divers chapters in the same book of Decretals be mutilated and curtailed, on purpose to conceal offensive matter."<sup>1</sup> For as the popes, when once the ambitious desire of reigning like kings took them, studied nothing else but how to enlarge their dominion by weakening other kingdoms and by successive encroachments on the imperial prerogatives, so they kept the same end in view in their constitutions; examples whereof Molinæus giveth from sundry cases of French and English kings; but many more may be gathered from the history of the emperors and of the princes and the various orders of the empire, whereof to speak more convenient place shall serve hereafter.

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1241.

Carolus  
Molinæus  
upon the  
Decretals  
of Pope  
Gregory  
IX.

*See  
Appendix.*

In the stead of this Gregory was placed Celestine IV. (Geoffry de Castiglioni, a Milanese); who, as Blondus declareth, by feigned promises offered a league with Frederic, and the eighteenth day after he was created pope died.

*See  
Appendix.*

When the author of all this conspiracy was thus gone, Frederic now thinking himself free from those dangers on the side of Italy, for fear of which he had not dared to leave Italy, with all his endeavour levieth an army, and prepareth his furniture and other necessities for the delivery of the Christians, so mightily oppressed, as ye heard, by the Tartars. Who, hearing of the coming of the emperor and of the death of their own emperor, departed through Hungary, the way which they came, and returned by the river Danube to the Crimea, and so along the shore of the sea of Azof, and across the river Don, into Asiatic Tartary. When the cardinals had now a long time delayed the creation of the pope, and would not agree upon the same, the emperor put them in remembrance of their duty, and blameth them for their disagreeing, and exhorteth them to be more careful for the christian commonwealth. Two epistles of his touching this matter are extant; whereby appeareth, that only for the care and desire of peace he had to the christian unity and state he did the same, and for that, peradventure, the cardinals refused to make peace with him before they had created a new pope. The one, for more brevity, I have omitted, and have here inserted the other.

The em-  
peror pre-  
pareth an  
army to  
fight with  
the Tar-  
tars.

An Epistle invective of the Emperor unto the Cardinals, because they could not agree upon the creation of the Pope.<sup>2</sup>

This word is to you, O ye children of Ephraim! who ill have bent your bows, and still worse have shot your arrows, basely turning your backs in the day of battle: this word is to you, O ye children of Belial, the so-called assessors of the great judge, but (as being without a head) more like "scattered sheep which have no shepherd!" this word is to you, O ye dissentious cardinals, whom the world doth hate; this word, I say, is to you, whom the whole world with open mouth speaketh ill of. Doubtless, I cannot speak unto you but to your detraction, because though im-mund I am yet mundane; and being of the world, I must think and act with the world, as the part with its whole, which cannot write discordantly or contrarily to itself. Attend ye, therefore, to my rude and unskil-

(1) "Certum est, multa capita in iis mutila et decurtata esse ut invidiosum argumentum lateret," &c. Carolus Molinæus upon the Decretals of Gregory IX. [in principio: Molin. Opera, Par. 1658, tom. iv. p. 68.—Ed.]

(2) Revised and corrected from Pet. de Vineis Epist. Frederici II., lib. i. ep. 18.—Ed.



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Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.*

A. D.  
1243.

Peter's  
ship, by  
the dis-  
sen-  
sion of  
the  
cardinals,  
greatly  
afflicted.

Peter's  
shrill  
voice  
turned  
into a  
scoffing  
echo.

The em-  
peror  
releaseth  
the cardi-  
nals from  
prison.

A. D. 1243.

Rejoiceth  
at the  
pope's  
election.

*See  
Appendix.*

ful epistle, wanting the dignity of an exordium. For my provoked tongue, accelerated by its own velocity, brasteth forth into words, before my conceiving spirit had commissioned the same, and so, not waiting for the command of its superior, hasteneth to express things not fully conceived or premeditate; for a troubled mind oftentimes doth beget unordered and unseasonable talk. This, therefore, is the common opinion in men's minds, and the common topic of their discourse, that not the Mediator between God and man, Jesus Christ, who came from the highest heaven to make peace upon the earth, the Master and Lord of the apostles—not he, but Satan, is in the midst of you, ministering to you; that blustering prince, who is divided against himself; that persuader of discord, that murderer, that father of lies, and spirit of darkness; who hath divided your tongues, and rent asunder your unity. You do not consult for your own good, nor yet the good of the world, which is brought by you into so perilous a state; and the poor ship of Peter, which is tossed upon the sea by the vehement winds, without oars or rowers, you no longer regard; which ship, though it doth not indeed for itself fear foundering, yet suffereth it many perilous tempests and shipwrecks of her company. Doubtless, if ye diligently considered how the nations and people whom ye are wont to judge, in scorn shake their heads at you, every one of you would turn pale. Nor could any argument be found sufficient to screen you from universal execration and opprobrium; for whilst every one of you aspireth to the chair, no one consenteth to his fellow; and whilst not one of you can consent to another, none is promoted; and whilst none is promoted, the dignity of the see vanisheth. And thus by your discord the concord of the church is confounded, and the perfection of the faith, wherein is your life, perisheth. And surely, through your lack of a head it cometh to pass, that whereas nature hath given you senses, yet you are reputed as a sort of monster with deformed limbs, and defective in all your senses. And no marvel, for your vision seems obscured, your hearing is impaired, and that sound of your mouth which shrilly was heard to the ends of the earth, is utterly dumb, or become a self mocking echo. For why? the thunderings of Peter and Paul are now no more heard, the preachers are become dumb dogs, and are enjoined silence. Perhaps you have hands ready to receive, but there be no gifts; for why? those that were wont to come from Saba, bringing gold with them, now come no more, for they cannot find the Lord in the manger, the celestial star refusing to be their guide. Moreover, ye want feet to walk withal, for until a gift forceth you, you will not move six paces for any man's entreaty. Fie, shameless people! the least reptile may learn you wisdom, for the birds have their captain, and the silly bees their king; but you toss about on the waves without a pilot to steer you, exposing mother church to the rude chance of whatever may fortune.

The emperor yet after this, at the request of Baldwin the emperor of Constantinople, who came to Frederic at Parma, released the cardinals out of prison, thinking not only to gratify the emperor Baldwin, but also thinking that thereby things would the better grow to public tranquillity on every side. When the cardinals were all assembled at Anagni, they made Sinibald, a Genoese, pope, whom by a contrary name (for that he had determined, as I suppose, to be hurtful to the commonwealth) they called Innocent IV. Of which election when Frederic understood, he was well pleased therewith; and for that he had in all this troublous time been his friend, the emperor well hoped that the christian commonwealth should by him have been brought to much peace and concord. Wherefore he sent both his ambassadors and letters gratulatory unto him, letting him to understand how well it contented and pleased him that he was made pope; and what peace and quietness thereby he promiseth (as it were) to himself, he maketh full relation thereof; offering again unto him observance, help and aid in all things, and commending to his fatherly protection both himself and his empire.

He also wrote his letters to Otho, duke of Bavaria, who a little

before was reconciled to the emperor, that he who was elected pope was a good man, a lover of peace, and studious as well for the tranquillity of the christian commonwealth, as of the empire.

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Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.*

The ambassadors of Frederic, also, with the furtherance of Baldwin, laboured very diligently with the pope for peace; and all men were most fully expecting the pacification of Christendom. But far otherwise fell the matter out and contrary to all their expectations, for the pope, set on and encouraged by the cardinals and other against Frederic, secretly, and amongst themselves, wrought contrary to that they openly pretended, and not a little disappointed both Frederic and others of their expectation and good opinion they had of the pope's holiness. For, whilst the emperor's ambassadors awaited his answer to their proposals of peace, Rainerus, the cardinal, went secretly to Viterbo with a certain number of soldiers and took the town, which before was on the emperor's part.

A. D.  
1243.

The pope  
taket  
Viterbo  
while the  
emperor  
hopei for  
peace.

The emperor having understanding hereof, mustereth his bands, and with a sufficient power entereth the pope's dition, again to recover Viterbo: but yet (taking this war so in hand, as not thinking thereby to expel all chance of peace) at the request of certain of the cardinals he was contented to leave Viterbo, and, having fortified the town of Falari and furnished it with necessaries, came to Acquapendente. From thence he sent again other ambassadors to Rome, and with them also the emperor of Constantinople, with the earl of Toulouse, who he thought were able to do much with the pope in the prosecuting of peace. But although at the time of Easter the matter seemed to have been got through, and peace concluded, for that the emperor's ambassadors had sworn by his command and in his name that he would submit himself to the pope, and for that, on the other hand, the cardinals and others commonly called and named him 'Frederic, the christian Prince,' yet all this was no more but for a fetch, not that they meant indeed to conclude any peace with him, or to go through therewithal, but that through this dissimulation and likelihood of peace, which they understood the emperor much desired, he should set free and open the passages, which he straitly kept, that no man could pass and come to Rome, whither a great multitude had been wont daily to resort for religion's sake. But when all came to all, and that the ambassadors perceived that no conclusion of peace was simply purposed on their behalf, they began to despair of the matter, letting the emperor so to understand. The emperor, yet notwithstanding, doubted not, but if he might himself speak with the pope, he upon reasonable conditions should well enough accord with him; wherefore he by his ambassadors and letters desired him to appoint a time and place when and where the emperor might resort to him. The pope seemed to be contented herewithal, and appointed a day at Castellana when they should talk together, and promised that he would be there before him, and await the emperor's coming. But the pope in this while had made a confederacy with the French king against Frederic; and, having previously arranged with the Genoese that some galleys should be waiting in readiness for him at Civita-Vecchia, secretly in the night, with his company, hastening thither in post speed, he took ship, and first came to Genoa, and from thence to Lyons in France; where he, calling a council, with a loud voice

*Ser  
Appendix.*

Dissimu-  
lation of  
the subtle  
pope In-  
nocent  
IV.

The pope  
mocketh  
the empe-  
ror, and  
goeth to  
Lyons,  
where he  
proscri-  
beth him.

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Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.*

summoned Frederic, and, appointing him a day, commanded him there personally to plead his cause.

A.D.  
1245.

*See  
Appendix.*

And yet, although he understood that the sudden departing of the pope out of Italy made plain demonstration of no conclusion or meaning of a peace; and although it was plain that a council so called by the pope, in which he was to be both plaintiff and judge, and which was to be packed with his own creatures, could only be meant for the emperor's destruction—notwithstanding these and other such evident demonstrations of the pope's hateful heart towards him, yet the most modest emperor, relying on the innocency and uprightness of his cause, and as one most desirous of peace and christian concord, sent the patriarch of Antioch, who lately was come out of Syria, the archbishop of Palermo, and Thaddeus of Suessa, the president of his court, a most skilful and prudent civilian, to the council at Lyons; who signified unto them that the emperor would be there for the defence of his own cause; but as the day was very short, he required a time more convenient for him thither to repair.

The emperor cometh to make his appearance before the pope.

*See  
Appendix*

The emperor, also, being onward on his way, and come as far as Turin, sent before other ambassadors, as the master of the Teutonic order and Peter de Vineis, to give them understanding of his coming, and to entreat that they would prorogue the day of hearing, till he might conveniently travel thither. But for any thing that could be either said or done, or upon how just cause soever required, the pope would not give so much as three days' space, in the which time the ambassadors assured them of the emperor's presence; as though there had been no common proviso for every man, in that case, by the law to have used upon any reasonable let! When the day by them appointed was come, the pope with his confederates (whose support he had secured by money and promises)—against God's law, against christian doctrine, against the prescript of the law both of nature and of reason, against the rule of equity, against the order of law appointed, against the constitutions of emperors and also the decrees of the empire, without any observation of the law, or granting dilatory days, without probation of any crime, or his cause suffered to be pleaded unto or heard what might be answered therein—the pope, taking upon him to be both adversary and judge, condemned the emperor being absent, and in his full heat of fury and malice denounced him accursed, and moreover deprived him of his imperial dignity, charging him with the heinous crimes of perjury and sacrilege, writing also letters and libels of defamation to all kings, princes, and potentates. What more wicked sentence was ever pronounced? What more crueller fact, considering the person, might be committed? Or what thing more brutish and beastly could have been imagined or devised? And yet hercat were these bishops nothing ashamed; but, meaning to leave their doings in writing, as an impudent testimony to their posterity, established the same for a law to continue.

Vengeance fall-eth on the pope.

But mark what vengeance God took upon this wicked judge. The historians of the time record, that when Frederic, the emperor, and Conrad his son, the Cæsar, were both dead, the pope gaping for the inheritance of Naples and Sicily, and thinking by force to subdue the same, came to Naples with a great host of men; where was heard in the pope's court manifestly pronounced this voice, "Veni miser

ad judicium Dei.” “Thou wretch, come to receive thy judgment.” *History of Frederic II. Emperor.*  
And the next day after, the pope was found dead in his bed, all black and blue, as though he had been beaten with bats; as hereafter, in our history of bishop Grosthead, is declared.<sup>1</sup>

A. D.  
1245.

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When the emperor had understanding of this cruel and tyrannical sentence of the pope passed and pronounced against him, considering his furious purpose and mind therein, he thought good by his letters to let all christian princes and potentates understand, as well what injuries and manifold displeasures he had sustained by all the four popes in their times, as also the cruelty and tyranny of this pope in pronouncing the sentence of judgment and condemnation against him, passing the bounds both of justice, equity, and reason; which letter, as he wrote the same, hereunder followeth to be seen.

The Letter of the Emperor to the French King and other Princes, in consequence of the Sentence given against him in the Council of Lyons by the Pope and Cardinals.<sup>2</sup>

Although we suppose not the contrary, but that information of the real merits of our cause hath reached your serene highness by common rumour and the testimony of many true witnesses; yet for that

“Segniùs irritant animos demissa per aures,  
Quàm quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus”—

that is, “more credit is commonly given to what the eye seeth, than to what the ear receiveth,”—we thought good to lay before you the simple and naked truth, to wit, the processes which sundry popes have carried on against us. For the full and attentive perusal whereof, I beseech your gentleness, out of the much time and the many days devoted to your own affairs, to indulge us with some fit and convenient time. And if you will condescend to attend to our royal counsel, consider, I pray you, carefully the following points:—Whether our predecessors have been destitute or not of zeal for righteousness: whether we may not lawfully right ourselves in regard to so many and great injuries as have been wrought against us: whether Christ’s vicar hath performed Christ’s will; and whether Peter’s successors have imitated Peter’s example. Consider, also, what right that process, which hath been carried on against us, hath to be deemed a valid process, and by what term it is to be called; and whether that may be said to be a sentence, which is delivered by an incompetent judge. For although we acknowledge without reserve, that the Lord hath given plenary power in spiritual things to the bishop of the holy Roman church, so that, however great a sinner he may be (which God forbid), yet whatsoever he bindeth upon earth is bound in heaven, and whatsoever he looseth is loosed; still, we nowhere read of power being given him, either by divine or human law, to translate empire at his pleasure, or that he may give judgment to punish kings and princes temporally, by depriving them of their kingdoms. For although our consecration belongeth unto him by ancient right and custom, yet our deposition and deprivation doth no more belong to him than to any other prelates of other realms, who do customably consecrate and anoint their respective sovereigns. Or be it so (barring any prejudice to ourselves), that he hath such power; is it that by the mere plenitude of that power, without observing any order of law, he may inflict a sentence on any persons whom he may assert to be subject to his jurisdiction? For he hath proceeded of late against us (as we have said), but not by the order of accusation, forsomuch as neither any sufficient accuser did appear, neither went there any bill of indictment previously; neither did he proceed by way of denunciation, forsomuch as there wanted a lawful denouncer; neither yet by the way of inquisition, for that there went before no formal impeachment by a clerk of arraigns, and for that no copy of articles of inquiry was furnished us, whereas some such are wont to be publicly adduced by the judge in such case, as preliminary to an inqui-

(1) See *infra*, pp. 532, 533.—ED.

(2) Pet. de Vineis Epist. Fred. II., lib. i. ep. 3, whence the above translation is revised.—ED.

*History of  
Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.*

A. D.  
1246.

sition. He asserteth, indeed, that all the things which he layeth against us were notorious; but that we flatly deny, neither have they been proved to be notorious by the legal number of witnesses. In this way any judge, by merely affirming what he listeth to be notorious, setting aside all order of law, may of himself condemn whom he listeth. 'Tis true, there arose against us in the council certain false witnesses, though not many, of whom the bishop of Carinola was one; who, on account of his brother and nephew having been by us lawfully condemned for treason to be hanged, may reasonably be supposed to have a grudge against us, and therefore may well be rejected as a witness in the cause.—

to such-like effect prosecuting the rest of his epistle, which for brevity's sake I omit.

*See  
Appendix.*

After this, Frederic had retired for a little repose to Grosseto, a town on the coast near Sienna; where he discovered a conspiracy against his life, which he defeated by putting to death the chief persons engaged in it: they confessed at their death that they had been set on by the pope. The pope then contrived to form a considerable party against him in Germany: Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, he persuaded that his brother had been treacherously slain by Frederic at Brundisium,<sup>1</sup> and he consented to be named Cæsar: but he died the next year. The pope then induced the rebels to take up William, earl of Holland, who was accordingly named Cæsar in opposition to Conrad.

William,  
earl of  
Holland,  
made  
king of  
the Ro-  
mans by  
the pope.

Germany  
altogether  
in hurly-  
burly  
through  
the pope's  
malicious  
mind.

This policy the pope used, to vex and disturb both the country of Germany and the whole empire; and not so only, but also utterly to destroy and subvert the same, by the ruinous decay whereof, the pope and his prelates thought to make up their mouths. And thus, whilst that Germany was now newly again divided, some taking part with Frederic the emperor, and his son Conrad the Cæsar, and other nobles and princes of the empire; some, with those who should, by the pope's procurement, be the electors of the new emperor; other some, with neither of both, as men not minding nor tending the public utility, but to serve their own purposes, armed themselves; and thus was the public peace and quiet broken and disturbed, and altogether in tumult and hurly-burly. For whilst the one part laboured by all force to retain the dominion by public and common consent first to him committed, the other part in like sort endeavoured themselves, with all their force and power, to use and occupy the same, according to the decree of the bishop of Rome, and to take it from Frederic. And thus great conflicts grew on all parts.

Spoiled by  
civil dis-  
sension  
through  
the pope's  
practices  
against  
the empe-  
ror.

By these civil wars, Germany suffered no little calamity; in every place was manslaughter and murder, the country spoiled, the towns and villages set on fire and burnt, the churches and temples wherein the husbandmen had put their goods and substance, violated and robbed: houses were pulled down, the goods divided, and every man's cattle driven away. To conclude, in this turmoil and contention of deposing one and choosing another emperor, this quarrel of princes, this license of a state of warfare of hurting and sinning with impunity, the impudent boldness of divers private soldiers, and especially of the horsemen (then counted the better sort of soldiers), was so great, and their unbridled and unsatiable desire in robbing, spoiling, and taking of booties, catching and snatching all that came to hand, was such, that nothing could be sure and in

(1) See *suprà*, p. 467, note (3).—Ed.



safety that any good man enjoyed. Wherefore, a little before the death of William, king of the Romans (A.D. 1256), threescore cities and towns joined themselves in a league with Louis, palatine of the Rhine and duke of Bavaria (Otho's son), and other princes, of whose names Aventine in the seventh book of his "Annales Boiorum" maketh mention, for the expelling of these rebels, and repressing of their so great injurious rapine and slaughter of men; of which army the said Louis being captain, he chased and drave the whole rout of them to the uttermost parts of Germany, and pulled down and overthrew their castles and fortresses, and every other place where they had intrenched themselves.

*History of Frederic II. Emperor.*

A. D. 1249.

Robbers and rebels chased out of Germany.

Meantime Otho, duke of Bavaria, most constantly keepeth his promise and faith made before to the emperor Frederic and Conrad, his son; whereupon Philip, archbishop of Saltzburg, Albert, bishop of Ratisbon, Conrad, bishop of Frisingen, and their confederates, calling a council at Meldorf by the pope's commandment sent for Otho unto them, unto whom they opened the pope's pleasure and commandment. To all which Otho answered: "I cannot marvel at some of you enough, that whereas heretofore you persuaded me to leave and forsake the part I took with the bishop of Rome, whom you yourselves affirmed to be Antichrist, and that I should take part with the emperor and his son, now you yourselves will not keep your fidelity and promise made unto those good princes:" and he said that he perceived in them a great inconstancy and levity in their thoughts, words, and deeds, who now call that wicked, unjust, and violent wrong, that but lately they thought equal, just, and right. He said further, that they were overcome with pleasures, corrupted with superfluity, won with bribes, gaping for honour and estimation; and that they neither regarded honesty, godliness, nor their duty and office, but studied how to make dissension and commotions, and longed after war and bloody battle. He said further, that for his part he would obey God and his prince, to whom he had sworn fidelity; and that he nought regarded the pretended curses of the pontiffs. He said he believed in Christ, and would trust in his mercy; and that he believed how those whom they cursed and gave to the devil, were in greatest favour with God. Howbeit, and notwithstanding those prelates seemed to take in good part this expostulation of Otho, and to bear no malice or grudge for what he had said, but to be desirous of peace and unity; yet, not long after, Otho was cursed as black as all the rest, and counted as bad as was the best.

*Fidelity of Otho to the emperor.*

A.D. 1249.

*See Appendix.*

His answer to the legates.

*Excommunicated for turning from the pope to take the emperor's part.*

*See Appendix.*

But the aforesaid Albert, bishop of Ratisbon, not only played *rex* amongst the citizens, but also bethought him of a mischievous device against Conrad the Cæsar, the emperor's son. When by fraud and subtilty he had apprehended many of the rich burgesses and citizens of Ratisbon who bare the emperor good will, and had sent them prisoners to Stadt-am-Hof,<sup>1</sup> Conrad, joining with other noblemen of the empire, after he had spoiled and wasted much of his lands and those of his companions, drave him so near, that upon certain conditions he released the aforesaid citizens. Soon after, Conrad, going with an army to Ratisbon, and having been according

(1) "Staffum" (Cisner), most likely Stadt-am-Hof, a town separated from Ratisbon only by a bridge over the Danube, where probably there was a prison. Busching's Geography.—Ed.



*History of Frederic II. Emperor.* to ancient custom received as a guest at the monastery of St. Eimeran, Albert, with certain of his confederates, by the help of Ulric, the abbot, came in the dead time of the night into the chamber, where he knew that the Cæsar with a few servants were lodged, and falling upon them, some they took and other some they slew; and finding no other person in the chamber, they thought that the Cæsar had been slain amongst the rest. But he, hearing the noise, had left his bed and hidden himself under a bench, and so escaped their hands. The next day he outlawed or proscribed the bishop and his mates, and also the abbot, for treason, and seized upon all the goods of the house. But, at the suit of the guiltless monks, he released all to them again, taking by way of fine one hundred pounds. Ulric lost his office, and Albert, for punishment, was forced to take upon him the habit of a monk. One Conrad of Hohenfels, who was the murderer of these men, although he escaped the punishment of man's hand, yet the vengeance of God for the fact he escaped not. For as he rode in the day time abroad, he was suddenly stricken with a thunderbolt and died.

A.D.  
1246.

Cæsar in  
danger of  
Albert.

See  
Appendix.

Albert, by  
way of  
punish-  
ment,  
taketh  
the order  
of monk-  
ery.

See  
Appendix.

The em-  
peror sup-  
presseth  
these tu-  
mults.

Parma  
taken and  
kept by  
the pope's  
legate  
and other  
friends  
of his.

The em-  
peror al-  
tereth his  
journey  
from Ly-  
ons to  
Parma.

During all this busy and contentious time, it may well be gathered that Frederic, the emperor, lay not still, but had his hands full: who, notwithstanding, by God's help overcoming and suppressing these or the greater part of these rebellious popish tumults, and having done strait execution on those especially who had conspired against his person, called a council, and setting in some stay the troublesome affairs of his kingdom, and having committed a certain number of troops to his son, prince Frederic of Antioch, governor of Etruria,<sup>1</sup> Richard, earl of Umbria and governor of Flaminia, and Encio, king of Sardinia, his lieutenant in Lombardy, retired to Cremona. Thither he assembled round him the wisest, most virtuous, and best learned men that there were, sending for them out of every part, thinking with them to have gone himself to Lyons to the pope, and there to have with him communication, as well concerning the sentence definitive, as also about the conclusion of any peace, if by any means he might. And when all things were prepared and ready, he took the journey in hand, and came to Turin, having with him both a great army of soldiers, and also a great company of legates and ambassadors. From thence sending his carriages before, within three days' journey of Lyons he was certified that a band of refugees in the pope's interest, from Breschia and Piacenza and other Ghibelline cities, had, with the assistance of the pope's legate, seized Parma. Which when he understood and that the pope herein was the only and chief doer, he saw manifestly it should little prevail to attempt any further the thing he went about; and then, at length, when he saw none other remedy, putting from him all hope of peace, he determined himself to the wars with all his force and might. Thus altering his purpose and journey, he took the straightest way into Lombardy, and, with an army of sixty thousand men, besieged Parma. And to the intent he might more aptly and near the town plant his siege and battery without disturbance, first he intrenched his camp, and fortified the same about with bulwarks and other defensible munition. After that, he caused divers victualing-houses and taverns in his camp to be slightly builded of timber;

(1) The correct designation of this prince was, "Frederic of Antioch, count of Albano, Cciano, and Loreto." See Struvius's Germanic History.—Ed.

he also marked out certain spots for public markets, whither buyers and sellers might resort; and embellished the place with handsome dwelling-houses and a temple; and altogether it had more the appearance of a wooden city than a camp. All which things when he had finished, which was not long in doing, for a happy omen and in confidence of a prosperous issue he named it Victoria, and fondly hoped that the same would take the place of the city of Parma, which when taken, he purposed to level with the ground. And at first, both there and elsewhere, all things prospered well with Frederic, and had good success; for he sharply attacked and hard pressed those who defended the city of Parma; and further, Robert de Castiglioni, who was the emperor's lieutenant in Picenum, near unto Osimo discomfited the pope's army, and slew of them more than four thousand, and took many such as were of the confederate cities prisoners. Also, when the factions of the Ghibellines and Guelphs in Florence were at controversy, and the emperor's son Frederic, prefect of Etruria, came to the relief of the Ghibellines (who had sent to him for aid), the Guelphs therewith dismayed fled from thence to Bologna, whose goods and substance came all to the emperor's coffers, and Florence also itself to the emperor's obedience. But this good success and prosperous fortune lasted not long, for as once on a time Frederic, to recreate himself (who seldom had his health), rode about the fields with certain of his horsemen to hawk and hunt, the greater part of his soldiers, thinking of nothing less than of any enterprize to be attempted of the poor starvelings within the town Parma, wandered and ranged unarmed out of their city Victoria about the fields. The soldiers in Parma, having this occasion offered, with all force and speed possible entered the emperor's camp or town Victoria, at a part which was less strongly fortified than the rest, and where one of the gates chanced to be left open. The sudden strangeness of the matter much abashed the soldiers, and they rang out their larum-bell. Against the first assault, however, the marquis of Malaspina made a brave stand; whom when the emperor, returning in all haste, found to be hard beset, he had thought to have rescued him; but when that was perceived of the enemy, they bent all their force together on that side, insomuch that the emperor was forced to take to the trench, lest he should have been of the enemy environed. And from thence he retired into the city or camp, where he had thought to have gathered further aid; but the enemy, not giving him sufficient time there-for, with all force entered the city Victoria. The emperor, seeing them in the very heart of his city, fled and came to St. Domino: the enemy, when they had killed and slain a great number of the emperor's soldiers, and had burnt and destroyed the said city of Victoria, returned to Parma. The emperor then suspecting this thing to be wrought by treason, whereby the enemy had understanding as well of the emperor's absence as also of the negligence of his soldiers, imprisoned certain of the chiefest about him, amongst whom also was Petrus de Vineis. Yet, whilst he was at St. Domino, endeavouring to rally the remains of his broken army, Encio getteth a great victory of the Mantuans, who coming to the rescue of Parma lost fifty of their ships, and all that they had in them. After

*History of  
Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.*

A.D.  
1247.

The  
pope's  
army dis-  
comfited  
by the  
emperor's  
lieute-  
nant.

Negli-  
gence of  
the sol-  
diers of-  
fereth an  
occasion  
to the  
enemy.

*See  
Appendix.*

Discomfi-  
ture of the  
emperor  
at Vic-  
toria.

Imprison-  
eth divers  
of his  
captains.

*History of  
Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.*

A.D.  
1250.

Caprese  
taken by  
the em-  
peror.

The em-  
peror pur-  
poseth to  
make  
some  
great  
attempt.  
*See  
Appendix.*

Prevent-  
ed by  
death.  
A.D.1250.

Frederic  
said to be  
one of  
God's  
elect.

Sundry  
opinions  
of the  
death of  
Frederic  
the empe-  
ror.  
*See  
Appendix.*

this also, Richard, in another conflict in Picenum, discomfited the pope's soldiers and slew their captain Hugolinus, besides two thousand others slain and taken prisoners.

When now Frederic had gathered again and new mustered his bands at St. Domino, he marched forth to Cremona; and, notwithstanding that there he understood of the good success and victory that Encio had at Reggio, yet for that he perceived the defection and backsliding of all or most part of Lombardy from him, he determined to take his journey into Apulia, purposing, when he had there levied a strong and sufficient power, to make his speedy return again into Lombardy. Therefore, in his journey through Etruria into Apulia, he joined with his son Frederic who was besieging Caprese, and took the same, and led with him divers of the chiefest captains prisoners; and after that, subduing St. Miniato de Tedesco unto the obedience of the empire, he came into Apulia.

When news was brought him thither, that Encio his son (in going to aid the Modenates against the Bolognese) was taken prisoner two miles off from Modena, and that in his absence the pope's captains with their bands and garrisons were running about Lombardy, Æmilia, Flaminia, and Etruria, to stir and procure the cities to revolt from the obedience of the emperor, and not without success, partly by subtle policies, and partly by force and sinister means, bringing them to his purpose; he determined with himself, with all the force and power he might by any means procure and make, to begin afresh, and prosecute this war to the uttermost. Neither was it to be doubted (as Pandolpho Colenuccio writeth) but that he would have wrought some marvellous exploit and great attempt, but that he was of this his purpose (whereunto he was both willing and bent) prevented by unlooked-for death. For when he fell into a fever, being at a certain castle of his in Apulia, called Castel Fiorentino, and saw by the extremity thereof his time to be but short, he remembered that which was once showed him, how he should die at Florence; whereupon he made his last will and testament; wherein he devised an immense sum of money to pious uses (as they are called), and appointed Conrad and his other sons his heirs and successors in the empire and in his other dominions, giving to each according to his age. Having done this, he departed this wretched and miserable world, December 13th, A.D. 1250.

Pandolpho writeth, that Frederic was very willing to die, and that they who were present at his death felt satisfied that his soul on departing was translated to heavenly joy and felicity. The same thing also Gulielmus Puteanus, Andreas Pandalus the Venetian, and Manardus bishop of Imola, being Italian writers, do all affirm; of whom this last writeth, that he assuredly believeth Frederic to be one of the number of God's elect.

The writers, notwithstanding, are of sundry judgments and opinions touching this good emperor's death. Some write that he was traitorously poisoned by his cup-bearer, being hired thereunto by the pope. Most say that he was strangled with a pillow by Manfred, his natural son. But Pandolpho, as good a writer as the best, maketh no mention of any poison that was given him, but only that he died of

a fever. The last opinion, touching Manfred, he manifestly refuteth, and showeth that there is no manner of likelihood of the same; and further, that the contrary is affirmed by divers other writers who were of that time. He died A.D. 1250, the thirteenth day of December, in the six and fiftieth year of his age, and six and thirtieth year of his reign, whose corpse was brought to Palermo, and there entombed.

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Frederic  
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Frederic had three wives, the first was Constantia, the daughter of the king of Arragon, of whom he begat Henry, the duke of Suabia, and king of the Romans: the second, Iole, the daughter of John de Brienne king of Jerusalem, whence the kings of Sicily and Naples to this day insert Jerusalem in their style; of whom he begat Conrad, duke of Suabia, king of Jerusalem and Naples, and Cæsar: the third Isabella, the daughter of John king of England, by whom he had a son named Henry, who is said to have died in his childhood. This Frederic had not his peer in martial affairs and warlike policies to be compared unto him, amongst all the princes of that age: a wise and skilful soldier he was, a great endurer of painful labours and travails, boldest in greatest perils, prudent in foresight, industrious in all his doings, prompt and nimble about that he took in hand, and in adversity most stout and courageous. But as in this corruption of nature none there be that attain perfection, neither yet is there any one of such self-government and godly institution both in life and doctrine as is required of them, so neither was this Frederic without his fault and besetting sin; for the writers impute to him some fault of concupiscence, wherewith he was stained and spotted. And it appeareth that he was not all clear thereof, forasmuch as by sundry concubines he had sundry bastard children; as Encio, king of Sardinia, Manfred, prince of Taranto, and prince Frederic of Antioch.<sup>1</sup> These particulars I find in the description of Frederic by Colenuccio, which he affirmeth that he gathered out of good and probable authors. But as touching the heinous acts and flagitious deeds which the pope burdeneth him withal, and in his sentence against him maketh mention of, not only Frederic purgeth himself thereof, but also most historians (as well Italian writers as German) affirm the same to be false, and of the pope's own brains, to do him skath and teen withal, invented.<sup>2</sup> I have thought good to translate from the Italian what Colenuccio saith on this subject, in the passage following his commendation of Frederic; whose words be these:

*The issue  
of Frederic  
the  
emperor.*

*Frederic a  
most  
puissant  
prince.*

*See  
Appendix.*

*Not with-  
out his  
faults.*

*See  
Appendix.*

“Albeit the emperor Frederic was endued with many goodly gifts and virtues, yet notwithstanding was he accounted an enemy of the church and a persecutor of the same: of which both Innocent IV. in his sentence hath pronounced him guilty, and the same sentence have other popes registered in the Sixth book of Decretals, and established the same for a law: so that, it seems, he ought to be taken for no less. Therefore, peradventure, it should not become me to falsify or call in question that which others have confirmed, or even to dispute and argue much of that matter. Yet notwithstanding, so far as his acts and deeds declare, and the books of the best authors

*Pan-  
dolpho  
touching  
his praise  
and dis-  
praise.*

(1) See *suprà*, p. 502, note (1).—ED.

(2) “Skath, or skare,” and “teen,” injury and sorrow. Todd's Johnson.—ED.

*History of Frederic II. Emperor.* affirm, as also his own epistles do testify, I am inclined to think that the bishops of Rome counted him an enemy to the church, either for that he was somewhat too bold in speaking and telling them but the truth, and reproving the ecclesiastical order of their great abuses ; or else, for that he would have had them go somewhat more near the conditions and lives of the ancient fathers of the primitive church and disciples of Christ ; or else, for that he contended and stood with them for the prerogative and dignities belonging to the empire ; or else, for that they stood in fear and awe of the great power he was of in Italy, which thing indeed Gregory IX. in a certain epistle of his confesseth : but of these things let them judge and discern, who shall read the monuments and histories of Frederic. Truly," saith he, " when I consider with myself that Christ (whose vicars the Roman bishops boast themselves to be) said unto his disciples, that they should follow him, and also imitate his example, as of their master and teacher ; and commanded them, furthermore, how they should not draw the sword, but put up the same into the scabbard ; and further gave them in precept, that they should not only forgive injuries seven times, but seventy-times seven times, to those that offended them ; and when I now compare the lives of the bishops of Rome with these precepts, and consider so many and great conspiracies, treasons, rebellions, disloyalties, lyings-in-wait, and treacherous devices, so many legates of the popes, being ecclesiastical persons, who will needs be called the shepherds of Christ's flock, to be such warriors and captains of soldiers in all parts of Italy, Campania, Apulia, Calabria (being the emperor's dominions), in Picenum, Æmilia, Flaminia, and Lombardy, to be sent out against him ; and also when with myself I meditate the destruction of so many great and famous cities, the subversion of such commonweals, the slaughter of so many men, and the effusion of so much christian blood ; and lastly, when I behold so victorious, prosperous, and fortunate emperors to be, and so many miserable, unfortunate, and vanquished popes put to flight,—I am persuaded with myself to think and believe, that the judgments of God are secret and marvellous, and that to be true, which Æneas Sylvius in his history of Austria writeth, that there is no great and marvellous injury, no notorious and special calamity, that hath happened either to the public weal or else to the church of God, of the which the bishops of Rome have not been the authors. Nicholas Machiavelli also saith, ' That all the ruinous calamities and miserable chances, that the whole christian commonweal and also Italy hath suffered, have been brought in mainly by the popes and bishops of Rome.' "

" Many epistles of Frederic there be, which he wrote unto the bishops of Rome, to the cardinals, and to divers other christian princes, all which I have read ; and in them is to be seen nothing contrary unto christian doctrine, nothing wicked and ungodly, nothing injurious to the church of God, nothing contumelious or arrogantly written of Frederic. But indeed I deny not that they be fraught and full both of pitiful complaints and lamentations, touching the avarice and ambition of the ecclesiastical persons, and pertinacity of the bishops of Rome, and that they would receive and take no satisfaction nor yet excuse, nor tolerate his defence of the rights and

The pope's church, compared with Christ's church, are like black and white.

See Appendix.

See Appendix.



privileges of the empire ; also touching their manifold conspiracies, which they practised both secretly and openly against him ; they are also full of his admonitions which he gave to the whole multitude and order ecclesiastical, to attend upon and discharge their functions and charges. And those who are still further desirous to know and understand the truth, and who covet to search out the renowned virtues of magnificent princes, let them read the epistle of Frederic, addressed to all christian princes, which thus beginneth, ‘ College-runt principes, pontifices, et Pharisei concilium : ’ and another,<sup>1</sup> wherein he exhorteth the college of cardinals to take up the dissension between the emperor and the pope, which beginneth, ‘ In exordio nascentis mundi ; ’ and also another which thus beginneth, ‘ Infallibilis veritatis testem ; ’ besides yet another, ‘ Ad Reges et principes orbis Christiani ; ’ with divers others more, wherein may well be seen the princely virtues of this worthy emperor ; all which epistles collected together in the Latin tongue the learned sort I wish to read, where-out they may pick no little benefit and commodity to themselves. In his epistle last recited these are his words :<sup>2</sup>—‘ Think ye not that we so earnestly desire or crave this peace at your hands, as though our majesty were terrified with the pope’s sentence of deprivation ; when as God, the judge of our conscience, whom we trust in and invoke, is our witness, that when we went about to reform the ecclesiastical state, but especially the ringleaders of the same, and would restrain their power, and extirpate their great tyranny, and reduce the same to the state and condition of the primitive church, we looked for no less at their hands.’—For these causes peradventure, those who held the places of chief dignity in the church decreed and pronounced Frederic to be an enemy to the church : which (as I have said) I leave to others to judge thereof.” Hitherto Pandolpho Colenuccio.

And doubtless examples to the contrary do appear, that Frederic was no enemy to the church of Rome, for that he both gave large and great gifts thereunto, and also franchised the same with great privileges and immunities ; which things by his own constitutions, statutes, and customs, may be perceived and understood. But it would appear, on the other hand, that the bishops of Rome most filthily recompensed again the same his great liberality and princely benevolence, which he gave and bestowed upon the same, as partly in the discourse of this history you have heard ; who notwithstanding they so molested and tired him with such and so many injuries as you have seen, he nevertheless, forgiving and pardoning all the same, for the great zeal he had to the christian commonwealth, whereof he more forced than else of any other thing, sought by all the means he might for to have peace, although it were to his own great hindrance. Therefore, seeing he was of necessity by the bishops of Rome provoked to that war, if he did them any skath in revenge of his imperial dignity, let them thank their own selves, who might otherwise have remedied the same. Notwithstanding, divers both Italian

*History of  
Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.*

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Deserved  
commen-  
dation  
upon the  
epistles of  
Frederic.

*See  
Appendix.*

Frederic  
purposed  
with the  
hazard of  
the state  
to reform  
the  
church of  
Rome.

Sheweth  
himself  
no enemy  
but a  
friend  
to the  
church of  
Rome.

Self do  
self have.  
the pro-  
verb is.

*See  
Appendix.*

(1) The translation of it is given *suprà*, p. 482.—ED.

(2) “ Non existimetis id me a vobis ideo contendere, ac si ex sententia pontificia privationis majestas nostra sit percussa. Cum enim nobis sit rectæ voluntatis conscientia cumque Deum nobiscum habeamus, eundem testem invocamus id nos spectasse, ut cum totum ordinem ecclesiasticum, tum præsertim primæres, nervis potentiæ dominationisque eorum succis extirpatisque tyrannidis radicibus, ad primitivæ ecclesiæ conditionem et statum revocarem.”



*History of  
Frederic  
II.  
Emperor.*

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1250.

Hope of  
gain  
allureth  
many to  
flatter  
and write  
untruths.

and German writers, both of those and of subsequent times, even down to our own age, who sought for fat benefices and studied in their writing by flattery rather to obtain from the pope that which they hunted for, than to bear true and faithful testimony of things as they were indeed, have taken great occasion hence to slander this good emperor. But let us pass over these parasites, and return to those who, although they themselves were of that calling, I mean of the ecclesiastical order, yet notwithstanding, for that they were more swayed by love of truth and respect for worth, than by the authority of the pope and a base disposition to flatter, have greatly extolled and commended this good emperor Frederic. So did Nicolas of Cusa, a cardinal, in his writings affirm this emperor to be another Charlemagne, both for his wisdom and also diligent regard to the commonweal. So also writeth Gilles, archbishop of Bourges, in his book ‘*De Regimine Principum*,’<sup>1</sup> which he wrote for the French kings, exhorting them and all others to take pattern of this most worthy and excellent prince: in commendation of whose worthy praise and virtue these verses are written on his tomb:—

*Si probitas, sensus, virtutum gratia, census,  
Nobilitas ortûs, possent resistere morti,  
Non foret extinctus Fredericus, qui jacet intus.*

Wherefore, inasmuch as it appeareth by the approved writers of whom I have made mention, who and what manner of prince this emperor Frederic was, and that because he diligently laboured, as well in the preservation of the christian commonweal, as in the conservation of the imperial dignity, he procured to himself the great hatred and displeasure of the Roman bishops (who have been to all the good emperors for the most part utter foes and enemies), and with what wicked slanders and other injuries both by them, and by their ministers he was continually molested—this lesson ought to be ours, that having the same in our memory, we imitate and follow his virtues, hating and detesting the wicked and flagitious doings of those holy fathers that will so be called, the bishops of Rome: desiring God that he will so guide the hearts of all kings and princes, that they may, by his grace, advance and set forth his glory, and reform the corrupt and vicious manner and order of the church to all sincerity and purity both of life and doctrine.

These verses which here ensue were sent and written between the emperor and pope Innocent IV., which, because to the learned they are both commodious and profitable, at the end of this history I thought good to place.

*Fredericus Imper. Innocent IV. Papæ.*

*Fata monent, stellæque docent, aviumque volatus,  
Totius subito malleus orbis ero:  
Roma diu titubans longis erroribus acta  
Corruet, et mundi desinet esse caput.*

*Innocent. Papa Frederico Imper.*

*Fata silent, stellæque tacent, nil prædicat ales,  
Soli est proprium nosse futura Dei:  
Niteris incassum navem submergere Petri:  
Fluctuat, at nunquam mergitur illa ratis.*

(1) Gilles Colonne was archbp. of Bourges, A.D. 1294—1316. *Gallia Christiana*. See Cave's *Hist. Lit.* His work “*De Regimine Principum*” was translated into English by Thomas Ocleve, one of our old English poets. See Tanner's *Biblioth.* and Wharton's *Hist. of English Poetry*. See p. 714. *infra*.—E.D.

Fama refert, scriptura docet, peccata loquuntur,  
 Quòd tibi vita brevis, pœna perennis erit.  
 Quod divina manus potuit, sensit Julianus ;  
 Tu succedis ei, te tenet ira Dei.  
 FRE. fremit in mundo, DE. deprimit alta profundo,  
 RI. mala rimatur, CUS. cuspide cuncta minatur.

*Fredericus Innocentio.*

Fata monent, stellæque docent, aviumque volatus,  
 Lapsurum te mox ad stygis antra nigræ.  
 Cymba Petri non est, sed Christi, quæ natat undis :  
 Fluctuat, at nunquam mergitur illa ratis.  
 Fama refert, tua scripta docent, peccata nefanda  
 Interitum ostendunt, exitiumque tuum.  
 Strangulat Adrianum musca ; anon ira Tonantis  
 Cogitat et de te sumere supplicium ?  
 Carcere suspendit sese Benedictus, et alter,  
 In stupro captus, saucius ense perit :  
 Sylvestrum extinguit Satanas sceleratione ipse :  
 Ergo tuis factis præmia digna feres.  
 Innocuum te voce notas, cum sis nociturus  
 Orbi terrarum christianoque gregi.

*Fredericus Innocentio de integro.*

Esses si membrum, non te caput orbis et urbis  
 Jactares, cum sis orbis et urbis onus.  
 Nunc membrum non es, sed putre cadaver et ulcus,  
 Ense recidendum, ridiculumque caput.  
 A Daniele βδελυγµα, nefasque caputque malorum,  
 Diceris, a Paulo filius exitii.  
 Nos solum Christum nostrum caput esse : malorum  
 Totius orbis te caput esse facis.  
 Et caput est unum, quod Paulus dicit ubique ;  
 Tu, vecors balatro, dic mihi quale caput ?  
 Corporis ergo caput monstrosi, monstra parisque,  
 Monstra paris monachos, scorta nefanda foves.  
 Est tua religio stuprum, ira, superbia, cædes,  
 Error, deliciæ, fulmina, turpe lucrum.  
 Ex his ergo liquet Christum te spernere : Christo  
 Hostem esse invisum, dedecorique Deo.  
 Rex tandem veniet cœlo delapsus ab alto,  
 Tunc non defendent te sacra, missa, cruces ;  
 Non in sublimi surgentes vertice cristæ,  
 Non diploma potens, non tua sacra cohors ;  
 Nec diadema triplex, nec sedes sanguine parta,  
 Nullus honos solii, purpura nulla, tui.  
 Triginta argenteis Christum vendebat Iudas,  
 Tu Christi vendis corpora plura tui.  
 Corpora tu vendis Christi parvo ære, polumque,  
 Cœlestes genios, sidera, jura, Deos.

As ye have heard of the iniquity and raging pride of the popish church against their lawful emperor, so now shall ye hear (Christ willing) how God beginneth to resist and withstand the corruption of that whorish church, by stirring up certain faithful teachers in sundry countries ; as in the country of Suabia about the time of this emperor (A. D. 1240), or near upon the same, where were many preachers mentioned in the Paraleipomena of Urspergensis, and also in Crantzius,<sup>1</sup> who preached freely against the pope. These preachers (as Crantzius saith) ringing the bells, and calling the barons together at Halle in Suabia, there preached that the pope was a heretic, and that his bishops and prelates were Simoniacs and heretics ; and that

Certain  
preachers  
in Suabia

(1) ["Saxonizæ,"] lib. viii. cap. 16 et ["Metropolis,"] lib. viii. cap.] 18, [cited by Illyricus "Cat. Test.," col. 1651, from the Par. Ursperg. ; whence a few corrections are made in the text.—Ed.]

Henry  
III.

A.D.  
1250.

Resist-  
ance a-  
gainst the  
pope no  
new thing  
in Christ's  
church.

Arnold  
de Villa  
Nova con-  
demned  
of heresy.  
See  
Appendix

the inferior priests and prelates had no authority to bind and loose, but were all seducers: Item, that no pope, bishop, or priest, could restrain men from their duty of serving and worshipping God, and therefore such cities or countries as were under the pope's curse might, notwithstanding, lawfully resort to the receiving of sacraments as well as before: Item, that friars, Dominic and Franciscan, did pervert the church with their preaching. And that, as the indulgence of the pope and his popelings was of no regard, so that remission which they themselves did preach unto men, they preached it not from the pope, but as from the Lord. And thus much I thought here to recite, whereby it may appear how the resisting of the pope's usurped power and corrupt doctrine is no new thing in these days in the church of Christ.

And not long after these aforesaid rose up Arnold de Villa Nova, a Spaniard, and a man famously learned and a great divine (A.D. 1250); whom the pope with his spirituality condemned among heretics for holding and writing against the corrupt errors of the popish church. His teaching was that Satan had seduced all the world from the truth of Christ Jesus: Item, that the faith which then christian men were commonly taught, was such a faith as the devils had; meaning belike (as we now affirm) that the papists do teach only the historical faith, which is the faith 'Historiæ, non fiduciæ.' Item, that christian people (meaning belike, for the most part) are led by the pope into hell: Item, that all cloisterers are beyond mercy and damned: Item, that all men do falsify the doctrine of Christ: Item, that the divines do evil in mixing philosophy with divinity: Item, that masses are not to be celebrated: Item, that they ought not to sacrifice for the dead. Certain erroneous opinions there are, likewise, which the slanderous sects of monks and friars do attribute unto him; but rather (as they are wont to do) by enviously taking, than of any just cause given.<sup>1</sup>

Johannes  
Semeca,  
the gloss-  
writer of  
the pope's  
decrees.  
excom-  
municat-  
ed.

And<sup>2</sup> as this Arnold was condemned, so also at the same time Johannes Semeca, the gloss-writer on Gratian's "Decretum," and provost of Halberstat, was excommunicated and deprived of his provostship for resisting pope Clement IV. exacting the tenths throughout Germany; and therefore he appealed from the pope to a general council, and had many great men on his side, when behold, both the pope and he died.

Guliel-  
mus de S.  
Amore.

Consequently in this order and number followeth the worthy and valiant champion of Christ, and adversary of Antichrist, Gulielmus de Sancto Amore, a doctor of Paris, canon of the church of Beauvais. This Gulielmus in his time had no small ado in writing against the friars and their hypocrisy, but especially against the begging friars, both condemning their whole order, and also accusing them, as those that did disturb and trouble all the churches of Christ by their preaching in churches against the will of the ordinary pastors, by their hearing of confessions, and executing the charges of curates and pastors. All the testimonies of Scripture that describe Antichrist and his ministers, he applicth to the pope's spirituality. The same Gulielmus is thought to be the author of the book,<sup>3</sup> which is attributed to the school of

(1) Vide librum [Illyrici] "de testibus veritatis." [Ed. 1608, col. 1647, whence some corrections are made in the text.—Ed.]

(2) From hence to the middle of the next page is from Illyricus, col. 1648.—Ed.

(3) The following signs of a false prophet, pp. 511—520, are from the "De periculis ecclesiæ," chap. xiv., and will be found in Browne's Appendix to the "Fasciculus." See Appendix.—Ed.

Paris, and entitled, 'De periculis Ecclesiæ;' wherein he proveth by nine and thirty arguments, that the begging friars be false apostles.

Henry  
III.

Moreover, he doth well expound this saying of Christ, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell away all thou hast, and come follow me," declaring there, poverty to be enjoined us of Christ, 'non actualem, sed habitualem;' not in such sort as standeth in outward action, when no need requireth, but in inward affection of heart when need shall require. As though the meaning and precept of our Lord were not, that we should cast away actually all that we have: but that, when the confession of the name of God and the glory of Christ shall so require, then we be ready to leave and relinquish what things soever for the sake of him, &c. As when he requireth of us, after the like phrase, the hatred of father and mother, and of our own lives, he biddeth us not to dishonour father or mother, much less to hate them; but that then, when case shall require, we set all things behind the love of Christ. Many other worthy works he compiled, wherein albeit he uttered nothing but what was truth, yet, notwithstanding, he was by Antichrist and his rabble condemned for a heretic, exiled, and his books burnt; whose heretical arguments, as they called them, that thou mayest better judge thereof, hereunder I thought good to place. Against false prophets, with signs to know them by, these his words do follow:—

A. D.  
1250.

The place  
of the  
gospel ex-  
pounded,  
'Go and  
sell all and  
come fol-  
low me.'

See  
Appendix.

For because these seducers (saith he) name themselves to be apostles, and say that they are sent of God to preach, to absolve and dispense with the souls of men, by means of their ministry, read the saying of the apostle: [2 Cor. xi. 11.] "For such apostles are subtle and crafty workmen, disguising themselves to be like the apostles of Christ." Therefore, we mean to show some certain infallible and probable tokens, by the which false apostles may be discerned from the true preachers and apostles of Christ.

The first sign or mark is, that such as be true preachers do not enter into simple women's houses laden with sin, and take them as it were captive, as many of the false preachers do; as in the second epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, the third chapter, is manifest, saying, "Of those sorts are they, which enter into women's houses," &c. Therefore those preachers who come into women's houses, to the intent they may take them captive, be not true preachers, but false apostles.

First sign  
and token  
to know a  
false pro-  
phet by.

The second sign and token is, that those that be true preachers do not deceive simple men with painted and flattering words, whereby they prefer their own trash and tradition, as all false prophets do, as in the last chapter to the Romans appeareth, saying, "By their pleasant and sugared talk, and by their blessing and crossing, they deceive and beguile the hearts of innocent men and women."<sup>1</sup> Glossa:—"With gay glorious words they extol and set forth their traditions, whereby they deceive simple men." Very greatly do they deceive the souls of simple men, who cause them to enter into their sect, which they term religion. And they who before led a naughty life, by reason of their ignorance or simplicity, after their entrance, become subtle and false deceiving hypocrites, entering together with the rest into poor men's houses; yea, and oftentimes they become worse than the others. Whereupon, [St. Matthew xxii. 15,] "Woe be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, which go about," &c. Therefore they who do this, are no true messengers, but false apostles.

Second  
sign.  
True  
preachers  
do not de-  
ceive sim-  
ple men  
with  
painted  
and flat-  
tering  
words.

The third sign is, that the true apostles, if they be reprov'd, suffer the same patiently, saying, "The tokens of my apostleship are accomplished among you, in all patience and sufferance;" [2 Cor. xii. 12,] meaning that patience which pertaineth to the manners of the preachers. Therefore they, who suffer not correction or punishment, be no true apostles, but rather show themselves to be no Christians at all; "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy

The third  
sign is,  
that they  
take  
in good  
part when  
they be  
reprov'd.

(1) "By good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple." Rom. xvi. 18.—ED.

Henry  
III.

A. D.  
1250.

Ghost." [1 Cor. xii. 3.] Glossa:— "It is meet that Christians should be humbled, to the intent that they may suffer themselves to be reprov'd, and not to be holden up with yea and nay." And also such men do show themselves to be carnal, and not spiritual at all, although they feign themselves to be spiritual. "Therefore am I become an enemy unto you." [Gal. iv. 16.] Notwithstanding the Glossa saith:— "No carnal man will be reprov'd, although he err." Wherefore, those preachers who suffer not correction, seem not to be true apostles, but false prophets.

The  
fourth,  
that they  
commend  
not them-  
selves.

The fourth sign is, that true apostles commend not themselves [2 Cor. x. 12]. "For we dare not join ourselves, nor yet compare ourselves unto others which commend and boast of many of their acts, when God alloweth none of them at all." Also true preachers, although they be indeed praiseworthy for their good deserts, in the consciences of men are they praiseworthy, and not to the outward show alone; "We commend ourselves," saith the apostle, "to the consciences of all men." [2 Cor. iv. 2.] Then they do not commend themselves in comparison of others. Wherefore the Glossa saith, upon the same place, "Those that deserve no commendation, but in comparison of others, do challenge to themselves other men's deserts and praise." Wherefore it is said, "Even as our well-beloved brother Paul, according to the wisdom that God hath given unto him, hath written unto you." [2 Peter iii. 15.] Glossary: "The chiefest of the apostles hath here forgotten his papal authority, and also his keys that were delivered unto him; for he is astonied as it were at the great wisdom given unto his brother Paul." For indeed it is the manner of the elect children of God, to be more in love with the virtues of other men, than with their own. Wherefore it is written, "Let those that are superiors esteeme of themselves in all humility." [Phil. ii. 2.] They therefore that do the contrary, saying, 'That their state or doings be better than other men's,' although they be preachers, yet are they no true apostles indeed, but false prophets.

The fifth,  
they need  
no letters  
commen-  
datory.

The fifth sign is, that true apostles need no letters of commendation; nor yet desire to have themselves praised by men, as saith the apostle, "We need not the letters of commendation of any man," [2 Cor. iii. 1.] that is to say, of false prophets.

The  
sixth,  
they  
preach  
not ex-  
cept they  
be sent.

The sixth sign is, that true apostles do not preach unless they be sent, as "How shall they preach, unless they be sent?" [Rom. x. 15.] Glossa:— "There be no true apostles, but those that be sent: for they have no need of signs who are true witness-bearers, but those that be not sent and do preach are false prophets."

The  
seventh,  
when  
those  
false  
prophets  
preach,  
that were  
never  
sent.

The seventh sign is, forasmuch as false prophets have their authority in their own names; wherefore it is written, "For we dare not boast of ourselves, or make comparison." [2 Cor. x. 12.] Glossa:— "That is to say, with those that be false prophets, not taking their authority from God, but usurping the same, desirous to bear rule, claiming in their own name their authority." And, therefore, although peradventure by presumption, they say that they are sent of God, as all heretics will say; yet, notwithstanding, unless they shall prove their sending either by spiritual prophecy, as John the Baptist did, saying, "I am the voice of a crier in the desert;" as out of the prophet Isaiah, in John's gospel is alleged [chap. i. 23], or else by miracles, as Moses did, who turned his rod into a serpent, and again, from a serpent to a rod [Exod. vii. 10, 12], they ought to be excommunicated, till such time as they cease from preaching. Yet notwithstanding, a miracle ought not to be a sufficient testimony of their sending, forasmuch as they be done oftentimes, and that of evil and wicked men, (1 Quæst. 1.) we may perceive towards the end. But miracles ought to be suspected, forasmuch as our Saviour saith, "Then shall false prophets arise," &c. [Matth. xxiv. 11.] Therefore they who do challenge authority in their own name, forasmuch as they have not their authority from God, are not true apostles, but false preachers.

The  
eighth,  
that they  
pretend  
great  
holiness  
in super-  
stition.

The eighth sign is, that false prophets, pretending great wisdom and holiness to be in superstition, have named their own traditions to be religion, which are rather to be counted sacrilege or church robbery, and do usurp unto themselves, for due deserts of other men, by boasting and bragging among strange and unknown people. Wherefore the apostle speaking of false prophets [Col. ii. 8], saith, "According to the precepts of men, which having a face of wisdom consist in superstition, interlaced with humility." Glossa:— "That is to say, mingled with feigned religion, that it might be called religion, when in very



deed it is nothing else but sacrilege, because it is contrary to all authority;” that is, contrary to God himself, that any man should desire to have government of a multitude without public commandment, as [Deut. xxiii. 24], “Thou hast entered into thy neighbour’s vineyard.” Glossa:—“That is to say, into the church of another bishop.” May a man warn and admonish others, or else correct that congregation which is not lawful for him to govern, nor yet to take so great a charge upon him? No. And that it is not lawful to enter into another bishop’s diocese, it is apparent, because it is not lawful for the archbishop so to do. To this effect appertaineth that which is read [6 Quæst. 3.] And also it is written [9 Quæst. 2] throughout. Therefore those preachers, who, against God and his divine Scriptures, do call their own traditions religion, are not apostles, but false prophets.

The ninth sign is, by the authority which they have: for although they be no preachers of the gospel or ministers of the sacraments, yet they will live by the gospel, and not by the labour of their own hands, contrary to the text, [2 Thess. iii. 8.] “Neither have we eaten any man’s bread for nought, or of free cost.” Glossa:—“Then those false prophets ought much more to live by their labour, who have not that authority which we ought to have; that is to say, to live by the gospel.” And St. Augustine speaketh of this more expressly, in his book *De opere Monachorum*, in these words: “Those our brethren do claim to themselves (very rashly as me thinketh) that they have any such authority, to live by the gospel. If they be preachers of the gospel, I grant that indeed they have such authority; if they be ministers of the altar, if they be disposers of the sacraments, they cannot well but take to themselves this authority, as also manifestly to challenge the same; if, at least, they have not wherewithal to sustain this present life, without labour of their hands.” As though he would have said, if they be not such manner of men, then have they no authority to live by the gospel. Therefore those preachers who have not authority to live by the gospel, or minister the sacraments, because they have no congregation whereby to take charge of souls, and yet, for all that, will needs live upon the gospel; they be no true apostles, but false prophets.

The tenth sign is, that false teachers rejoice more to be commended themselves, than that the word of God should have the commendation and praise. But they that are true preachers and apostles are far otherwise minded, “Not seeking the praise of men,” &c. [1 Thess. ii. 4.] And herein he toucheth those false prophets, who desire rather to be commended themselves, than that the word of God which they preach should have the commendation: but he is an apostle, who not seeking the glory of this present world, but for the glory to come, doth abase himself, to the intent that the preaching and word of God might be commended and exalted. They, therefore, who desire to have praise and to be commended of others, rather than that the word of God should have the praise, be not true apostles, but false prophets.

The eleventh sign is, that true apostles preach only for God’s cause, and for the health of souls, and for no temporal gain, as St. Paul saith, [2 Cor. ii. 5.] “We preach not ourselves,” &c. Glossa:—“Our preaching tendeth not to our glory and gain, but only to the glory of Christ.” But the preaching of Christ, by those that are false prophets, tendeth to the contrary. Whereupon it is said, [Phil. i. 18.] “Whether it be upon occasion given, or else for the Verity’s sake, let Christ be preached,” &c. Glossa:—“False prophets do preach the gospel upon some occasion, as either by seeking some commodity at the hands of men, or else because of getting goods, honour, or praise among men.” Notwithstanding, however, that they be ready and willing, as it should seem, to bear and sustain injuries, yet they seek not so much the health of him to whom they preach, as in very deed they do their own commodity and gain. Whereupon St. Paul saith, [2 Cor. xii. 14.] “Because I seek not the things that be yours.” Glossa:—“That is to say, not your treasure, as gold and silver, but only you yourselves.” For, otherwise, it could by no means be gathered that they should understand him to speak or mean of their substance, because he more esteemeth them than their money, to the intent that they might understand his great good will towards them. Therefore these evil and naughty preachers who preach for worldly gain or honour, or else for the praise and commendation of men, be no true apostles, but false prophets. But it may be asked, how shall men understand when these good fellows preach for their

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nister, yet  
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bour.That they  
take that  
to them-  
selves,  
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word of  
God.They  
preach  
for gain,  
and not  
for God’s  
cause.



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own vain-glory's sake? It may be answered thus, when they preach before they be called [2 Cor. x. 17], "Whosoever boasteth, let him boast and rejoice in the Lord." Glossa:—"Which thing he cannot by any means do that hath not his authority from God." For if any such prophet preach, he seeketh his own glory, and that may easily be perceived. Because he is not called of God, he hath no such authority of him; that is to say, of his church or congregation, as [Heb. v. 4], "No man taketh to himself any dignity, but he that is called of God, as Aaron was." Glossa:—"He is called of God, that is, lawfully chosen of the congregation."

They  
counter-  
feit to  
love,  
where  
they hate.

The twelfth sign or token of a false prophet is, because such prophets do counterfeit themselves to have greater care and love to men's souls, than they have that be their very governors and pastors, although they have no charge at all of them; against whom the apostle speaketh [1 Thess. ii. 7], "We are become meek and loving towards you, even as the nurse which giveth her child suck." Glossa:—"A woman nurseth other men's children for wages, and not for love alone; but she giveth her own suck of very love without respect of money." Therefore those preachers who feign themselves to have a greater love and affection to the souls of men, than they that have the charge over them, seem not to be true apostles. The apostles study neither for eloquence, nor for the curious placing of their words, but false prophets do both, as [1 Cor. xiv. 23], "If the simple and ineloquent man," &c. Glossa:—"The apostles were not eloquent, but false prophets are full of curious eloquence." Also upon the same subject another gloss: "The Corinthians were led away from the gospel by over nice eloquence." [2 Cor. vi. 4.] "Let us show ourselves before all men as the ministers of God." Glossa:—"The ministers of God do not flatter as false prophets do." And for this occasion those that be true apostles have not their abiding in princes' courts and noblemen's houses, knowing this saying of Christ [Matt. xi. 8], "Behold, those that are clothed with silks dwell in kings' courts." Glossa:—"And therefore true apostles are not conversant in princes' courts, and noblemen's houses." Hard and strait life with the preaching of the gospel loveth not to come near princes' palaces, and noblemen's houses. Oftentimes it cometh to pass that courtiers are found great flatterers; therefore those preachers that have their abode in princes' courts, or that in any other place are used to flatter, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

They cir-  
cumvent  
men, to  
have their  
goods,  
and care  
for no-  
thing  
else.

The thirteenth sign is, that true apostles or messengers do not circumvent or subtly go about to deceive men, that they should give unto them their goods, either in their lifetime, or else at the time of their death, as [2 Cor. vii. 2], "We have falsely deceived no man." Glossa:—"By the subtle and deceitful getting away of your substance, as false prophets do, who get away from you those things that be yours under pretence of great friendship." Also [Matt. xxiii. 14], "Woe be unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, you hypocrites, which spoil widows' houses by your long prayers;" who mean nothing else by your superstition, but that you may spoil and rob the people. [Luke xx. 47], "Which devour widows' houses by dissimulation of your long prayer." Glossa:—"Who make over-long prayers, to the intent they may seem more devout, and that they may get both money and great commendation of all such as be sick and troubled with the burden of their sins; whose prayers be turned into sin, which neither are profitable for themselves nor any other, but rather shall have for making those prayers greater damnation, forasmuch as by the same they deceive others." For by this, that they receive and take both gold and silver, it appeareth that they preach not for souls' health sake, but only for filthy lucre and gain sake. [Matt. x. 9], "Be ye possessors neither of gold nor silver." Glossa:—"If they then have these things, they cannot seem or be thought to preach for the health of the soul, but for lucre's sake." And so saith Jerome upon the prophet Malachi, "Because some prophets took money, their prophecy became divination;" that is to say, their prophecy appeared not to be prophecy, but divination, or enchantment: that is, that such prophecy proceedeth not from God, but from the devil. And this appeareth in [1 Quest. 1.] having this beginning, "Nunquam Divinatio," &c. Therefore those preachers who circumvent and beguile men, to the intent that they should give them their goods, either in their lifetime, or after their death, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The fourteenth sign is, that false prophets, when any verity is preached, with which for the most part they are not acquainted, or that toucheth them, then begin they to chase and bark against the same. Whereupon the apostle [Phil. iii. 2], saith, "Behold the dogs," &c. Glossa:—"Understand you that they are not dogs by nature, but by their usage and conditions, barking against the truth, which they were never acquainted with." And so he compareth them right well to dogs, because dogs follow rather custom than reason; so false apostles do keep the custom of the law, and do bite and bark against the truth, as though they were without the gift of reason. Also [2 Tim. iv. 3], "They get them instructors according to their own desires." Glossa:—"Which may teach them what things they themselves are willing to hear, because the truth seemeth nothing pleasant unto them." Therefore those preachers who bark against the late revealed truth, which toucheth them very near, and therefore cause the same to be hidden and kept under, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

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They cannot abide to have the truth preached.

The fifteenth sign is, that the true apostles do not force any to receive or hear them who be unwilling, but send them away rather, lest they should seem to seek after some earthly and transitory thing. [Matt. x. 14], "Whosoever will not receive you, get you out of that city, and shake the dust from off your feet," &c. Glossa:—"That you may thereby show that the desire of earthly things hath no power in you." Therefore those preachers who strive and wrestle, as it were, to the intent they would be received and heard, are not true apostles, forasmuch as the apostle saith [1 Cor. xi. 16], "If any man appear among you to be over-contentious or full of strife, such custom have we none, nor yet the congregation of Christ."

False prophets enforce those to hear who are not willing.

The sixteenth sign is, that the apostles did not procure the indignation of those princes, by whom they were esteemed and regarded, against such persons as would not receive them and hear them; as we read in the lives of Simon and Jude, the apostles. The chief ruler, being very angry, commanded a very great fire to be made, that the bishops might be cast into the same, and all others who went about to defame the doctrine of the apostles of Christ. But the apostles fell down before the emperor, saying, "We beseech you, sir, let not us be the authors or causers of this destruction or calamity; nor let us who are sent to be the preservation of men, and to revive those that are dead through sin, be killers of those that be alive." Therefore those preachers who seek to stir up the displeasure of princes, against those whose favours now they enjoy, who will not receive and hear them, or rather, whom they themselves hate, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

They cause princes to hate and punish them that will not hear them.

The seventeenth sign is, that the apostles of Christ have not only the knowledge of those things which God hath already done, but also of those things which he will hereafter do, as in the Apocalypse [chap. iv. 6.], "The beasts were full of eyes both behind and before." Glossa:—"Obtaining the knowledge of those things which God had done, as also what he would do, hereafter, in the end of the world." Therefore those that say they know not the perils of the church in the latter time which are prophesied before, or that they care not for them, or else, if they know them, have not eyes behind and before, are no true apostles; therefore when they call themselves apostles, they are false prophets.

False prophets do not know either what God hath done, or yet will do, as true prophets do.

The eighteenth sign is, that true apostles do not desire the riches and goods of them to whom they preach, whereby they are discerned from wolves, that is to say, from false prophets. [Acts xx. 8.] "I have desired no man's gold nor silver." Glossa:—"By this are wolves discerned, for they desire such things." And again in the same place; "For those things which I have need of, and those which were with me, these hands have ministered." Glossa:—"This example also of labouring is a spectacle for bishops whereby they are discerned from wolves." For such as ask or beg of those to whom they preach, or set any other to ask or beg in their names, do seem to commit simony, like Gehazi, of whom it is read [2 Kings v. 20], that he craved certain apparel of Naaman, the Syrian, to whom his master Elisha had restored the benefit of health, notwithstanding he had gotten those garments unwitting to his master. Whereupon Gregory Nazianzen saith, [1 Quæst. I] "Qui isti debetur." But some man perhaps will say, cannot the preacher ask money, or money's worth, of those to whom he preacheth? Or at the least, may not he beg? To this may be

That they preach for money, and are not to be discerned from wolves.

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If the  
preacher  
do his  
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ing, he  
may take  
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necessary  
things.

answered; if the preacher by authority preach and feed his flock as a true pastor with the food of God's word, he may take money or money's worth; but then it is not begging or craving, but it is by authority, as [2 Tim. ii. 6], "It is meet that the husbandman that tilleth the ground, should first and after others, receive the commodity of his increase." Glossa:—"He putteth the virtuous preacher out of doubt, not preaching for the intent to make merchandise of the gospel, and giveth him to understand, that it is lawful for him to take of them whom he feedeth as his flock what things soever he hath need of, and doth it not in begging or craving, but by good authority." It is manifest that it cannot in any place of the holy Scripture be found, that the preacher ought to beg. But begging is forbidden of all the apostles of Christ, and is abhorred by Solomon and by St. Augustine, and reproved by divers other holy men. Therefore it is manifest that the true apostles do not desire the temporal goods of them to whom they preach, neither do they beg nor crave the same. They, therefore, that require any thing of them to whom they preach, or else set any other man to ask for them, or in their names, do not seem to be true apostles, but false preachers.

True  
apostles  
do not  
render  
evil for  
good, as  
false do.

The nineteenth sign is, that true apostles are patient in tribulation, neither do they render evil for good. [Matt. x. 16.] "Behold, I send you as sheep among wolves." Glossa:—"They, that occupy the place of preaching, ought not to procure any evil toward their brethren, as the example of Christ teacheth" [1 Pet. ii. 23], "Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again, but did submit himself to him that judgeth justly." They therefore that suffer not injury, but rather do wrong themselves, are not true apostles, but false apostles.

True  
apostles  
are not  
so well  
entertain-  
ed as  
false pro-  
phets be.

The twentieth sign is, that true apostles at their first coming are evil entertained, as the Lord saith [Matt. xxiv. 9], "Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake." But at length such get the victory, according to that saying. [1 John v. 4.] "Every thing that is of God overcometh the world." They, therefore, that in the beginning rejoice and are well entertained, but in the end are rejected, seem not to be true apostles, but false.

True  
preachers  
build not  
upon any  
other  
man's  
founda-  
tion.

The twenty-first sign is, that true preachers go not to preach unto those who have preachers appointed unto them, because they have not to rejoice of a company belonging to another man's charge; as [Rom. xv. 20], "I have preached the gospel where Christ was not before preached, lest I should build upon another man's foundation." And again St. Paul saith [2 Cor. x. 15], "We are not boasters, nor busy in other men's matters." Glossa:—"Where another man had laid the foundation." Likewise in the same chapter [16], "Not having pleasure to boast of other men's labours," that is to say, of those which he committed to the government of another man. Likewise Augustine saith; "Honour ought to seek thee, and not thou honour." Also Chrysostom; "Authority is in love with such a man as refuseth her, and yet abhorreth her not." They therefore that procure and have a desire to preach unto the people committed to another man's charge, which is an office of honour, especially in councils, synods, and great assemblies, also in kings' and princes' courts, and prelates' palaces, are not true apostles, but false teachers.

Authority  
loveth  
them that  
refuse  
her, and  
yet abhor  
her not.

True pro-  
phets are  
not proud  
and vain-  
glorious,  
as false  
prophets  
be.

The twenty-second sign is, that true apostles, when they know themselves to do much good in the church and congregation of God, yet, notwithstanding, are not puffed up with pride [Ezek. iii. 9]; "O son of man, I have made thy face as an adamant stone." The adamant stone, when it draweth iron unto it, is not thereby either lifted up or altered. Likewise a true preacher, when he draweth unto him, by his preaching, sinners whose hearts are as hard as iron, is never the more lifted up or higher minded therefore. But as in Luke [chap. xvii. 10], "When ye have done all that ye can, and as well as ye can, yet say that you are unprofitable servants;" and in Psalm xcvi. "Not unto us, Lord, not unto us, but to thy name be given the glory." They therefore that do arrogantly boast themselves of their fruit, and of the benefit they have done in the church of God, saying, "We have given light to the universal church, which was blind before our time, and we have put out the flame of sin in the church of God" (when perhaps they have more furthered hypocrisy than either truth or verity), they are not true prophets, but false, of whom it is spoken in the Psalms, "The mouth of them that speak proud things," &c.

False pro-  
phets al-  
ways are  
men-plea-  
sers.

The twenty-third sign is, that true apostles do not seek the favour of the world, nor yet how to please men, as [Gal. i. 10], "If I should please men,"

that is to say, "if I had a desire to please men, I should not be the servant of God." Whereupon the apostle says to the Colossians [chap. iii. 22], "Not as men-pleasers." Glossa:—"Seeking to please, because we have not the pleasing Spirit." Therefore those preachers that seek the favour of the world, and do labour to this intent that they might please men, are not true apostles, but false.

The twenty-fourth sign is, that true apostles, when they have meat and drink, they are contented, neither do they desire over-dainty fare, according to the saying in Luke [chap. x. 8], "Eating and drinking those things that are set before you." Glossa:—"The gospel condemneth not altogether costly and delicate fare, yet it so alloweth the same, that if we have meat and drink, we ought not to grudge, but to be therewith content." Therefore those preachers, who, although they neither be sent, nor have authority to preach, are yet offended when they have not fine and delicate fare, are not true apostles, but false preachers.

The twenty-fifth sign is, that true apostles do love more the law of God than their own estimation amongst their neighbours; according to that in the Proverbs [chap. vii. 2, 3], "Keep my law as the apple of thine eye, and bind the same upon thy fingers, and write the same in the table of thy heart." Whereupon also the Psalmist [Psalm cxix. 72], "The law of thy mouth is dearer unto me than thousands of gold and silver." Glossa:—"Charity doth more love the law of God, than the desire of gold and silver a thousand fold." He, therefore, that seeth the gospel of Christ trodden under foot, which is the eternal glad tidings, to be taken away by that cursed one, and doth neglect and condemn the same, or else, peradventure, consenteth unto the same to the outward appearance of the world; and yet, because he will keep his temporal dignity and estimation, refuseth not to stir up strife and contention about the same, and so to be evil spoken of, seemeth not to be an apostle of Christ, but rather a false prophet, if he be a preacher.

The twenty-sixth sign is, that true apostles seek not after such fine lodgings and wealthy habitations, where they may have all things at their commandments; but rather such honest resting places where they may have necessary things for themselves, with their good wills of whom they have them. And they take nothing of such whom they see to be so ready and liberal in giving, nor think that they do him more pleasure in receiving the gift, than the others do in giving them the same; according to that in Matthew [chap. x. 11], where it is said, "Into what city or town soever ye shall enter, inquire out those that be of good report in the same, and abide you with them so long as you tarry in the same city or town." Glossa:—"Your host, with whom ye lodge, ought to be chosen by the good report of neighbours, lest your preaching be evil spoken of, by reason of his infamy; neither ought such men to run from house to house." But whom shall we call "worthy of good report?" Glossa:—"Him who knoweth better to do other men good, than to receive a good turn of another;" and this is he which giveth willingly, for Christ's cause, and not in respect of any commodity. Also true apostles receive nothing of such men as lie weltering in their sins, but rather of those that are washed and cleansed from their sins; whereupon that saying [2 Cor. viii. 5], "They have given themselves first to the Lord." Glossa:—"Because they now, amending their old errors and vicious manners, have vowed themselves unto the Lord, and afterwards gave of that which they had to their brethren; for otherwise they ought not to have taken any thing of them, because gifts do blind the eyes; but those that give, where there is no cause of reproof in their doings, have no just cause to give." Therefore those preachers that seek how to come by dainty fare, and do receive bribes and rewards of naughty men that have this world at will, to the intent that those preachers may cover and hide their faults, and who get of others what they can by subtlety, or who give indeed to remove the shameless importunity of the craver, or else for avoiding of present shame, rather than for any love they have to God, are not true apostles, but false prophets; according to that in the Corinthians [2 Cor. ix. 7], "The Lord doth love a willing giver." Glossa:—"He that giveth for present shame, or else that he may be free from the importunity of him that asketh, doth lose his substance and merit: wherefore he that hath respect to these things, doth not seek the fruit and profit of the giver, but the gift itself, as saith the apostle [Phil. iv. 17], "Seek not the gift, but the fruit or benefit of the giver."

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True prophets eat what is set before them, and give God thanks, unlike false prophets.

False prophets love more their own estimation, than that the word of God should be truly taught.

They are not contented with necessary things, but look after superfluous.



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Those be  
false pro-  
phets,  
whose  
belly is  
their god.  
True pro-  
phets re-  
joice not  
in mira-  
cles, as  
false pro-  
phets do.

True pro-  
phets seek  
not their  
own  
glory.

True pro-  
phets do  
not force  
upon the  
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saluta-  
tions of  
men.

False pro-  
phets re-  
sort to  
other  
men's  
boards  
and flatter  
for a  
meal's  
meat.

True pro-  
phets do  
not hate  
their ene-  
mies.

True pro-  
phets do  
not perse-  
cute men.

The twenty-seventh sign is, that true apostles do not endeavour themselves to seek and enjoy the fruit of other men's labours that they may be fed thereby, because that the belly is such men's god, according to those words [2 Thess. iii. 2], "We have heard of some amongst you which walk inordinately, not labouring at all, but living delicately, or idly." Glossa:—"On other men's labours;" and deserve they to be fed? The discipline of the Lord cannot away with that doing; for the belly is their god, which provide to have more than necessary dishes of meat. Therefore those preachers who so do, are not true apostles, but false.

The twenty-eighth sign is, that true apostles do not rejoice only on account of the miracles or other excellent works which the Lord doth by them, but they rather rejoice for the salvation which they look for from the Lord, than that by doing those miracles they desire any honour; according to that which is written in Luke [chap. x. 20], saying, "Rejoice ye not for that the spirits be subject unto you, but because your names are registered in heaven." They therefore that boast of their own miracles, or of any that belong unto them, for this cause, that they are saved by the doing of them, as many do say, seem not to be true apostles, but false.

The twenty-ninth sign is, that the true apostles do never seek their own glory in this life, but the glory of Christ. "He that speaketh of himself doth seek his own glory; but he that seeketh the glory of him which sent him," that is, of whom he is sent, "is a true apostle." [John vii. 18.] Therefore those who seek the things that pertain to the glory of this world, of the which one is 'o be assistant to those that bear rule and authority, or according to the saying of Boetius, 'De consolatione;' "Those that do desire to be extolled," either they reign and bear rule themselves, or else do desire to be near about them that have such dominion. Another is, they desire to have the fame and victory of that for which they have nothing at all deserved before God; whereupon is written that saying of the apostle [Gal. v. 26], "Let not us become desirous of vain-glory." Glossa:—"To be desirous of vain-glory, is to have victory without any merit or desert;" and those, I say, that do such things, seem not to be true apostles, but false.

The thirtieth sign is, that true apostles care not for the solemnities of men, neither for their salutations, nor feastings, nor any other benefit of theirs. They therefore who love and seek the company and fellowship of men, their feastings, and other their commodities, do not seem to be true apostles, but false.

The one and thirtieth sign is, that true apostles do not commonly resort to other men's tables, lest they should, for a meal's meat, become flatterers [2 Thess. iii. 9], "That we should give an example to follow us." Glossa:—"He that cometh oftentimes to another man's table, being given to idleness, cannot choose but flatter him that feedeth him." But Christ's religion calleth men to liberty and to no such bondage; they therefore that resort oftentimes, and that of their own minds, to other men's tables, living idly, are not true apostles, but false.

The two and thirtieth sign is, that true apostles do not hate their enemies, and such as hate them; which doctrine the Lord taught [Matt. v. 44], saying, "Love your enemies, do well to them which hate you;" but false prophets do hurt and defame their neighbours, as saith Jeremiah [chap. xii. 10, 11], "The prophets of Jerusalem have defiled the whole earth." Glossa:—"They are not contented to hurt their neighbours only, but also whom they before this time have hated, they defame and speak evil of in every place they come to." Therefore those preachers who hate them whom they think are their enemies, and that defame them, are not true apostles, but false preachers.

The thirty-third sign is, that false prophets, when they are examined and proved whether they be true apostles or liars, take that very grievously, and persecute all those that can prove them to be so, and also do stir up and provoke others to persecute the same men; who also join themselves together by secular power, even as certain false prophets did in the primitive church against the bishop of Ephesus, to whom the Lord said [Rev. ii. 2, 3], "I know," that is to say, I do allow, "thy works and thy labour;" that is, thy tribulation, "because thou canst not away with those that be evil men." Glossa:—"But that thou hast a desire to amend them, or else to expel them—"and hast examined those which say that they are apostles, and are but liars, and also hast suf-

ferred this patiently." Glossa:—"The evils which these false prophets, joined together by secular power, do bring in, are not the doings of true apostles, but false prophets."

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The thirty-fourth sign is, that true apostles go not to preach to those who are converted already by other men, but rather do convert those who are not yet converted, lest that they should build upon another man's foundation; as St. Paul [Rom. xv. 20] saith; "I have laboured so, that from Jerusalem to Illyricum, I have replenished the gospel in every place." Glossa:—"That is, I have preached the same abundantly, in whom the great virtue of the Holy Ghost appeareth, because so many nations (that is, the Gentiles), have received the gospel by my preaching." "But I have preached the gospel there where Christ was not preached before, lest I should build upon another man's foundation." Glossa:—"I should not preach to those that were converted by another man." Also [2 Cor. x. 15], "We are not such as boast and glory in other men's labours." Glossa:—"Where another man laid the foundation, for that should be to boast inordinately." Also in the same place, "not thinking to boast where another man hath government, but in those things which are put in experience." Glossa:—"Of other preachers;" because the apostle did preach to those to whom the gospel was never preached, that he might get praise by his own proper labour. Therefore, those preachers who go not to that people who have need to be converted, but to those who are converted already, who have apostles of their own, that is to say, bishops and priests, and yet do boast over another man's flock, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

True prophets  
preach to  
those who  
be not yet  
converted.

The thirty-fifth sign is, because true apostles, when they are sent, go to their own diocese, and not to another man's diocese, even as Paul being sent, went to the Gentiles when he purposed to preach [Acts xiii. 2], "Separate Paul and Barnabas for the business which I have chosen them unto." Glossa:—"According to the appointment and decree of James, Cephas, and John, went he forth to be a teacher unto the Gentiles." But those preachers that stand upon their feet, that is to say, those preachers which have but small worldly substance, for which cause they are more ready to go which way soever it shall please the Lord to send them, I say the Lord hath sent them to preach, not to those that be sufficiently learned, but to those that are infidels; as we read in Ezekiel [chap. ii. 2, 3], "After that, the Spirit of the Lord set Ezekiel upon his feet," In quam spem situs unus tangitur, "and he said unto him, O son of man, behold I send thee to the nations which have start back from their profession, which have gone from me;" that is, to the Jewish heretics, and to those nations that sometimes have been Christians, as the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and all those that observe the law of Mahomet. Therefore, if such go to those that are already instructed, having both apostles, bishops, and priests of their own; they go not into their own diocese, but into another man's diocese, and are not true apostles, but false preachers. And it is greatly to be feared, lest the church be in hazard and danger by such, unless they be thrust out of the same betimes; even as Jonas, when he was sent to Nineveh, by the Lord, which is interpreted, large or wide, and leadeth to the hill, that is, to the infidels we spake of before. They go not to those infidels according to the commandment of the Lord, but they turn another way, and take their journey into Tarshish, which is interpreted, seeking after joy and pleasure; that is, they go unto those who receive them with joy and gladness, and do well provide for them, that is to say, to godly and devout Christians; and, therefore, it is to be feared lest the ship in which they be (that is, the church) be in great peril, unless they be thrown forth. And therefore the apostle spake of such false prophets not without good cause [2 Tim. ii. 16], "And shun thou those." Glossa:—"That is, such men as those be."

True prophets  
chiefly  
preach in  
their own  
diocese,  
and not  
in other  
men's.

The thirty-sixth sign is, because true apostles do not boast, neither do they attribute unto themselves any thing, but that God hath wrought the same by them. Paul [Rom. xv. 18], saith, "I dare not say any thing but that which Christ hath wrought and accomplished by me." Glossa:—"That is, I speak only those things which by me (that is, by my ministry) Christ hath wrought." They therefore that boast of many things, and do attribute much unto themselves which they never did, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

False prophets  
attribute  
to them-  
selves  
that  
which  
they  
never did.

The thirty-seventh sign is, that true apostles do not apply themselves, or lean to logical or philosophical reasons. Therefore those preachers who do

They  
cleave to



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reasons.  
They love  
carnally,  
not spiri-  
tually.They  
hunt  
after the  
friendship  
of this  
world.Whatso-  
ever doth  
perish in  
the  
church of  
God for  
want of  
preachers  
shall be  
required.A detesta-  
ble book  
of the fri-  
ars called  
'Evangeli-  
um  
æternum.'  
A.D.

endeavour themselves to such kind of reasons, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirty-eighth sign is, that true apostles do not love carnally, or after the flesh, but hate what thing soever doth resist them in the service of God. "He that doth not hate his father and mother, his son and sister, and also himself, ne cannot be my disciple." Luke xiv. 26. Glossa:—"That is, he that doth not hate whatsoever doth resist or let him in the service of God, is not worthy to be a disciple, neither can he abide in that office." Therefore forasmuch as true preachers are the true disciples of the Lord, it must needs follow that the preachers who do promote their nephews and kinsfolk (how unworthy soever they be) to ecclesiastical promotions and livings, contrary to the will of God, or do any other thing that letteth or hindereth them in the service of God, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirty-ninth sign is, that true apostles do not hunt for the friendship of this world, for he that is the friend of this world is the enemy of God; therefore those preachers, who purchase the friendship of this world, are not true apostles, but false prophets; and forasmuch as the Scripture is infallible, saying [Matt. xxiv. 35], "Heaven and earth shall perish, but my words shall endure for ever;" and the Holy Ghost, which spake by the apostles, cannot lie; (for prophecy, for the most part, is not spoken by the will of man, but holy men of God spake by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, as it is read in Peter) [2 Pet. i. 21], it remaineth, that all men who are bound to defend the church, may rise up in the defence of the same, according to that in the Proverbs [chap. xxiv. 11], "Deliver those that are led to death, and cease thou not to rescue those who are drawn to destruction." Neither may he allege vain accusations, because it is said in the same place, "If he say he is not able or strong enough, he that beholdeth the thoughts of men's hearts, shall know it," &c. Whatsoever perisheth in the church of God for want of preachers, all that shall be demanded of them at the day of judgment; as Jacob confesseth to Laban, whose sheep he fed [Gen. xxxi. 39], "I did restore all thy loss, and that which was stolen I made answer for." "I will demand his blood at thy hands." Ezek. iii. 24. This is said to the pastor or prelate. But if the other things, which we have spoken of before, could not move the prelates and cardinals, this at least should move them; because that then the spiritual power which doth consist, for the most part, in the exercise of preaching, in hearing confessions, and in enjoining of penance, shall be taken away from them by little and little (for by piece-meal doth the wolf devour the poor and needy man) [3 Quæst. 1], when the authority ecclesiastical, therefore, shall be quite taken from them and disposed to others, such as either by their order, or apostolical grant do challenge to have the same; then doubtless shall neither the jurisdiction of civil causes and pleadings, nor any authority that such prelates have yet remaining, neither yet the possessions of the temporal goods of the church any longer remain amongst them. Shall such have the temporal goods of the church who minister not the spiritual treasure thereof? [1 Cor. ix. 13], "Know ye not that they which kill the sacrifice ought to eat of the sacrifice? and they that serve at the altar are partakers of the altar?" For as the body without the soul cannot stand; so corporal things without spiritual things cannot continue [1 Quæst. 1] if any shall take away the same.

Thus have you had the thirty-nine arguments, for which the said Gulielmus was condemned, and his books burned. In his days there was a most detestable and blasphemous book set forth by the friars (mentioned also in Matthew Paris), which they called 'Evangeliolum æternum,' or 'Evangeliolum Spiritus Sancti;' that is, 'The everlasting gospel,' or 'The gospel of the Holy Ghost.'<sup>1</sup> In which book many abominable errors of the friars were contained, so that the gospel of Jesus Christ was utterly defaced, which, this book said, was not to be compared with this everlasting gospel, no more than the shell is to be compared with the kernel, or than darkness to light. Moreover, that the gospel of Christ shall be preached no longer than to A.D. 1260, and that

(1) See the Appendix for information respecting this book.—Ed.

then this 'everlasting gospel' should rule the church. Item, that whatsoever was in the whole Bible, was in the said 'gospel' contained. At length this friar's 'gospel' was accused to the pope, and so six persons chosen of the whole university to peruse and judge of the book, viz. Christianus, canon of Beauvais, Odo of Douay, Nicolas de Bar-sur-Aube, Johannes de Sicca-Villa,<sup>1</sup> an Englishman, Johannes Belin, a Frenchman, together with this Gulielmus, who mightily impugned this pestiferous and devilish book. These six, after the perusing of the book, were sent up to Rome; the friars likewise sent their messengers withal. Where they were refuted, and the errors of the book condemned; but so, that the pope, with the cardinals, commanded the said book to be burned, not publicly but in secret wise (tendering the estimation of the religious orders, as of his own most chief champions), and the following year the same pope ordered the books of the aforesaid Gulielmus to be burnt withal.<sup>2</sup>

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The 'eternal and spiritual gospel' of the friars condemned with much ado, by the pope.  
See Appendix.

Besides other his books, two sermons we have of his yet remaining, one upon the parable in St. Luke of the Pharisee and the Publican, being the gospel for the day; the other preached on May-day: where in the first, he resembleth the Pharisees to our monks, and that he proveth by all the properties of the Pharisees described in the gospel: the Publican he resembleth to the laity, such as, for because they are the sooner reduced to acknowledge their sins, the more hope have they of mercy: the other, because they stand confident in their own righteousness, are therefore further from their justification. In the latter sermon he setteth forth and declareth, what perils and dangers are like to fall upon the church by these religious orders of monks and friars, for that they were ministers of Antichrist and perverters of the people.<sup>3</sup>

See  
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Among the other besides of that age who withstood the bishops of Rome and his antichristian errors was one Laurence, an Englishman, a divine of Paris; another was Petrus Johannes, a minorite. Of whom the aforesaid Laurence was about A.D. 1260, who in his teaching, preaching, and writing, did stoutly defend the part of the aforesaid Gulielmus, and the rest of his side, against the friars. Against the which friars he wrote two books, one in the defence of Gulielmus afore-mentioned, the other upon this argument and title, 'To beware of false prophets,' &c. Certain other things also he wrote, wherein by divers proofs and testimonies he argued and proved, that Antichrist was not far off to come. The other, Petrus Johannes, was about A.D. 1290, who taught and maintained many things against the pope, proving that he was Antichrist, and that the synagogue of Rome was great Babylon. He wrote upon Matthew, upon the Epistles, and upon the Apocalypse. Mention of this Petrus Johannes is made in Nicolas Eymericus, in his book of the Inquisition; who saith, moreover, that from him Michael Cesenas (of whom, Christ willing, shall follow hereafter) derived his opinions; and because the pope could not burn him alive, after his death he caused his bones to be taken up and burned.<sup>4</sup>

Laurence, an Englishman, condemned by the pope.

The pope, Antichrist. The synagogue of Rome, great Babylon. Petrus Johannes burned after his death.

To these and with these above specified is to be added Robertus Gallus,<sup>5</sup> who being born of a right noble parentage, for devotion's sake was made a Dominic friar, about the same year (A.D. 1290).

Robertus Gallus prophesieth.

(1) See an account of this individual in Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, v. Dritonus.—Ed.

(2) M. Paris, ad ann. 1256 (Edit. Lond. 1640, p. 939), whence the text is revised.—Ed.

(3) Illyricus, "Cat. Test." (edit. 1608, col. 1649): these two sermons are in Browze's Appendix to the "Fasciculus." See Appendix.—Ed.

(4) Illyricus, cols. 1650, 1772. See *infra*, p. 610, note.—Ed. (5) Illyricus, cols. 1662, 1663.—Ed.

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The pope  
described.  
*See  
Appendix.*

This man, as appeareth by his writings, had divers and sundry visions, whereof a part is printed with the visions and prophecy of Hildegard. His visions all tend against the spirituality of Rome; where, in the fifth chapter he plainly calleth the pope an idol, who having ears heareth not the loud wailings of them that go down to hell, though louder than a trumpet and the roaring thunder; and having eyes seeth not neither listeth to see the abominations of his people, and their excessive voluptuousness, except he may thence heap up treasure for himself; and having a mouth speaketh not, but saith, 'I have set good teachers over them, and it is sufficient, whether I do them good by myself or by another.' And it followeth in the same chapter, "Woe to that idol! woe to the mighty and proud! who in all the earth shall be equalled to that idol? He hath exalted up his name in the earth, saying, Who shall bring me under? Is my house compared with those of the mighty ones of the earth? I am far more dainty than they in my feasts; prancing knights are my servitors; and that honour which my fathers before me had not, that is done to me. My house is paved with silver, and ornamented with gold and jewels."

The  
visions of  
Robertus  
Gallus.

State of  
the  
church of  
Rome de-  
scribed.

School-  
men and  
their  
frivolous  
questions  
described.

*See  
Appendix.  
Reforma-  
tion of  
the  
church  
presig-  
nified.*

Again, in the twelfth chapter, and also in the first, under the name of a serpent he painteth out the pope, whom he declareth to extol himself above measure, and to oppress the few that be godly, and to have many false prophets about him; whose charge it is, neglecting the name of God and of Christ, to preach and extol him only, obscuring the name of Christ. The church of Rome and the pope he describeth in these words: "I was praying," saith he, "on my knees, looking upward toward heaven, on the right side of the altar of St. James in Paris, and saw in the air before me the body of a certain high bishop, all clothed in white silk; who, turning his back on the east, lifted up his hand towards the west, as the priests are wont to stand in celebrating their mass, but his head was not visible. And as I was considering advisedly, whether he had any head or no, I perceived a head all dry and withered, as though it had been of wood. And the Spirit of the Lord said to me, 'This signifieth the state of the church of Rome.'"

Moreover, the same author describeth by an apt similitude shewn him in a vision the manner of the monks and school sophists and sorbonists, in this wise: "Another day, as I was in like contemplation as before, I beheld in spirit; and behold, I saw a man apparelled like to the other before, who went about having fine bread and excellent wine on his shoulders and hanging down on both sides of him; and the same, having in his hand an oblong and very hard flint-stone, was gnawing upon the same as a famishing person is wont to do upon a loaf of bread; out of the which stone came out two serpents' heads; and the Spirit of the Lord instructed me, saying, 'This stone purporteth the frivolous and curious questions, wherein the famishing people do weary themselves, leaving the substantial food of their souls.' And I asked what those two heads did mean? And he said, 'The name of the one is Vain-glory, the name of the other is Mar-religion.'"

Also, concerning the reformation of the church, this vision he declareth: "It happened, as I was (saith he) in the same city in the house of a certain nobleman of Bretagne, and was there speaking with certain, I saw a cross of silver very bright, much like to the cross of the earl of Toulouse. But the twelve apples, which did hang beside on the arms of the cross, were very vile, like to the apples which the sea is wont

to cast up. And I said, 'What is this, Lord Jesu?' And the Spirit answered me, 'This cross which thou seest is the church, which shall be clear and bright in pureness of life, and shall be heard all over the world through the shrill voice of the preaching of sincere verity.' Then, being troubled with the apples, I asked what these apples so vile did signify? And he said, 'It is the humiliation of the church.'"

This godly man did forewarn (as in a certain chronicle is declared) how God would punish the simony and avarice of the clergy, with such a plague, that rivers should run with blood. It is said, that there is remaining a great volume of his visions which are not yet abroad; for these that be abroad, are but a brief extract out of his visions and revelations.

After that we have thus long strayed in these foreign stories of Frederic, and in the tractation of other matters pertaining to other countries, it is time that we return to our own country again.

#### THE STORY OF ROBERT GROSTHEAD, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Following the continuation of time and course of the church, we will now join to these good fathers and writers, the history of the learned bishop of Lincoln, named Robert Grosthead,<sup>1</sup> a man famously learned, as that time served, in the three tongues, both Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, also in all liberal sciences; whose works and sermons even to this day are extant, which I have seen in the library of the queen's majesty at Westminster, wherein is one special sermon written and exhibited in four sundry scrolls addressed to the pope, and to other four cardinals, beginning "Dominus noster Jesus Christus." Nicholas Trivet, in his Chronicle, writing of this bishop, affirmed that he was born in Suffolk, in the diocese of Norfolk: who giving him the praise of being a man of excellent wisdom, of profound doctrine, and an example of all virtue, witnesseth that he being master of arts, wrote first a commentary on the latter books of Aristotle; also that he wrote tractations concerning the spheres, and the art of computations, and that he set forth divers books concerning philosophy. Afterwards, being doctor in divinity, and expertly seen in all the three tongues, he drew sundry treatises out of the Hebrew glosses, also translated divers works out of the Greek, as the testament of the twelve patriarchs, and the books of Dionysius, commenting upon the new translation with his own gloss.<sup>2</sup>

This godly and learned bishop, after divers conflicts and agonies sustained against the bishop of Rome, after the example of Frederic, of Gulielmus de Sancto amore, of Nicholaus Gallus, and others after named, at length, after great labours and travails of life, finished his course, and departed at Bugden in the month of October, A.D. 1253. Of his decease thus writeth Matthew Paris,<sup>3</sup> "Out of

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Simony  
and avarice of the  
clergy to  
be punished.

Robert  
Grost-  
head, a  
Suffolk-  
man.

His books  
and  
works.

See  
Appendix.

Death of  
Grost-  
head.

(1) Robert Grosthead or Grossteste was born at Stradbrook in Suffolk about A.D. 1175, was made bishop in 1235, and died 1253.—ED.

(2) Many other works and volumes were written by the said Grosthead, as "De oculo Morali," "De dotibus," "De cessatione legalium," "Parvus Cato," "Annotationes in Suidam," "In Boetium," "De potestate Pastoralis," "Expositiones in Gen. et in Lucam," with a number more, besides divers epistles, sermons, and invectives sent to the pope for his immeasurable exactions, wherein he overcharged and oppressed the church of England.

(3) Matth. Paris. fol. 278.

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1253.

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Appendix.

Six years' troubles  
of Gros-  
thead with  
the pope.  
A.D. 1253.

the prison and banishment of this world (which he never loved) was taken the holy bishop of Lincoln, Robert, at his manor of Bugden, in the evening of St. Denis's day; who was an open reprover of the pope and of the king, a rebuker of the prelates, a corrector of the monks, a director of the priests, an instructor of the clerks, a fautor of scholars, a preacher to the people, a persecutor of the incontinent, a diligent searcher of the Scriptures, a mall to the Romans, and a contemner of their doings." What a mall he was to the Romans, in the sequel hereof (Christ willing) shall appear. The story is this:—It so befel, among other daily and intolerable exactions wherewith pope Innocent IV. was grievous and injurious manifold ways to the realm of England, he had a certain cousin or nephew (so popes were wont to call their sons) named Frederic, being yet young and under years, whom the said Innocent the pope would needs prefer to be a canon and prebendary in the church of Lincoln, in this time of Robert, bishop of the said church; and upon the same, the pope directed down a letter to certain of his factors here in England, for the execution thereof; a copy of which letter by chance—yet not by chance but by the opportune sending of God—came to my hands as I was penning this present story, written in the end of an old parchment book, and otherwise rare (I suppose) to be found; <sup>1</sup> which aforesaid letter is thus in English.

See  
Appendix.

### The Pope's unreasonable Letter to his Factors in England.

Unto our well-beloved sons, the archdeacon of Canterbury, and to Master Innocent our scribe abiding in England, greeting and apostolical benediction. Forsomuch as our well-beloved son G., deacon-cardinal of S. Eustace, upon our

(1) "Dilectis filiis archidiacono Cant. et Magistro Innocent. scriptori nostro in Anglia commoranti, salutem et apostolicam benedict. Cum dilectus filius noster G., Sancti Eustachii diaconus cardinalis, dilecto filio [recte dictum fortassis filio.] Frederico de Lavania, clerico, nepoti nostro, de speciali mandato nostro canonicatum Lincolnienis. cum plenitudine juris canonici duxerit contemnendum, ipsum per suum annulum corporaverit et præsentialiter investiens de eodem, ut ex tunc canonicus Lincolnienis existeret, et plenum nomen et jus canonici consequatur ibidem; ac præbendam, si qua vacaverit in ecclesia Lincol. a tempore quo dudum literæ nostræ super receptione ac provisione faciendâ sibi in eccles. eadem de præmissis venerab. fratri nostro episcopo Lincoln. præsentatæ fuerunt; alioqui, post varaturam conferendam sibi donationi apostolicæ reservavit; decernendo irritum et inane, si quid de præbenda hujusmodi a quoquam fuerit attentatum, nec non et in contradictores et rebelles excommunicationis sententiam ubique promulgando, prout in literis ejusdem exinde de constitutis [confectis] plenus continetur:—

"Nos ipsius Frederici devotis supplicationibus inclinati, quod ab eodem cardinale factum est super hoc et ratum et gratum habentes, idem auctoritate apostolica duximus confirmandum. Quocirca discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus eundem Fredericum, vel procuratorem suum ejus nomine, in corporalem possessionem prædictorum canonicatus et præbendæ auctoritate nostra inducat, et defendatis inductum, contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postpositâ compescendo. Non obstantibus aliquibus consuetudinibus vel statutis, juramentis vel confirmationibus sedis apostolicæ, seu quacunque alia infirmitate roboratis—vel quòd dictus Fredericus præsens non fuerit ad præstandum juramentum de observandis consuetudinibus ejusdem eccles. consuetis; sive si prædicto episcopo vel capitulo ipsius ecclesiæ communiter vel singulatim, seu aliis quibuscunque personis, a dicta sede indultum existat, quòd ad receptionem vel provisionem alicujus compelli nequeant, sive quòd nullus alius in eorum ecclesia nemini providere valeat; vel quòd interdicti, suspendi, aut excommunicari non possint per literas apostol. sub quacunque forma verborum obtentas, vel obtinendas; etiamsi totus tenor indulgentiarum hujusmodi de verbo in verbum in iisdem literis sit insertus—sive quibus aliis indulgentiis, quibuscunque personis, dignitati, vel loco, sub quacunque forma verborum, concessis a sede apost. vel etiam concedendis, per quas effectus hujusmodi provisionis posset impediri aliquatenus vel differrî; tamen volumus ea de certa scientia, quantum ad provisionem factam et faciendam Frederico prædicto in ecclesia Lincoln., viribus omnino carere. Cæterum, si aliqui prædicto Frederico vel procuratori super præmissis, vel aliquo præmissorum, aliquatenus duxerint opponendum; illos ex parte nostra citari curetis, ut peremptorie infra duorum mensium spatium post citationem vestram personaliter compareant coram nobis, eidem Frederico super præmissis legitime responsuri. Non obstantibus privilegiis sive quibuslibet indulgentiis, personis regni Angliæ generaliter, vel cuivis alicui personæ, vel dignitati, vel loco specialiter, a prædicta sede sub quacunque forma verborum concessis, quòd non possunt ultra mare, seu extra civitatem vel diocesim suam in iudicium evocari per literas apost. sub quacunque forma verborum obtentas; quod privilegium et indulgentias eisdem personis de certa scientia nullatenus volumus suffragari; et constitutione edita de duabus diastis in concilio generali non obstante. Diem autem citationis et formam nobis vestris literis tenorem præsentium continentibus, fideliter intimetis. Quod si non ambo his exequendis interesse poteritis, alter vestrum nihilominus exequatur."—Datum Perus. 7. Cal. Febr. pontificat. nostri anno decimo.



special commandment hath given and granted to our well-beloved son Frederic de Lavania, a clerk and our nephew, a canonry in the church of Lincoln, with full power and grant of the same, investing him therein corporally and presently with his own ring, to be from thenceforth canon of Lincoln, and to have full right and title to the said canonry in that church; also a prebend in the same church of Lincoln, if any shall have fallen vacant since our letters concerning this reception and provision to be given him in the said church were presented to our right-reverend brother, the bishop of Lincoln; but if not, hath reserved to our apostolic donation the next that shall fall vacant, to be conferred on our said nephew, making void and frustrate anything which may be attempted concerning the said prebend by any one else, and also denouncing the sentence of excommunication against all that shall rebel and gainsay the same, as in the letters of the said cardinal is more fully contained:—

We, therefore, condescending to the devout supplications of the said Frederic, ratifying and approving that which hath been done by the said cardinal in the premises, have thought good by our apostolic authority to confirm the same. Wherefore, by these our letters apostolic we desire your wisdom to induct by our authority the said Frederic (or his proctor in his behalf) into corporal possession of the said canonry and prebend, and also to defend him when so inducted, denouncing the sentence of excommunication (without power of appeal) against all such as shall gainsay the same: Notwithstanding<sup>1</sup>—any customs or statutes to the contrary, corroborated by the oaths or confirmations of the apostolic see; or any flaw in the case whatsoever, as, that the said Frederic was not personally present to take the oath for observing the usual customs of the said church; or, that an indulgence hath been granted by the said see to the aforesaid bishop, or to the chapter of the said church, jointly or severally, or to any other persons whatsoever, as that they shall not be forced to admit or make provision for any man against their will, or, that they may not be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated by letters apostolic, obtained or to be obtained hereafter, under whatever form of words, yea, although the whole tenour of such indulgences be inserted word for word in the said letters: Notwithstanding, also, any other indulgences granted, or to be hereafter granted, by the apostolic see to what persons soever, of what estate, dignity, or place soever, under whatever form of words, by the which indulgences the effect of this provision might be in any way hindered or deferred; nay, we deliberately will, that they lose all their force in regard to the provision made, or to be made, for the said Frederic in the said church of Lincoln. And if any shall presume to oppose the aforesaid Frederic (or his proctor) touching the premises or any of them, we will that you cause them to be cited peremptorily in our behalf to appear before us in person within the space of two months from your citation, to make answer to the said Frederic touching the premises according to law: Notwithstanding any privileges and indulgences whatsoever to the contrary, granted by the aforesaid see, either generally to persons of the kingdom of England, or specially to any person, or dignity, or place whatsoever, under whatever form of words; as, that they are never to be cited up to trial beyond sea or beyond their own city or diocese by letters apostolic, under whatever form of words obtained; all which privileges and indulgences we deliberately will to be of no avail whatever to the said parties: Notwithstanding, also, the constitution made in the last general council allowing citations to the distance of two days' journey.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the day and form of the citation we will you faithfully to intimate unto us by your letters containing the tenour thereof; and if both of you cannot be present at the execution hereof, yet we will, notwithstanding, that one of you do execute the same without fail. Given at Perugia, vii. Cal. Feb. in the tenth year of our popedom. [Jan. 26th, A.D. 1253.]

As there is no man who hath any eyes to see, but may easily understand in reading this letter of the pope, how unreasonable his request is, how impudently he commandeth, how proudly he threateneth, how wickedly he oppresseth and racketh the church of God, in

Henry  
III.

A. D.  
1253.

Well said  
peradventure  
"to  
our son."

Excom-  
muni-  
cation  
abused.

See  
Appendix.

(1) "Non obstante."—Ed.

(2) See the constitution "De duabus diætiis," cap. 37 of the acts of the council of Lateran, 1215, in Labbe tom. xi. col. 188, and Corpus Juris Can. Decret. Greg. IX. lib. i. tit. iii. cap. 28. "Nonnulli." See also the bull of Martin V., *infra* vol. iii. p. 566.—Ed.



Henry  
III.A. D.  
1253.Commen-  
dation of  
Grost-  
head.

placing boys and strangers in the ministry and cure of souls, and also in making them his provisors, to raven up the church goods; so is it no great marvel, if this godly bishop, Robert Grosthead, was offended therewith; who, in my mind, deserveth herein a double commendation, not only that he so wisely did discern error from sincerity and truth; but also that he was so hardy and constant to stand to the defence thereof against the pope, according as in this his answer to the pope again may appear, as followeth.

See  
Appendix.

### The Answer of Bishop Grosthead to the Pope.

Salutem. May it please your prudence to understand, that I devoutly and reverently, and with filial affection, obey apostolic precepts, but am also an utter enemy to all such as contradict the character of apostolic precepts, as a child jealous of his father's honour. And truly, I am bound by the commandment of God to do no less. For apostolic precepts neither are nor can be other than consonant and conformed to the doctrine of the apostles and of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the master and lord of the apostles, and whose type and person the lord pope seemeth especially to bear in the hierarchy of the church: for our Lord Jesus Christ saith, "Whosoever is not with me, the same is against me;" therefore, the most divine sanctity of the apostolic see neither is nor can be against him. To apply this: the character of the present letter is not consonant to apostolic sanctity, but utterly dissonant and at variance with the same. First, for that the clause "*non obstante*," which comes over and over again in this and many other of your letters, introduced upon no necessity of any natural law to be observed, must be an endless source of uncertainty, boldness, licentiousness, impudency, lying, and deceiving, and of mutual mistrust between man and man; and not only of these, but also of innumerable other mischiefs which follow upon the same; unsettling and disturbing the purity of the christian religion, as also the public tranquillity of society. Moreover, next after the sin of Lucifer, which shall be in the latter time, (to wit, of Antichrist, that "son of perdition, whom the Lord will destroy with the breath of his mouth"), there is not, nor can be, any kind of sin so repugnant and contrary to the doctrine of the apostles and to holy Scripture, and so hateful, detestable, and abominable to our Lord Jesus Christ himself, as to destroy and kill men's souls, by defrauding them of the benefit of the pastoral office and ministry. And yet it is plain, by most evident testimonies of Scripture, that those persons are guilty of this sin, who, being invested with the charge of the pastoral ministry, secure to themselves the stipend of the pastoral office and ministry from the milk and wool of the sheep of Christ, who are to be quickened and saved by their means, and yet do not discharge its duties; for the mere non-administration of the pastoral ministry is, by the testimony of the Scripture, equivalent to the slaughter and destruction of the sheep.<sup>1</sup> Two enormous evils are in this way committed, which (although after a differing way) far exceed all other kind of wickedness, for that they are directly contrary to two things which (although not equally or similarly) are, and are said to be, most excellent; for "*pessimus est, quod optimo contrarium*," i.e. "that which is contrary to the best is the worst." As much then as lieth in the said offenders, they sin, in one respect, directly against the Deity, who of himself is essentially and supernaturally most excellent; in another, against the image and likeness of God in man, which, as produced by the gracious participation of the divine ray, is essentially and naturally most excellent. And because, as in things that are good the cause of good is better than its effect, so again in evil things the cause of evil is worse than its effect; hereby it is manifest, that the introducers into the church of God of such wicked destroyers of God's image and likeness in the sheep of Christ are worse than the worst of those destroyers, and approximate nearer than they to Lucifer and Antichrist, and are so much the more pre-eminent in this gradation of wickedness, for that they in consequence of their larger and more god-like power, given them for edification not for destruction, were the more bound to exclude and extirpate such wicked destroyers out of the church of God.

(1) Ezek. xxxiv.—Ed.

It is impossible, therefore, that the most holy apostolic see, to whom by the most holy Lord Jesus Christ all power hath been committed for edification not for destruction, can command, bid, or in any way attempt anything tending toward so great wickedness, so odious, detestable, and abominable to the Lord Jesus Christ, and also so pernicious to mankind. For this should be a great waste, corruption, and abuse of his most holy and plenary power, and an utter separation of him from the glorious throne of our Lord Jesus Christ, to be co-assessor with the two aforesaid princes of darkness in the chair of pestilence amid the pains of hell. Neither can any man who is subject and faithful to the said see, and not cut off by schism from the body of Christ and from the said holy see, with a sincere and unspotted conscience obey such instructions and precepts, or favour such attempts as these, from whatever quarter emanating, yea, though it were from the highest archangels, but rather ought of necessity with all their might to withstand and rebel against the same. Wherefore, my reverend lord, upon my bounden duty of obedience and fidelity which I owe to both the parents<sup>1</sup> of the most holy apostolic see, and for the love of union with her in the body of Christ, I must regard the instructions contained in your aforesaid letter as more honoured in the breach than the observance, and I hereby refuse and utterly resist them; and especially because they tend (as is before touched) to such manifest wickedness, so abominable to the Lord Jesus Christ, so repugnant to the holiness of the apostolic see, and so contrary to the one only catholic faith. Neither for this cause can your discretion take any harsh step toward me, because all my doing and gainsaying in this matter is no resistance nor rebellion, but a filial honour due by the divine precept both to my Father and to you.<sup>2</sup> Briefly recapitulating, therefore, I assert that the sanctity of the apostolic see cannot do any thing but to edification, and nothing at all to destruction: for this is the fulness of power, to be able to do all things to edification. But these provisions (as they are called) be not to edification, but to most manifest destruction. The blessed apostolic see, therefore, neither can nor ought to attempt any such thing, because flesh and blood, which cannot enter into the kingdom of God, hath revealed the same, and not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who is in heaven.<sup>3</sup>

Henry  
III.A. D.  
1253.Power  
given to  
ministers  
to edifica-  
tion only,  
not to de-  
struction.Two prin-  
cipal  
princes  
of dark-  
ness, Lu-  
cifer and  
Anti-  
christ.

Then followeth it in the story both of Matthew Paris, and of Florilegus, that when this epistle came to the knowledge of the pope, he, fuming and fretting with anger and indignation, answered with a fierce look and proud mind, saying, "What frantic old dotard is this, who so boldly and rashly judgeth of my doings? By St. Peter and St. Paul, were it not for our innate generosity and good nature, I would throw him into such confusion, as should make him a bye-word, an astonishment, an example, and a prodigy to all the world. For is not the king of England our vassal? nay, more, our manciple"<sup>4</sup> (to use the very words of mine author), "who only needs a nod from us, to imprison him and put him to utter disgrace?" When the pope, in his great fury and rage, had uttered this amongst his brethren the cardinals, who were scarcely able to appease the furious violence of the pope, with mild moderation of words they said unto him, that it would not be expedient to proceed against the bishop in a rigorous manner. "For," said they, "to confess the truth to your holiness, it is but very truth that he affirmeth. We cannot condemn him. He is a catholic man, yea, and a most holy man; more religious and more holy than ourselves; a man of a more excellent spirit and more excellent life; so that it is believed he has not his superior or even his equal among all the prelates. Both the French and English clergy are well aware of this, neither

Well  
sworn,  
master  
pope.Giles, a  
cardinal,  
defendeth  
Gros-  
thead to  
the pope.

(1) He meaneth either Christ and the church, or Peter and Paul.

(2) That is, both to Christ and his church.

(3) M. Paris, edit. Lond. 1640, p. 870.

(4) "Mancipium." M. Paris.—Ed.

Henry  
III.A. D.  
1253.See  
Appendix.The godly  
talk of  
Grost-  
head in  
his sick-  
ness.See  
Appendix.See  
Appendix.Definition  
of heresy.

would it be of any avail for us to contradict it. The statements, moreover, of this his epistle perhaps are known by many to be true, and, were he to be harshly treated, might stir up many against us: for he hath the name of being a great philosopher, and is singularly seen both in Latin and Greek learning, zealous in the cause of justice, a reader of divinity in the schools, a preacher amongst the people, a lover of chastity, and a persecutor of simony." These words spake Giles, a Spanish cardinal, and others besides, moved by their own conscience to speak. And this counsel they gave to the pope, that he should dissemble and wink at these things, as one not seeing or regarding them, lest otherwise perhaps some tumult might rise and spring thereupon; especially seeing there was a manifest conviction among all men, that at last there must needs come a defection and secession from the church of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

Not long after this, the canicular days being past,<sup>2</sup> this reverend and godly Robert, bishop of Lincoln, lying at his manor place at Buckden, fell grievously sick. Whereupon, he sent for a certain friar of the Preaching order, named Master John of St. Giles, a man expert and cunning both in physic and divinity, partly to receive of him some comfort of his body, and partly to confer with him in spiritual matters. One day, the bishop conferring with the aforesaid Master John, and reciting to him the doings and proceedings of the pope, did grievously rebuke and reprehend his fellows, the Preaching friars, not sparing either the other order of the Minorites; that, whereas their orders were planted in wilful poverty, viz. poverty of spirit, on purpose that they might with the more freedom carp at and reprove the vices of the mighty, and not flatter or spare them, but severely censure and gravely reprehend the same; the said friars, contrary to their profession, did not boldly cry out and inveigh against the abuses of their superiors and men of power, nor did uncover or detect their faults and wickedness; and "therefore," said the bishop, "I judge you to be no better than manifest heretics." "For what is heresy?" added the bishop, demanding of Master John that he should give him the true definition thereof. Whereat when the friar did stay and pause, not remembering any approved definition of that matter, the bishop thereupon inferreth, giving a definition in Latin by a faithful interpretation of the Greek: "*Hæresis est sententia humano sensu electa, scripturæ sacræ contraria, palàm edocta, pertinaciter defensa: hæresis enim Græcè, electio est Latinè.*" "Heresy is a sentence taken and chosen of man's own brain, contrary to holy Scripture, openly maintained, and stiffly defended." And this definition given, consequently he inferred (sharply reprehending the prelates, but especially those of Rome, who committed the charge of souls unto their kinsfolks, being both in age unqualified, and in learning insufficient) thus:—"To give," saith he, "the charge of souls unto a boy, is a sentence of a certain prelate chosen and taken of the man's own head, only for some carnal and earthly respect; and also it is contrary to holy Scripture, which forbiddeth any such to be made shepherds, as are not able to drive away the wolves; it is also openly maintained, because an instrument commanding the

(1) M. Paris, p. 872.—Ed.

(a) See *suprà*, p. 373.—Ed.

(2) "Canicular days," the dog days. M. Paris, p. 874.—Ed.

same, sealed with wax, or imbulled with lead, is openly produced ; and finally, it is stiffly defended, for if any man shall presume to withstand the same, he is suspended and excommunicated, and a holy war proclaimed against him. Now that person to whom the entire definition of a heretic doth apply, he certainly is a heretic. But every faithful christian man ought to set himself against a heretic as much as he may. Wherefore, he that can resist him and doth not, he sinneth, and seemeth to be a favourer of such, according to the saying of Gregory ; ‘ He is not without conscience of secret partnership, who forbeareth to resist open iniquity.’ But the friars, both the Minorites and Preachers, are specially bound to withstand such, seeing both of them have the gift of preaching committed to them by their office, and are more at liberty to do it by reason of their poverty ; and therefore they do not only offend in not resisting such, but also are to be counted maintainers of the same, according to the saying of the apostle to the Romans, ‘ Not only they which commit such things, but also they that consent, are worthy of death.’ Wherefore it may be concluded, that as well the pope, unless he cease from this vice, as also the said friars, unless they show themselves more earnest and studious in repelling the same, are alike worthy of death, I mean, eternal death. Nay, the Decretum itself saith, ‘ That upon such a vice as this of heresy, the pope himself both may and ought to be accused.’ ”<sup>2</sup>

Henry  
III.A. D.  
1253.Saying of  
Gregory.See  
Appendix.The pope  
accused of  
heresy.

After this, because the nights were getting longer, and that the bishop felt his weakness and infirmity to grow upon him, the third night before the feast of St. Dionisius he willed certain of his clergy to be called to him, thereby to be refreshed with some conference or communication. Unto whom the bishop, mourning and lamenting for the loss of souls through the avarice of the pope’s court, sighing, said on this wise, as by certain aphorisms.

### Certain Aphorisms or Articles of Robert Grosthead against the Bishop of Rome.

1. Christ came into the world to win souls ; ergo, he that feareth not to destroy souls, may he not justly be called Antichrist ?

2. The Lord created the universe in six days, but in restoring lost man he laboured more than thirty years ; is not therefore a destroyer of souls justly to be counted the enemy of God, and Antichrist ?

3. The pope is not ashamed impudently to disannul, by the obstacle “ non obstante,” privileges granted by the holy Roman pontiffs, his predecessors ; which is not done without their manifest injury and prejudice, for in so doing he doth reject and destroy that which so many great and holy men had builded before. And what a contemner, then, must he be of the saints ! but he that contemneth shall justly be condemned, according to the saying of Isaiah, “ Woe to thee who despisest, shalt not thou thyself be despised ? ” Who, in time to come, will respect privileges of his granting ?

The pope  
accused  
of his  
wicked  
clause,  
“ Non ob-  
stante.”  
See  
Appendix.

4. The pope, indeed, in answer to this defendeth his error by saying, “ No one hath power over his equal : therefore, no former pope can bind me, who am a pope as well as he.” To which I reply, “ It does not appear to me, that he who is yet sailing on the perilous sea of this world and he who is arrived safe in the haven are equals ; for grant that some particular pope is saved (far be it from us to say the contrary) ; yet our Saviour saith, “ He that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than John the Baptist, a greater than whom did

And for  
arrogat-  
ing more  
than his  
due ; and  
proved  
not to be  
equal, but  
inferior to  
his prede-  
cessors.

(1) Decreti Dist. 83, cap. 3 : Dist. 86, cap. 3 : Causa 23, Quest. 3, cap. 8.—ED.

(2) Decreti, Dist. 40, cap. 6.—ED.

Henry  
III.

A. D.  
1253.

Accused of undo-  
ing the  
acts of his  
predecessors.

The pope  
alive is  
inferior  
to his pre-  
decessors,  
therefore  
has no au-  
thority to  
infringe  
their priv-  
ileges.  
Men more  
ancient  
in time,  
ought to  
be had in  
higher re-  
verence.

See  
Appendix.

The pope  
accused of  
maintain-  
ing usury.

Against  
usury.

The  
crafty  
practice of  
usurers.

The  
pope's  
usurers  
worse  
than the  
Jews.

Crafty  
subtlety  
of the  
pope to  
get mon-  
ney.

Men,  
signed to  
the Holy  
Land, sold  
for money  
like sheep  
by the  
pope.  
Remis-  
sion of  
sins sold  
for mon-  
ney

never arise among those born of women." Is not therefore the said pope, as a giver and confirmer of privileges, greater than the living pope? truly, methinks, he is greater, and therefore hath power over his inferior; who, consequently, ought not to despise his predecessors.

5. Doth not the pope, speaking of most of his predecessors, say, "Such or such an one, our predecessor, of pious memory;" and frequently, "We, following in the steps of our holy predecessor?" and why then do later popes destroy the foundations which their predecessors had laid?

6. Many apostolic men have afterward confirmed a particular privilege piously granted by their predecessors: and are not, then, many bishops who are already saved by the grace of God to be counted greater and better than one who is yet militant?

7. Again, our ancient apostolic fathers take the precedency of others who are subsequent in time, and those whom the estimation of antiquity doth extol we are bound to esteem venerable. This principle the holy Benedict, a man himself replete with the spirit of the saints and venerable for his virtue, had respect to in his rule, wherein he gives the preference to the first acceders, whatever they were, before others who might afterwards become members of his society, how worthy soever they might be, and directeth that the former should have precedence and veneration. Whence, therefore, cometh this intolerable rashness of revoking and cancelling the privileges granted by many ancient saints?

8. Moreover, though many other popes have afflicted the church, yet this pope hath more grievously enslaved it than others, and hath multiplied the inconveniences: for example; the Caursini are notorious usurers; and our holy fathers and doctors, whom we have ourselves seen and heard (namely, the learned Master Fulco,<sup>1</sup> the famous preacher in France; also Eustace, abbot of Flay, of the Cistercian order; Master Jacobus de Viteri; Master Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, when in exile; and Master Robert de Curcon), expelled them by their remonstrances from the parts of France: but the present pope hath brought them into England, where the pest was before unknown, and there protected them; and if any one presume to open his mouth against them, he immediately becomes obnoxious to trouble and damage, witness Roger, late bishop of London.<sup>2</sup>

9. Every body knows, that usury is counted a detestable thing in both the Testaments, and is forbidden of God. But now the pope's usurers or exchangers, to the disgust even of the Jews, are openly allowed to exercise their usury in London to the great damage and oppression of all ecclesiastics, but especially the religious, compelling the needy to tell falsehoods and to put their signature to lying documents, which is no less than to commit idolatry by renouncing truth, that is, God himself. For instance, I borrow one hundred marks<sup>3</sup> for a year for one hundred pounds; and I am compelled to draw and sign a writing in which I acknowledge that I have borrowed and received one hundred pounds to be repaid at the year's end: but if it shall chance me within a month after, or a few days only, to acquire the principal, and I wish to repay it to the pope's usurer, he will, nevertheless, accept nothing short of his full hundred pounds; which outrageous usury is far worse than the Jewish; for whenever you bring the principal to a Jew, he will kindly take it, requiring only such interest with it, as is proportioned to the time you have had his money.

10. Moreover, we have known the pope instruct and command the friars Preachers and Minorites to inquire diligently after dying persons, and to go to them and use every means to persuade them to make their wills for the benefit and relief of the Holy Land; so that when they recover, they may wring something from them for a dispensation, or if they die, they may receive or force it from their executors.

11. He also sells men that have taken the cross to laymen,<sup>4</sup> just as formerly sheep and oxen were sold in the temple. We have actually seen, too, an instrument of his in which it was inserted, that they who devised money for the benefit and relief of the Holy Land, or took the cross, should receive indulgence proportioned to the sum they gave.

12. Over and besides all this, the pope in many of his letters hath com-

(1) See mention made of this Fulco, *suprà*, p. 318.

(3) A mark was thirteen shillings and fourpence.—Ed.

(2) See Appendix.

(4) See Appendix.



manded prelates to provide in some ecclesiastical benefice, such as the party himself should choose to accept, some alien, though absent, and wholly disqualified as being both illiterate and ignorant of the language of the parishioners, and therefore unable to preach, or to hear confessions, or so much as keep residence to refresh the poor and harbour travellers.

13. We also know that the pope actually wrote to the abbot of St. Alban's, to provide in some competent benefice one John de Camezana, whom he had never seen. Shortly after, provision was made for the party in a rectory worth upwards of forty marks by the year: but he, not being therewith contented, complained to the pope, who writing to the aforesaid abbot commanded him to provide better for the aforesaid clerk, reserving to himself, however, the presentation to the first benefice.

14. Again, not many days after, there came to the abbey two despicable fellows bringing with them letters from the pope, in the tenour whereof the abbot was commanded, incontinently upon the sight thereof to give "these noble persons" ten marks in hand, without demur, for the expedition and despatch of their business; and the men blustered and threatened him so, that he was fain to make up the matter with them as well as he could.

15. Again, of those holy and learned men, who for the better serving and imitation of God had left the world by a course which was never to be retraced, the pope appointeth his tollers,<sup>1</sup> to cajole men out of their money; which charge sore against their wills they undertake, only lest they should seem disobedient; and thus they become more worldly than ever they were, and their homely chimners and scapillers prove a complete imposture,<sup>2</sup> while under the garb of poverty there lurketh the spirit of pride and elation. Again, whereas a legate ought never to come into England unless the king himself desire it, the pope evadeth this by a quirk, and sendeth many legates, not robed indeed in purple, but armed with mighty powers; neither would it be difficult to produce an instance, nay, so frequently do these concealed emissaries come, and so numerous are they, that it would be tedious to hear their names recited.

16. Lastly (what is quite a novelty<sup>3</sup>), the pope, for some worldly respect, will grant a man a bishopric without his ever being consecrated, but only an elect from year to year; which is as much as to say, that he is to have the milk and wool of the sheep, not driving away the wolves, but only receiving the stated revenues of the bishopric.

Henry  
III.

A. D.  
1253.

The pope injurious to churches in his provisions and reservations. Also to the abbot of St. Alban's. The pope accused of violent extortion.

Of troubling and corrupting learned men of the spirituality with his temporal affairs. See Appendix.

The pope accused of unlawful dispensations.

See Appendix.

And when this godly bishop had thus expressed his detestation of such practices, and of many other enormities which prevailed in the court of Rome; as, all kinds of avarice, usury, simony, and extortion, all kinds of filthiness, fleshly lust, gluttony, and sumptuous apparel; insomuch that the proverb concerning the said court is truly verified—

'Ejus avaritiæ totus non sufficit orbis,  
Ejus luxuriæ meretrix non sufficit omnis;'

'All the world cannot suffice, their greedy covetous mind,  
Nor all the drabs and naughty packs, their filthy lusting kind;'

afterwards he went about further to prosecute, how the aforesaid court, opening its jaws so wide, that the flood of Jordan might run into its mouth, aspired to usurp the goods of them that died intestate, and legacies bequeathed without due form of law; and how, in order that they might practise this with the greater freedom, they would associate the king as sharer and partaker with them in their rapine. "Neither," saith he, "shall the church ever be delivered from this

(1) "Telonarios," M. Paris, collectors.—Ed.

(2) "Tragulorum vilittas mentitur." "Chimners and Scapillers." "Simarre" in French is a long gown or robe. A "scapulary" was a friar's vest, part of which covered the shoulders.—Ed.

(3) Alluding to Ethelmar, elect of Winchester, the king's half-brother.—Ed.

Henry  
III.

A. D.  
1253.

Death of  
Robert  
Grost-  
head,  
bishop of  
Lincoln.

What the  
yearly  
revenues  
the pope's  
clerks  
here in  
England  
came to.

The pope  
stricken  
with the  
staff of  
Grost-  
head,  
bishop of  
Lincoln.

Egyptian servitude, but with the edge of the bloody sword. Albeit," saith he, "these be as yet but light matters; yet, shortly, within the next three years, more grievous things than these shall come to pass."

At the end of this his prophetic speech, which he scarcely could utter for sighing, sobbing, and weeping, his tongue faltered, and his breath began to fail, and so, the organ of his voice being stopped, he made an end both of his speech and life.<sup>1</sup>

And, forasmuch as mention hath been made before of the insatiable avarice of the pope's court by his inordinate provisions and reservations, it is testified by Matthew Paris, that the aforesaid Robert Grosthead, being bishop of Lincoln, caused to be viewed and considered diligently by his clerks, what the revenues of foreigners and strangers within England, set in by the pope, came to by the year; and it was found and evidently tried, that this pope now present, Innocent IV., did impoverish the universal church throughout Christendom more than all his predecessors from the time the pope first began, so that the revenues of foreigners and clerks, placed by him here in England, mounted unto the sum of threescore and ten thousand marks and above, whereas the mere revenues of the crown came not to a third of that sum.<sup>2</sup>

Of this Robert Grosthead writeth Cestrensis (lib. vii.), that partly for that it grieved him to see the intolerable exactions of the pope in this realm; and, partly, because he refused to admit a certain young nephew of the pope to be canon of his church (as hath been before recited), he, therefore, writing unto the pope, and signifying that he could not admit any such persons into his church, who neither knew themselves, nor the tongue of the people, nor the charges committed unto them, was called up to Rome, and there excommunicated; who, then appealing from the pope, shortly after departed, A.D. 1253. It chanced, within two years after his decease, that the said pope Innocent being asleep, a certain bishop, apparelled bishop-like, appeared unto him, and striking him with his staff on the left side, said, "Surge miser, veni in judicium:" that is, "Rise, wretch! and come to thy judgment." The next day, the pope was found amazed, as a man stricken on the side with the stroke of a staff. This Robert, though he was greatly commended for his sanctity and (as Cestrensis saith) for his miracles, yet was he not permitted in the court of Rome to be inscribed in the catalogue of saints. And thus much out of Cestrensis concerning this matter.

A. D. 1254

Matthew Paris, and the author of Flores Historiarum, prosecuting this story more at large, add this unto it, and say that pope Innocent the year following (which was A. D. 1254), being passing angry, contrary to the mind of his brethren the cardinals willed to have the bones of this bishop of Lincoln cast out of the church, and, to bring him into disgrace with the people, that he should be counted an ethnic, a rebel, and a disobedient person, throughout the whole world; and thereupon caused he a letter to that effect to be written and transmitted to the king of England, knowing that the king would gladly serve him therein, to have the spoil of the bishop

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. [pp. 874—876.—Ed.]

(2) Id. p. 859, ad ann. 1252.—Ed.

and of his church. But, in the night following, the said bishop of Lincoln appeared unto him arrayed in his pontificalibus,<sup>1</sup> and approaching him as he lay restless on his bed spake to him with a severe countenance, stern look, and terrible voice, at the same time striking him a violent blow on the side with the point of his pastoral staff, and thus said, "Sinibald, thou most wretched pope! hast thou purposed to cast my bones out of the church to the shame of me and of the church of Lincoln? Whence could such rashness come into thy head? It were more meet for thee, advanced and honoured by God as thou art, to make much of the zealous servants of God, although departed. The Lord, however, will not suffer thee henceforth to have any power over me. I wrote unto thee in the spirit of humility and love, that thou shouldst correct thy manifold errors; but thou, with a proud eye and disdainful heart, hast despised my wholesome admonitions. Woe to thee that despisest, shalt not thou also be despised?"

Henry  
III.A. D.  
1254.The  
pope's  
new and  
true style  
given by  
Gros-  
thead,  
bishop of  
Lincoln.

And so, bishop Robert retiring left the pope half dead, groaning with the anguish of the wound which (as was said) he had received in his side, which was just as if he had been pierced with a lance, and sighing and crying out lamentably. The gentlemen of his bed-chamber, hearing these things, asked him in astonishment what all this meant. He replied with groans and sighs, "The terrors of the night have much disturbed me, and I shall never recover, so as to be myself again. Oh! my side, how it pains me! I have been struck with a lance by a spirit." Neither did the pope eat or drink all that day, pretending to be ill of a high fever. And yet, even so, the wrath and vengeance of God had not done with him. For after this, the pope not regarding these wholesome admonitions given to him by God through his servant, but giving his mind wholly unto military and secular affairs, yet, with all his labours, counsels, and expenses bestowed upon them, never prospered after that day in what he went about; for the pope at that time having war with the Apulians, his army fighting under the command of the pope's nephew was routed, and to the number of four thousand slain, including their commander; whose lamentable slaughter all the country of the Romans did much bewail. The pope, afterwards, directeth his journey towards Naples, although sorely pained in his side, like a man sick of a pleurisy, or rather smitten with a spear; neither could cardinal Albus, his physician, relieve him; "for Robert of Lincoln," saith the story, "did not spare Sinibald of Genoa; who, for that he would not hear the other's gentle reproofs being alive, did feel his stripes when he was dead; so that he never after that enjoyed one good day or night." And so continued he until his death, which shortly after ensued, he being at Naples, A. D. 1255, or as Nicholas Trivet recordeth, 1254. And thus have ye the whole discourse between Robert Grosthead and pope Innocent.<sup>2</sup>

The pope  
disquiet-  
ed in his  
mind.God's re-  
venge on  
pope In-  
nocent.The  
pope's  
army van-  
quished  
and con-  
founded.See  
Appendix.Death  
of pope  
Innocent  
IV.

In this story is to be noted, gentle reader, that although in Cestrensis, Matthew Paris, and Flores Historiarum, it is expressly

(1) Ex Matth. Paris. [p. 883.] Ex Flor. Hist.

(2) The foregoing account of bishop Grosthead has been collated with the original in M. Paris, and considerably revised and corrected.—Eu.

Henry

III.

A.D.

1255.

A note concerning the appearing of dead men.

testified and reported, that the pope was smitten with the staff of Robert, the aforesaid bishop of Lincoln, yet thou must wisely understand, that, howsoever God's hand dealeth here in this world in punishing his enemies, or howsoever the images of things not seen but fantasied offer themselves to the secret cogitation of man (his senses being asleep), by the operation or permission of God working after some spiritual influence in our imaginations, certain it is, that no dead man materially can ever rise again or appear before the judgment-day to any man, with his staff or without his staff, to work any feat, after he have once departed this life.

Dissension between the archbishop of Canterbury and the church of Lincoln. Excommunication abused.

After the death of this Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, there was great dissension between Boniface, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the canons of the said church of Lincoln, about the right of giving prebendships, and about the revenues of the said church, the bishop's see being then vacant; which right and power the archbishop claimed to himself, but the canons of that church, maintaining the contrary side, stood against him; and, for the same, were excommunicated of the archbishop. Among whom, one Master Wolfe, resisting the archbishop to the face, in the name of all the other canons, made up his appeal to Rome, where much money on both sides was spent. At length, after this Grosthead, Henry Lexington was elected to the see of Lincoln.

A child crucified by the Jews at Lincoln.

About this time the wicked Jews at Lincoln had cruelly crucified, whipped, and tormented a certain child, named Hugo, of nine years of age, A.D. 1255, in the month of August.<sup>1</sup> At length the child being sought and found by the mother, being cast into a pit, two and thirty of those abominable Jews were put to execution. Of this Matthew Paris reciteth a long story. The same or like fact was also intended by the Jews at Norwich, twenty years before, upon a certain child, whom they had first circumcised, and detained a whole year in custody, intending to crucify him; for which the Jews were sent up to the Tower of London, of whom eighteen were hanged, and the rest remained long in prison.<sup>2</sup> Of this wicked Jewish people I find also in the book Flores Historiarum, that about this year they began first to be expelled out of France, by the commandment of the French king, he being then in Palestine, warring against the Turks; on the occasion of its being objected by the Turk, against him and other christian princes, that they retained the Jews among them, who *did* crucify our Saviour, and warred against those who did *not* crucify him.<sup>3</sup> Of the Jews here, moreover, king Henry the same year exacted to be given unto him eight thousand marks, on pain of hanging; who, being much grieved therewith, and complaining that the king went about their destruction, desired leave to be given them by the king, that they might depart the realm, never again to return. But the king committed the doing of that matter unto earl Richard, his brother, to enforce them to pay the money whether they would or not. Moreover, mention is made in the story entitled 'Eulogium' of the Jews at Northampton, who had among themselves

A child circumcised by the Jews, and kept a whole year to be crucified.

The Jews expelled out of France.

The Jews ask leave to depart the realm of England.

See Appendix.

(1) Ex Gualt. Gisburn. [On these and other matters relating to the Jews in English history, see D'Blossier's "Anglia Judaica."—Eo.]

(2) Ex Nich. Trivet.

(3) Ex Flor. Ilstor. Ex Cestrensi, lib. vii. cap. 34.

prepared wildfire, to burn the city of London; for which divers of them were taken, and burned in the time of Lent, in the said town of Northampton. This was two years before, or about A.D. 1253. And forasmuch as mention here is made of the Jews, I cannot omit what some English stories write of a certain Jew, who not long after this time (about A.D. 1257), fell into a privy at Tewkesbury upon a sabbath day; who, for the great reverence he had to his holy sabbath, would not suffer himself to be plucked out. And so lord Richard, earl of Gloucester, hearing thereof, would not suffer him to be drawn out on Sunday for reverence of the holy day. And thus the wretched superstitious Jew, remaining there till Monday, was found dead.

Henry III.

A.D. 1259.

Jews burned at Northampton.

Further, to note the blind superstition of that time, not only among the Jews, but also among the Christians; to omit divers other stories, as of Walter Gray, archbishop of York, who coming up to the parliament at London, A.D. 1255, with inordinate fasting did so overcharge nature, and pined himself, and (as the story mentioneth) did so dry up his brain, that he, losing thereby all appetite of stomach, going to Fulham, there, within three days, died, as by the compiler of Flores Historiarum is both storied and reprehended; let this only be added, which, by the aforementioned author, and in the same year, is recorded of one named Peter Chaceporce, who, dying in France, A.D. 1255, left by bequest in his testament six hundred marks for lands to be purchased to the house of Merton, for God to be served there perpetually, "Pro anima ejus et omnium fidelium;" that is, "For his soul's health, and all faithful souls." As one who would say, christian faith were not the ordinary means sufficient to salvation of faithful souls, without the choir service of the monks of Merton.

Superstitious fasting noted in Walter, archbishop of York.

Superstition in seeking salvation by wrong means.

Ye have heard it often complained of before, how the usurped power of the pope hath violently and presumptuously encroached upon the church of England, in giving and conferring benefices and prebends to his Italians and strangers, to the great damage and ruin of Christ's flock in manifold ways. This violent injury and oppression of the pope, as by no lawful and gentle means it could be reformed, so, by occasion and means inordinate, about this time it began somewhat to be bridled. The matter whereof was this, as it is by the collector of Flores Historiarum recited under the forty-fourth year of the reign of this king Henry III. The late bishop of London, named Fulco, had given a certain prebend in the church of St. Paul to one Master Rustand, the pope's nuncio here in England; who entering into the profession of the Grey friars, and shortly after dying on the other side of the Alps, the pope immediately conferred the said prebend to one of his specials, a like stranger, as the other was before. About the same instant it befel, that the bishop of London deceased, whereby the bishopric, now vacant, fell into the king's hands, who, hearing of the death of the aforementioned Rustand, gave the said prebendship, given of the pope before, to one John Crakehale, his treasurer; who with all solemnity took his installation, unknowing as yet that it was bestowed by the pope before. Not long after, as time grew, this being noised at Rome, forthwith cometh down a certain proctor, named John Gras, with the pope's embulled letters, to receive the collation of the benefice, by his commission

The pope injurious to the church of England.

See Appendix

The same prebendship of St Paul's given by the pope and the king at one time to two different persons.



Henry  
III.

A.D.  
1259.

The  
popes's do-  
nation  
preferred  
before the  
king's.

Two  
Roman  
clerks go-  
ing to  
complain,  
are slain  
by the  
way.

The story  
of Matth.  
Paris here  
ceaseth.

procuratory given by the pope, wherein John Crakehale had been already installed, as is aforesaid, by the king's donation. This matter coming in traverse before Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, he, after inquiring and searching which donation was the first, and finding the pope's grant to be the former, gave sentence with him against the king; so that, in conclusion, the Roman clerk had the advantage of the benefice, although the other had long enjoyed the possession thereof before. Thus the pope's man being preferred, and the Englishman excluded, after the party had been invested and stalled after the use and manner, he thinking to be in sure possession of his place, attempted to enter the house belonging to his prebend, but was not permitted so to do; whereupon the pope's clerk, giving place to force and number, went to the archbishop to complain. This becoming known to those inside the house, they pursued him; and he being so compassed about, one in the thickness of the throng, being never after known, suddenly rushing upon him, a little above his eyes so pareth off his head that he fell down dead; the same also was done to another of his fellows in fleeing away. This heinous murder being famed abroad, strait inquiry thereof was made, but the deed-doer could not be known; and although great suspicion was laid upon Crakehale, the king's treasurer, yet no proof could be brought. But most men thought that bloody fact to be done by certain ruffians or other light persons about the city or the court; disdaining perhaps that the Romans were so enriched with Englishmen's livings, by whom neither came relief to any Englishman, nor any godly instruction to the flock of Christ. And, therefore, because they saw the church and realm of England in such subjection, and so much to be trodden down by the Romans and the pope's messengers, they thought thereby something to bridle, as with a snaffle, the pope's messengers from their intemperate ranging into this land.<sup>1</sup>

Here, by the way, is to be noted, that until the death of this aforesaid Fulco, bishop of London, continueth the history of Matthew Paris, monk of St. Alban's, which was to the year of grace 1259. The residue was continued by another monk of the same house, but not with such like commendation, worthy to make any authentic story; as I have seen it noted in a written book.

It were too curious and tedious to prosecute in order what happened in every year, through this king's reign; as how it was provided by the king, that whosoever could expend fifteen pounds from land by the year, should be bound to find the king a soldier; that watch should be kept every night in cities; that whosoever was robbed, or otherwise damnified in any part of the country, he that had the custody thereof should be compelled to make up the loss again, or else to pursue the malefactor.<sup>2</sup> (A.D. 1253). Item, how the king making his voyage into Gascony, his expenses were reckoned to amount to two hundred and seventy thousand marks, beside thirty thousand marks bestowed upon his brethren by the mother's side, and besides other great gifts given abroad. By reason of this, great taxes, and tonies, and tenths were required of his subjects; especially of the churchmen, who, being wont to receive tithes of others, now were constrained to give tithes to the laity.<sup>3</sup> (A.D. 1254.)

(1) Ex Flor. Hist.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid. [See Appendix.]

Item, how in the year following, the Londoners, offering one hundred pounds for a gift to the king, with a precious cup of gold, at his return out of France, were shortly after compelled by the king to pay three thousand marks for the escape of a certain prisoner, being a clerk condemned; which clerk being granted by the king to the bishop, and he having no prison sufficient for him, borrowed of the Londoners the prison of Newgate, to have him kept therein; who escaping, there was demanded of them, as it is said, this recompense. (A.D. 1255.) Item, how the king, greatly complaining of his debts the same year, required the whole tenths which should be gathered in three years, to be taken up all at once; at whose request the nobles and commons agreed to strain themselves, so that the charter of their liberties and customs might be ratified, and fully by him confirmed; and so for that year they were.<sup>1</sup> Item, how pope Alexander IV., to destroy the city Nuchera, with king Manfred, the son of Frederic the emperor, sent forth the same year Octavian, his cardinal, with a puissant army; who, coming to the city with his siege, through the counsel of the marquis of Hoemburgh, one of the chief captains, discharged a great part of his host; whereby the most of the pope's army was slain and destroyed, almost all, save only the family of the marquis,<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1255.

Henry  
III.A.D.  
1255.Pope  
Alexander IV.  
maketh  
war.The  
pope's  
army  
slain.

Many other things during the time of this king might be heaped together, as the rising of Llewellyn, king of Wales, and of the Welshmen against Henry III., and wasting the land unto the town of Chester, who destroyed divers of the English horsemen taken in the marsh; with whom at length they came to agreement by means of Octobonus, that his successors should only be called princes of Wales, and should do the king homage, and that Henry should receive of him three thousand marks. And this being established in writing, was confirmed by the pope's seal, A.D. 1257.<sup>3</sup>

The king  
of Wales  
warreth  
against  
the king  
of Eng-  
land.

A.D.1257

About the same time such famine and lack of victuals oppressed the land, that a somme<sup>4</sup> of corn was then sold for six and twenty shillings; insomuch that the poorer sort were forced to eat nettle-roots, thistle-roots, and whatsoever they could get.<sup>5</sup> Some authors, however, refer this to A.D. 1262.

Hereunto, moreover, might be added, how pope Alexander, abusing and mocking the king's simplicity, made him believe that he would make his son Edmund, king of Apulia, so that he would sustain the charges and cost thereof, to maintain the war which thereto should appertain; whereby the king, cast in a sudden hope, caused his son incontinently to be proclaimed king of Apulia; and upon the same sent up to the pope all the riches he could well procure in his realm. And thus was the realm, in manifold ways, miserably impoverished to enrich the pope.<sup>6</sup> About this season, Richard, earl of Exeter, the king's brother, was made king of Almain by the electors.

Pope  
Alexander, to get  
money,  
maketh  
the king  
believe  
his son  
should be  
king of  
Apulia.  
The  
king's  
brother  
made  
king of  
Almain

Here might be showed, moreover, and added to the stories above, how the next year (A.D. 1259), as Nicholas Trivet writeth, the king entering into France, required the restitution of such lands in Normandy and Anjou as of old right were due to him, and wrongfully

(1) Ex Flor. Hist.

(4) A beast's load.—Ed.

(2) Ex Flor Hist., et Matth. Paris.

(5) Ex Authore Eulogii.

(3) Ex Polychron. 17.

(6) Ex Flor. Hist.

See  
Appendix

Henry  
III.

A.D.  
1257.

What  
evil dis-  
cord  
worketh.  
Resigna-  
tion of the  
earldom of  
Nor-  
mandy  
and An-  
jou.  
See  
Appendix.

withholden from him. But the French king again alleged, saying, that the country of Normandy, in old time, was not given away from the crown of France, but was usurped, and by force extorted, by Rollo, &c. In conclusion, the king, fearing and suspecting the hearts of his nobles, and looking for nothing but rebellion at home, durst not try with them, but was compelled to agree with them upon such conditions of peace as he could get; which were these: that he should have of the French king three hundred thousand small Tours pounds, with so much lands else in Gascony, as came to the value of twenty thousand pounds in yearly rent; so should he resign fully and purely to the hands of the French king, all such lands and possessions as he had in France. Whereby the king giving over his style and titles which he had in those parts, ceased then to be called duke of Normandy, or earl of Anjou.

Albeit, if it be true that Gisburn writeth, the king, afterward repenting of his deed, did never receive the money all his life, neither did he cease during his life to entitle himself in his letters duke of Normandy; but after him, his son and successor Edward in his letters left out the title to be called duke of Normandy.<sup>1</sup>

Conflict  
and skir-  
mish be-  
tween the  
Northern  
Welsh-  
men and  
the South-  
ern men,  
at Oxford.

Besides many other matters omitted, here I overpass also the sore and vehement conflict, not between the frogs and the mice of which Homer writeth, but the mighty pitched field, fought A.D. 1259, between the young students and scholars of the university of Oxford, having no other occasion, as I read in Matthew Paris, but only the diversity of the country where they were born; for the Northern men joining with the Welshmen, to try their manhood against the Southern, fell together in such a broil, with their ensigns and warlike array, that in conclusion divers on both sides were slain. This heavy and bloody conflict during and increasing among them, the end was this: that the Northern lads with the Welsh had the victory. After that fury and fiery fierceness had done what it could, the victors bethinking at length with themselves, partly what they had done, partly how it would be taken of the higher powers, and fearing due punishment would fall upon them, especially seeing the brother of Llewellyn, prince of Wales, and son of Griffin, was newly dead in prison; drawing their counsel and helps together, they offered to king Henry four thousand marks, to Edward, his son, three hundred, and to the queen two hundred, to be released of their trespass. But the king answered them again, that he, setting more price on the life of one true subject, than on all which by them was offered, would in no wise receive their money. And so the students without hope of peace went home with small triumph, learning what the common proverb meaneth, "*Dulce bellum inexpertis.*" Notwithstanding, the king being then occupied in great affairs and wars, partly with Llewellyn and the Welshmen, partly inwrapped with discord at home with his nobles, had no leisure to attend to the correction of these university men.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, concerning the dissension following in the next year (A.D. 1260) in the university of Paris, between the students there and the friars, the number of whom then did so much increase, that the commons were scarcely able to sustain them with their alms. Also, between the universities both of Oxford and

Variance  
between  
the stu-  
dents and  
the friars  
in Paris.  
Between  
the Uni-

(1) Ex Gisburnensi.

(2) Ex Matth. Paris.

Cambridge, for a certain prisoner taken out of prison by strength, and brought into sanctuary the same year, as is testified in Matthew Paris. (A.D. 1259.) In like manner touching the variance between the archbishop of Canterbury, and the chapter of Lincoln. Again, between the said archbishop of Canterbury, and the chapter and bishop of London; and how the said bishop at his consecration would not make his profession to the archbishop but with this exception, "Salvis jure et libertate ecclesiæ Londinensis, quæ pro posse meo defendam in omnibus," &c.<sup>1</sup> All which wranglings and dissensions, with innumerable others reigning daily in the church in those days, if I had leisure enough to prosecute them as I find them in stories remaining, might sufficiently induce us to understand what small peace and agreement were then joined with the doctrine and religion of those days, during the state and reign of Antichrist.

These, with many such other matters, which here might be discoursed and storied at large, being more foreign than ecclesiastical, for brevity I do purposely contract and omit, cutting off all such superfluities as may seem more curious to write upon, than necessary to be known.

This that followeth, concerning the pitiful and turbulent commotion between the king and the nobles, which lasted a long season; because it is lamentable and containeth much fruitful example both for princes and subjects to behold and look upon, to see what mischief and inconvenience groweth in commonweals, where study of mutual concord lacketh, that is, where the prince regardeth not the offending of his subjects, and where the subjects forget the office of christian patience in suffering their prince's injuries by God's wrath inflicted for their sins: therefore, in explaining the order and story thereof, I thought it not unprofitable to occupy the reader with a little more tarriance in perusing the full discourse of this so lamentable a matter, and so pernicious to the public weal.

And first, to declare the occasions and first beginning of this tumult, here is to be understood, that which before was signified, how king Henry married with Elenor, daughter of the earl of Provence, a stranger, which was about A.D. 1236; whereupon a great door was opened for strangers, not only to enter the land, but also to replenish the court, to whom the king seemed more to incline his favour, advancing them to more preferment than his own natural English lords; which thing to them was no little grievance. Moreover, before was declared how the king, by Isabel, his mother, who was a stranger, had divers brethren, whom he nourished up with great livings and possessions, and large pensions of money; which was another heart-sore to divers, and also an hindrance. Over and besides hath also been declared, what unreasonable collections of money from time to time, as quincims, subsidies, tenths, amerements, fines, payments, loans, and taxes, have been levied by the king, as well on the spirituality, as on the lay sort, partly for maintaining the king's wars against Wales, Scotland, and France, and to recover Normandy; partly for helping the king's debts, voyages, and other expenses; partly for the kingdom of Apulia, which was promised the king's son by the pope; partly for moneying and supporting the

*Henry III.*  
*A.D. 1258.*  
versities of Oxford and Cambridge.  
Between the archbishop of Canterbury and the chapter of Lincoln.  
Between the archbishop of Canterbury and the chapter of London.  
Little peace in the pope's church.

Histories profitable for example

Occasion of commotion between the king and his nobles.  
*See Appendix*

Henry  
III.

A. D.  
1258.

pope in his wars against the emperor: by reason of all which sundry and importable collections, the commonwealth of the realm was utterly excoriate, to the great impoverishment of poor Englishmen; neither did it a little vex the people, to see the king call in so many legates from Rome every year, who did nothing else but transport the English money into the pope's coffers. Besides all this, what variance and altercation have been between the king and his subjects about the liberties of Magna Charta and De Foresta, granted by king John, and after confirmed by this king in the former council holden at Oxford, hath been before declared.

Perhaps this might be also some piece of a cause, that the king, considering and bearing in mind the old injuries done of the lords and barons to his father king John before him, did bear some grudge there-for, or some privy hatred unto the nobility, to revenge his father's quarrel; but of things uncertain I have nothing certainly to affirm. This is certain by truth of history, that the year of our Lord 1260, thus writeth Nicholas Trivet: That the king's justices, called *Itinerarii*,<sup>1</sup> being sent to Hereford to execute their office, were from thence repelled: the cause being alleged by those who were against the king, that they were proceeding and enterprising against the form of the provisions enacted and established a little before at Oxford.

Strangers  
have all  
the  
wealth of  
the realm  
under the  
king.

It befel, moreover, in the same time above other times, as Walter Hemingford writeth,<sup>2</sup> that a great number of aliens coming out of France and other countries resorted to England, and had here the doing of all principal matters of the realm under the king; unto whom the wardships and reliefs and other emoluments of the land did most chiefly redound. Which thing to see, did not a little trouble and vex the nobility and baronage of England, insomuch that Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester, offering to stand to death for the liberties and wealth of the realm, conferred together with other lords and barons upon the matter; who then coming to the king after an humble sort of petition declared to him, how all the doings of his realm and his own affairs were altogether disposed by the hands and after the wills of strangers, neither profitably unto him nor to the weal public, forso-much as his treasures being wasted and consumed he was in great debt, neither was able to satisfy the provision of his own house, but was driven to tally for his own eates, to no small dishonour unto his own state. "And now, therefore," said they, "pleaseth your highness to be informed by our advice, and to commit your house to the guiding and government of your own faithful and natural subjects, and we will take upon us to discharge your whole debt within one year of our own proper goods and revenues, so that we within five years may clear ourselves again. Neither will we diminish your family, but rather increase it with a much greater retinue; providing so for the safety, and seeing to the custody, of your royal person, as your highness shall find and understand our diligence most trusty and faithful unto you in the end."

The ap-  
peal of the  
nobles to  
the king.  
[April  
7th,  
A. D. 1258.  
Rymer.]

The king  
granteth  
to his  
lords.

To these words, so lovingly declared, so humbly pretended, so heartily and freely offered, the king as willingly condescended, assigning unto them both day and place where to confer and to deliberate further upon the matter, which should be at Oxford, one

(1) "Justices in Eyre." See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ex Gualt. Gisburnensi.



month after Pentecost [June 11th]. At which day and place all the states and lords, with the bishops of the realm, were summoned to appear at the said town of Oxford, for the behalf of the king and the realm convented together; where, first of the king himself, then of the lords, an oath was taken, that what decrees or laws in the said assembly should be provided to the profit of the king and of the realm, the same universally should be kept and observed to the honour of God, the utility of his church, and the wealth of the realm. Besides these lords and the king were also nine bishops, who swearing to the same did excommunicate all such as should gainstand the said provisions there made, the king holding a burning taper in his hand, and the lords openly protesting to rise with all their force<sup>1</sup> against all them that should stand against the same.

Henry III.

A.D. 1258.

A parliament at Oxford. Provisions or laws made there. The king sweareth unto them. See Appendix.

There were at that present in the realm four brethren of the king's (most part of them by the mother's side) who would in no case agree hereunto, but in anger departed privily unto Winchester. The nobles hearing thereof, in all speedy wise pursued them, fearing lest they should take the city of Winchester, and forcibly keep the same. Wherefore the lords preventing their purpose, and seeing them stiffly to persist in their stubborn sentence, wrought no other violence against them, but, returning to Oxford again, prescribed to them these conditions: That they, departing the realm, should repair to their own lands and possessions which they had beyond the sea; and that forthwith they should put this injunction in execution. Notwithstanding that the king made for them great intercession, yet it took no place. And because this should seem to proceed of no special displeasure against them, they enacted, moreover, that all strangers and aliens, of what state or condition soever, should forthwith avoid the realm on pain of death. Divers other provisions the same time were ordained and established; that if any did hold of the king in whole or in part, and should chance him to depart, his heir being under age, the wardship of him should belong to the king, as hath partly before been specified.

The king's brethren against the said provisions.

See Appendix.

Moreover, it was there decreed, that the wool of England should be wrought only within the realm, neither should it be transported out to strangers.

*Item*, That no man should wear any cloth, but which was wrought and made only within the realm.

God grant this law may take place again.

*Item*, That garments too sumptuous should not be brought in nor worn.

*Item*, That all excessive and prodigal expenses, wasted upon pleasure and superfluity, should be eschewed of all persons.

And this, for the wealth of the realm.

Many other laws and decrees, saith the author,<sup>2</sup> in this assembly were ordained, wherein they continued the space of fifteen days; and many of them were imprisoned, of whom was the abbot of Westminster, a man in that order much commended. Also William, brother to the earl of Gloucester: also the earl himself, being imprisoned, hardly escaped with life, his hair and nails falling off his body; whereof the author not long after was taken, and duly executed at Winchester. In the mean time, the nobles considering those dangers and jeopardies, were constrained to break off for that time, appointing the

Divers in this council imprisoned.

(1) "Velut accipitres in corvum," Hemingford.—Ed.

(2) Ex Hist. Gualt. Gisburnensis.

*Henry  
III.*A. D.  
1261.*see  
Appendix.*The king  
repenteth  
of his  
oath.

A. D. 1261.

The king  
sueth to  
the pope  
to release  
him from  
his oath.  
The  
pope's  
absolu-  
tion  
abused.*See  
Appendix  
[June  
12th.]*The  
answer of  
the nobles  
again to  
the king.

thirteenth day of October next following to convent together at London with weapon and harness, to prosecute and finish the residue that was in the said council to be concluded. All which, at the time and place appointed, was fully accomplished, and the acts thereof in order of writing promulgated, and so committed to execution.

After the promulgation whereof, many things therein displeased the king, and it began to repent him of his oath. But because he could not at that present otherwise choose, he dissembled for a season. Thus, time passing on, three years after (A. D. 1261) the king, seeing himself more and more to grow in debt and not to be relieved according to promise made, but especially being egged (as may be thought) by his brethren, taking it to stomach, sent up to the pope, both for him and his son Edward to be released of their oath made before at Oxford. The benefit of which absolution being easily obtained or rather bought at the pope's hand, the king, stepping back from all that was before concluded, calleth a parliament at Winchester, where he before the lords and nobles declared, how in the late council of Oxford they had agreed among themselves for the common utility of the realm and of the king, as they pretended, for the increasing of his treasure, and his debt to be diminished; and thereupon bound themselves with an oath, causing also himself and his son Edward to be bound unto the same. But now, by experience proving and trying the matter to be otherwise than their promise was, and that they, contrary to their covenant made, sought not so much the profit of him and of the realm, as their own, taking him not as their lord, but going about to bring him under their subjection as an underling; and for that, moreover, his treasure greatly decreasing, his debts increased, and his princely liberality was cut short and trodden under foot—they should not marvel therefore, if he henceforth would be no more ruled by their counsel, but would provide himself with some other remedy, such as he might. And moreover, as touching the oath wherewith he and his son stood bound unto them, he had sent already to Rome, and had obtained absolution and dispensation of the same, both for him and his son Edward also, and for all others that would take his part. And therefore he required of them to be restored again to that state and condition he had enjoyed in times past.

To this again gave answer the state of nobility on the other side, being in the same place present; in the number of whom was Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester, Richard of Clare, earl of Gloucester, Humphrey de Bohun, and the earl Ferrers, with a great number of barons, as lord John Fitz-John, lord Hastings, lord Geffery Lucy, lord John Vesey, lord William Segrave, Hugh le Despencer, lord Robert Vipount, with divers and many more; whose answer to the king again was this: That the provisions made at the council of Oxford, whereunto they were sworn, they would hold, defend, and maintain to their lives' end; forsomuch as they did sound, and also were agreed upon, both to the honour of God, to the profit of the prince, and the stable wealth of the realm. And thus both sides discording betwixt themselves would so have departed, had not certain of the bishops, coming between both, laboured to make up the matter. By whose means

(saith Walter Gisburn) and procurement the determination of the cause was brought in compromise and referred to Louis, the French king, to judge betwixt them, who, hearing both the allegations (saith he), like no equal judge but a partial friend, inclined wholly and fully to the king's sentence, and condemned the nobles. But the author of Flores Historiarum saith, that by the mediation of certain discreet men, two were chosen, one for one side, the other for the other, to whom a third also was annexed, who hearing, as well what was brought of the king's part, as also what was answered of the other, should define between them both; and so peace was between them concluded till the coming of Edward. All this while the pope's absolution for the king, although it was granted and obtained at Rome, yet was it not brought down in solemn writing, neither was prince Edward as yet returned out of France into England.

Henry  
III.A. D.  
1261.The  
contro-  
versy be-  
tween the  
king and  
the nobles  
put in  
compro-  
mise.See  
Appendix.

\*<sup>1</sup>In this year it pleased the king, after suit to him made, to license a university or academical school to be planted in the town of Northampton; and of a special favour which he pretended to bear (and like enough did indeed) unto the scholars that went there to seat themselves, and to prosecute the exercise of studies, he wrote his letters mandatory unto the chief officers and others of the said borough in the said students' behalf; the tenor whereof followeth agreeing with the record:

The King's Letter to the Mayor, Bailiffs, and others the Inhabitants of Northampton, in the behalf of certain Scholars minded to plant themselves there, as in a University.<sup>2</sup>

The king to his beloved and trusty the mayor, bailiffs, and other honest men, his subjects of Northampton, greeting: Whereas certain masters and other scholars do purpose to tarry in your town corporate, there to exercise scholarly discipline, as we hear: we, regarding the glory of God, and the great profit of our kingdom hereby, take in good part the coming thither of the said scholars, and liking well their abode there, do will and grant that the said scholars may safely and securely abide in the said town corporate, under our protection and defence, and there exercise and do such things, as to such scholars appertain. And therefore we command you and straitly charge you, that when the said scholars shall come unto you, to tarry in your said corporate town, you receive them courteously, and treat them as becometh the state of scholars, not doing or suffering to be done unto them any impediment, molestation, or grievance. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made. Witness the king, at Windsor, the first day of February, in the five and fortieth year of his reign. [1261.]\*

At length, the writing of the king's absolution being brought from Rome, the king eftsoons commanded the same to be published throughout the realm, and sendeth to the French king and other strangers for help; moreover, he seizeth all his castles into his own hand, rejecting the counsel of the lords, to whose custody they were before committed; also removing the former officers, as the justices and the chancellor, with others placed before by the lords, he appointed new in their stead.

The pope  
releaseth  
the king  
of his  
oath.See  
Appendix.

To this aforesaid absolution procured from Rome for the king and

(1) This passage in asterisks is not in the Editions published previous to the year 1596.—Ed.

(2) "Rex dilectis et fidelibus suis majori, ballivis, et cæteris probis hominibus suis de Northampton, salutem. Cum quidam magistri et alii scholares proponant," &c.—Turril Lond. [The above translation is revised from the Latin original printed in Rymer.—Ed.]

Henry  
III.A.D.  
1262.Wicked  
make-  
bait.Ordi-  
nances  
in a  
provincial  
council at  
London  
against  
the King's  
right.

his son, Edward, returning out of France at that time, did not give his consent, but held with the lords; who then putting themselves in arms, with a great power repaired to London, keeping there in the suburbs and places about, while the king kept within the tower, causing the city gates to be watched and locked, and all within the said city, being above the age of twelve years, to be sworn unto him. But, at length, through the means of certain coming between, this tumultuous perturbation being somewhat appeased, at least some hope of peace appeared; so that the matter was taken up for that time without war or bloodshed. Notwithstanding, some false pretended dissemblers there were, who secretly disclosing all the counsels and doings of the lords unto the king, did all they could to hinder concord, and to kindle debate; by the means of whom the purpose of the lords came not to so good effect, as otherwise it might.<sup>1</sup>

\*<sup>2</sup>In this year the archbishop of Canterbury, with his suffragans (after their wonted manner), standing against the king, had made their appeal to Rome: whereupon the king was fain to answer by proxy, as appeareth by this brief note, drawn out of record:—"Rex constituit Johannem Hemingford procuratorem suum in causa appellationis," &c. "The king hath appointed and made John Hemingford his proctor in a cause of appeal which is moved in the court of Rome, between the king on the one part, and the archbishop of Canterbury with his suffragans on the other, about certain ordinances, constitutions, and decrees lately in a council provincial at London by them published, to the prejudice of the king's right, his dignity royal, the liberties, laws, and customs of his kingdom."<sup>3</sup>

This matter no doubt was laboured very diligently by the said John Hemingford, who was to that end authorized by the king to make his abode at Rome, during the time that any manner of process was held and maintained against him to the impeaching of his royalty; whereof the king had a special regard, perceiving the waywardness of his own clergy, or rather rebelliousness in daring to decree and ordain laws against him, and therefore he was the more careful to have all matters depending in the court of Rome concerning him and his to be earnestly followed, insomuch that he joined to the aforesaid Hemingford, in the charge of procuracy, one Roger Lovel: unto which two, residing at Rome, the king sent his letters, charging them so to manage his affairs, as that nothing might pass to the derogation of his royal title. The copy of the said letter followeth, agreeing with the prototype or original.

#### A Letter of the King sent to his Proctors at Rome, concerning a Case of his in the said Court depending.<sup>4</sup>

Against  
the pro-  
ceedings  
in the  
court of  
Rome  
tending  
to the  
hurt and  
prejudice  
of the  
king.

The king to Master John of Hemingford, and Roger Lovel, his proctors, pleading in the court of Rome, greeting: Forasmuch as upon you, our trusty and vowed servants, the defence of our right and honour doth lie; and, as we hear, certain of our realm, pleading in the court of Rome, do move divers matters to the prejudice of our right and honour, presuming and intending to prevail against us, we command you, and straitly charge you, that on our behalf you straitly forbid all and every of them, that they presume not any further to undertake such things as tend to the hurt of our majesty, and the

(1) Ex Flor. Hist.

(2) In no Edition before that of 1596.—Ed.

(3) Ex Flor. Hist.

(4) "Rex magistris Johanni de Hemingford et Rogero Lovel procuratoribus suis, in curia Romana agentibus, salutem, etc. Cum vobis tanquam fidelibus nostris," etc.—Turris Lond. [May 27th.]

derogation of our honour, but wholly forbear so to do, as they will avoid our indignation, and the peril of them and theirs. This inhibition also we will by you all and every of you (so often as you shall see needful) to be made known, and thereupon by you or some of you to be certified of the contemners of the same. Witness the king at Westminster, the six-and-twentieth of March, in the six-and-fortieth year of his reign."\*

Henry  
III.A. D.  
1263.

In this present year also (as affirmeth the forenamed author<sup>1</sup>) it was rumoured abroad that all the bishops of England went about to recover again out of the hands of religious men all such churches and benefices, which were to them impropriated or appropriated; and that they, for the expedition of the same, had sent up to Rome both messengers and money, nothing misdoubting to obtain their purpose. But as little good fruit in those days used to spring out of that see, so I do not find that godly suit and labour of the bishops to take any fruitful effect.

Bishops  
going  
about to  
recover  
benefices  
appropri-  
ated by reli-  
gious  
houses.

The same year died pope Alexander, after whom succeeded pope Urban IV. Of the which pope Urban, the next year, the king also obtained (or rather revived) a new releasement from his oath made to the provisions and statutes of Oxford; which being granted, he commandeth incontinently all the aforesaid laws and provisions through England to be dissolved and broken.<sup>2</sup> This done, the king with the queen taketh his voyage into France, where he fell into great infirmity of sickness, and the most part of his family were taken with the quartan fever, of which many died; in the number of whom was Baldwin, earl of Devonshire. About the same time died in Kent Richard, the worthy earl of Gloucester and Hertford, after whom succeeded Gilbert Clare, his son.<sup>3</sup>

See  
Appendix.  
A. D. 1262.  
A new re-  
lease of  
the king's  
oath from  
Rome.[July 7th,  
Flor.  
Hist.]

The Welshmen this year (A.D. 1262), breaking into the borders of England, did much annoyance in the lands of Roger lord Mortimer, but mightily again by him were expelled, not without great slaughter of the invaders. About which time, the king, through some discreet counsel about him, inclined to peace and concord with his nobles, granting, of his mere voluntary will, the constitutions and provisions of Oxford to take place in the realm, directing his commandment to every shire. Albeit, the realm yet was not altogether pacified for all that.

The  
Welsh  
rebel.  
The pro-  
visions of  
Oxford  
again  
granted  
by the  
king.

In the latter end of this year, the king's palace at Westminster was burnt, and for the most part was all consumed with fire, which seemed to many an evil prognostication against the king.<sup>4</sup>

Palace at  
Westmin-  
ster burnt  
with fire.

In some English chronicles it is also recorded, that the same year five hundred Jews at London were slain for taking usury more than two pence a week for twenty shillings, being before forbidden by the king to take above that rate by the week.

Usury  
punished.

After this followeth the year 1263, in which the barons of England, confederating themselves together for maintaining the statutes and laws of Oxford, and partly moved with old grudge conceived against the strangers (maintained by the king and the queen, and Edward their son, in the realm of England), joined powers in all forcible wise, and first invaded the said strangers, namely, those who were about the king. Their goods and manors they wasted and spoiled, whether they

A. D. 1263.

The  
nobles  
rise up  
against  
the  
strangers,  
having  
the com-  
modity of  
therealm.

(1) Ex Flor. Historiarum. [i. e. Matthew of Westminster.—Ed.]

(2) The pope's bull is in Rymer, dated Feb 25th, A. D. 1262, also the king's proclamation on the receipt of it, dated May 2d.—Ed.

(3) From M. Westminster, who adds that he was buried at Tewkesbury, with this epitaph:

"Hic pudor Hippoliti, Paradisi gena, sensus Ulyssis;

Æneæ pietas, Hectoris ira jacet."

(4) Ex. Flor. Hist.

See  
Appendix.



Henry  
III.A. D.  
1263.Peter, a  
Burgun-  
dian, a  
rich Eng-  
lish  
bishop.John  
Maunsel  
a rich  
priest.The king  
again  
agreeth  
with the  
nobles.The  
queen a  
great  
cause of  
this de-  
bate.Form of  
the peace  
concluded  
between  
the king  
and the  
nobles.

were persons ecclesiastical or temporal ; among whom, besides others, was Peter a Burgundian, bishop of Hereford, a rich prelate, with all his treasure apprehended and spoiled : also his countrymen, whom he had placed to be canons of the same church. With like order of handling, other aliens also, to whom was committed the custody of divers castles, as Gloucester, Worcester, and Bridgenorth, were spoiled, imprisoned, and sent away. Briefly, whatsoever he was in all the land that could not utter the English tongue, was of every rascal disdained, and happy if he might so escape ; by reason whereof it so came to pass, that a great number as well of other foreigners, as especially religious men, and rich priests (who here had gathered much substance), were urged to that extremity, that they were glad to flee the land ; in the catalogue of whom was one most principal, named John Maunsel,<sup>1</sup> a priest notoriously grown in riches and treasures not to be told, having in his hand so many and rich benefices, that ne'er no bishop of this realm might compare with him in riches : who, notwithstanding he kept with the king at London, yet was compelled privily to void the realm, and was pursued by Henry, the son of Richard king of Almain. Certain other strangers there were, to the number of two hundred and more, who, having the castle at Windsor, there immured and entrenched themselves, to whom at length prince Edward also adjoined himself.

In the mean time, while this stir was abroad, the king keeping then in the tower, and seeing the greatest part of his nobles and commons with the Londoners to be set against him, agreed to the peace of the barons, and was contented to assent again to the ordinances and provisions of Oxford ;<sup>2</sup> albeit the queen, by all means possible, went about to persuade the king not to assent thereto ; who, as it seemed, was a great worker in kindling this fire of discord between the king and the barons : insomuch that, when the said queen Elenor should pass by barge from the Tower to Windsor, the Londoners standing upon the bridge, with their exclamations, cursing and throwing of stones and dirt at her, interrupted her course, causing her to return to the Tower again. Notwithstanding, the peace yet continued between the nobles and the king, the form whereof was this : First, that Henry, the son of Richard king of the Romans, should be delivered up by the king and queen : secondly, that the castles again should be committed to the custody of Englishmen, not of strangers : thirdly, that the provisions and statutes decreed at Oxford should as well by the king, as by all others, inviolably be observed : fourthly, that the realm henceforth should be ruled and governed not by foreigners, but by personages born within the land : fifthly, that all aliens and strangers should void the land, not to return again ; except only such, whose abode should by the common assent of the king's trusty subjects be admitted and allowed.

Thus the king and the nobles, joining together after this form of peace above prefixed, although not fully with heart, as after appeared, put themselves in arms, with all their power to recover the castle of Windsor out of the strangers' hands. But Edward, in the mid-way between London and the castle meeting with his father and the barons, entered communication upon the matter ; which being finished and he thinking to return into the castle again, by the policy of the earl of Leicester, and Walter,<sup>3</sup> bishop of Worcester, was not per-

(1) See Appendix.

(2) July 10th. Rymer.—En.

(3) Foxe, misled by Hemingford, says William : see Godwin "de Præsulibus &amp;c."

mitted to re-enter : whereupon the strangers within the hold (desitute of all hope to withstand the great force approaching) rendered the castle unto the king and the barons, upon this convention : that with horse and harness they might be suffered safely to depart the land, not to return any more. This being granted, certain of the barons conducted them in their journey towards the sea side, and there they left them.

*Henry III.*  
A. D 1263.  
Windsor Castle recovered out of the hands of strangers.

In the same year, about the beginning of October, the king and queen made over to France, with Simon Montfort and other nobles, to hear and stand to the arbitrement of Louis, the French king, concerning the controversy between the states of England ; and all through the procurement of Elenor, the queen. For she, not forgetting the old contumely of the Londoners, exclaiming against her upon the bridge, wrought always what revenge she could against them.

*See Appendix.*

“ Manet alta mente repostum  
Judicium Paridis.”<sup>1</sup>

Concerning the arbitrement of this matter referred to the French king, part hath been said before, and more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Some stories do add, moreover, that the king continuing long in France, word was sent to him out of England, that unless he returned again to the realm, they would elect a new king ; whereupon the king, returning out of France to Dover, would have entered the castle, but was stopped. Wherefore the king, in fierce anger and great indignation, prepared his power towards London, where Simon Montfort, the worthy earl of Leicester, through a subtle train, was almost betrayed and circumvented in Southwark, by the sudden pursuing of the king's army, had not the Londoners, with more speed, breaking bars and chains, made way to rescue him ; by the means of whom the earl at that time escaped the danger.

Now to come to the sentence of the French king : Forasmuch as the arbitrement of this matter was committed to him, as hath before been specified, he, with a great assemblage both of French and English persons about him, considering and poising the cause on both sides, between the king and the nobles, clearly and solemnly pronounced on the king's side against the barons ; ordaining that the king of England all this while had suffered wrong, and that he should be restored again to his pristine state, notwithstanding the provisions made at Oxford, which he ordained to be repealed and abrogated.<sup>2</sup>

Sentence of the French king with the king of England, against the barons.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix.

The sentence of the French king thus awarded, as it gave to the king of England with his retinue no little encouragement, so it wrought in the nobles' hearts great indignation ; who, notwithstanding that partial decreement of the French king, sped themselves home out of France to defend themselves with all their strength and power. And not long after followeth also the king, by whose train Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester, as is above recited, was well nigh circumvented in Southwark. Then the king calling his council together at Oxford (from whence he excluded the university of students for a season, who were then at Northampton, as you heard before) there consulted, conferring with his friends and counsellors, what way was best to be taken. And hearing that the barons were assembled in

War betwixt the king and the barons beginningeth.

The university of students removed for a time from Oxford to Northampton.

(1) Virg. *Æneid.* i. 26.

(2) Ex Flor. Historiarum, Gisburn. et aliis.

*Henry  
III.**A.D.  
1264.**See  
Appendix.**Taking of  
North-  
ampton  
by the  
king.**Simon  
Mont-  
fort, the  
younger,  
taken  
prisoner.**The  
scholars  
of Oxford  
stout  
against  
the king.**See  
Appendix.*

great numbers at the town of Northampton, he went thither with his host and with his banners displayed, accompanied by Richard, king of Almain, and William de Valence, his brothers, also by Edward, his son, John Comyn of Scotland, with many other Scots, John de Balliol, lord of Galloway, Robert de Bruce, lord of Annandale, Roger de Clifford, Philip de Marmion, John de Vaux, Roger de Leyburne, Henry Percy, Philip Basset, Roger de Mortimer, and many others. Therefore the king commanded the barons that were within, to yield unto him presently the city and the pledges, or else he would immediately destroy them. But they, counselling with the younger Simon de Montfort, who, by his father's commandment, had got the residue thither to take counsel together (for his father and the earl of Gloucester were not yet come), boldly and with one mind answered, that they would not obey the king's will, but would rather defend themselves and the city, if need were, even to the death. The noblemen of the king's part hearing this, sent word again, that at least they should come to the wall of the city to speak to the king, if, by any means, peace might be made. They, suspecting no deceit, followed their counsel, and leaving their holds, came to the wall towards the meadow, for there lay the king and his strong host hard by. But, in the mean space, whilst divers matters were reasoned and treated of between the king and the lords, the lord Philip Basset, who before was appointed to work that feat, with mattocks and other instruments of iron, and with men prepared for the onset, near to the monastery of St. Andrew, did undermine the wall of the city; and by this means the wall soon fell down, and there was made a great plain, so that in one forefront there might have gone together on a row forty horsemen. Of this subtlety the alien monks that were there were thought to be the workers, because they made way and entrance for them that came in; but when they that passed by saw this, and that the king's banners were erected ready to enter in, there was a great howling made, and the noise of the people came to the ears of the barons, and they made speed to resist them; but it was all in vain, because they were already prevented by a great company of their enemies. But Simon Montfort the younger, after he had valiantly fought a while in the midst of his enemies, with Peter Montfort, and a few that were with him, when Edward the king's son came, was by his commandment taken and led away prisoner. But the clerks of the university of Oxford (which university by the king's commandment was translated thither) did work against the king's men more hurt than the other barons, with their slings, long bows and cross bows; for they had a banner by themselves, and that was set up on high against the king. Wherewithal the king being greatly moved, sware at his entering in, that they should all be hanged; which when they heard, many of them shaved their crowns, and they that were able ran away as fast as they could, and when the king entered the city, many fled in their armour into the castle, others left their horse and harness, and ran into churches, and a few were slain, and those were of the common people; but there was not much bloodshed, because all things were done as upon the sudden. When the city was at length set in quiet, the king commanded his oath to be executed upon the clerks. But his counsellors said unto

him, "This be far from thee, O king! for the sons of thy nobles, and of other great men of thy kingdom were there gathered together into the university; whom if thou wouldst cause to be hanged or slain, even they that now take thy part would rise up against thee, not suffering, to the uttermost of their powers, the blood of their sons and kinsfolks to be shed." And so the king was pacified, and his wrath against the clerks was staid.

*Henry III.*

A. D. 1264.

The students of Oxford spared.

In the same day, after little more than an hour, the king's host assaulted the castle, and the new hold-keepers were afraid, for that they had not victuals and other things necessary for their resistance; therefore they sent immediately messengers unto the king, and yielded themselves to the king's mercy. There were taken that day these knights and barons under written: William earl Ferrers, lord Peter Montfort, companion of the said Simon de Montfort the younger, lord Baldwin de Wake, lord Adam de Newmarch, lord Roger Bertram; lord Simon Fitz-Simon, a valiant warrior, who first erected his banner against the king; lord Berengarius de Water-vile, lord Hugh Gubion, lord Thomas Maunsel, lord Roger Boutevilein, Nicholas Wake, lord Robert de Newton, lord Philip de Driby, and Grimbald de Pauncefoot. All these aforehand did the king take prisoners, and many more, of whom he committed some to the lord Nicholas of Haversham, to be kept in the same castle well defended; some he led away with him; and some he sent to divers castles; and appointed Simon Montfort to be cast into Windsor Castle. And all these things, as touching the taking of Northampton, were done on the Saturday before Passion Week, being the fifth of April, A.D. 1264: and the king went forward even to Nottingham, burning and wasting the manors of the lords and others his enemies; and there he gathered together his nobles, and greatly increased his number.

The lords taken at Northampton.

*See Appendix.*

When this ill luck was told, of them that were run away, to the earl Simon, who was coming towards Northampton with a great host, he was in a great rage, and yet was not discouraged; but immediately going to London, he caused a chariot to be made after the manner of litters or couches, wherein he might ride as though he were sick; for he feigned himself to be feeble and weak, whereas he was indeed a stout and valiant warrior; and there gathered to him other noblemen that were confederate with him, earls and barons, every one bringing with them their several arms, and preparing their engines of wood, they went to besiege Rochester; for the earl of Warren, in the king's behalf, kept both the town and castle. When they had gotten the first gate and the bridge, they were partly wounded and compelled to retire; and there that valiant knight, Roger de la Bourn, was wounded, and very ill handled. Whilst they continued siege there awhile, it was told them that the king was coming towards London with a mighty host; and they said one to another, "If the king at his coming should take London, we shall be shut in as it were in a strait corner; let us, therefore, return unto London, that we may keep in safety both the place and the people." Therefore, appointing certain persons to keep the siege, they returned to London. At length when the king came, they went forth with the citizens to meet him, not with flowers and palms in their hands, but with swords and spears. The king shunned them, and after he had seized the castle of

Simon Mountfort feigneth himself sick.

*See Appendix.*

Rochester besieged by the barons.

*Henry  
III.**A.D.  
1264.**The king  
shunneth  
London.**See  
Appendix.*

Kingston, which was the earl of Gloucester's, he went from thence to Rochester; where, after he had killed a few, he brake the siege, and from thence the king went to Tunbridge, and the town and castle now being given up to him, he took there the countess of Gloucester, and put her into an abbey, not to be kept in hold, but to go at liberty whither she would. And he left for the custody of the castle and city a great part of his host, to the number of above twenty picked out bannerets, for that it was commonly said that the earl of Gloucester would come out of hand to assault them. Which being done, he continued on his journey to Winchelsea, where he received to peace the seamen of the Cinque ports. And three days after, upon the Saturday following, he came to the town of Lewes, and was received into the abbey, and his son Edward into the castle. Then the barons sent letters to the king the twelfth day of May, the tenor whereof followeth.

#### Letter of the Lords to the King.

To their most excellent Lord Henry, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, his barons and others his faithful subjects, being willing to keep their oath and fidelity to God and him, send greeting and due obedience with honour and reverence. Whereas by many experiments it is manifest, that some of your grace's assistants have reported to your majesty many lies of us, working mischief, as much as in them lieth, not only against us, but against you also, and your whole realm: Be it known to your highness, that we have been always willing to defend the health and safeguard of your person, with all our power and fealty due to your grace, purposing to vex to the uttermost of our power and estate, not only our ill-willers, but also your enemies, and the enemies of your whole realm. If it be your good pleasure, give no credit to them; we shall be always found your faithful subjects. And we, the earl of Leicester, and Gilbert of Clare, at the request of the others, for us and them have put to our seals.

These letters being read and heard, there was a council called, and the king wrote back to them, and especially to the two earls of Leicester and Gloucester, in manner and form following:—

#### The Answer of the King to the Lords.

Henry, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, &c., to Simon Montfort, and Gilbert de Clare, and their confederates. Forasmuch as by the war, and general disquietness by your means raised up in our whole realm, and also the burnings and other hurtful enormities, it appeareth manifestly, that you keep not your fidelity to us ward, nor care any thing for our health and safety; and for that ye have unorderedly grieved our nobles, and others our faithful subjects sticking faithfully and constantly to us, as you have certified us; we, accounting their losses as our own, and their enemies as ours, and seeing these my aforesaid faithful subjects, for the keeping of their fidelity, do assist us manfully and faithfully against your unfaithfulness: we therefore care not for your fidelity or love, but defy you as our and their enemies. Witness myself, at Lewes, the day and year aforesaid..

Also Richard, king of Almain, and lord Edward, the son of king Henry, wrote to the barons in this wise:—

#### A Letter of Richard, King of Almain, and Prince Edward, to the Barons.

Richard, by the grace of God, king of the Romans, always Augustus, and Edward, eldest son of the king of England, and all the other barons and nobles constantly and faithfully in heart and deed cleaving to the aforesaid king of



England : to Simon Montfort, and Gilbert de Clare, and to all and singular others their adherents in their conspiracy. By your letters which you sent to our lord, the noble king of England, we have understanding that you defy us ; although before any such word, your defiance towards us was apparent enough by your cruel persecution, in burning our possessions and spoiling our goods. We therefore give you to wit, that we all and every one of us, as your enemies, do defy you all. And further, that we will not cease, wheresoever it shall lie in our power, to the uttermost of our force and might, to subvert your persons and all that you have. As touching what you lay to our charge, that we give neither faithful nor good counsel to our lord the king, you say not the truth. And if your lord Simon Montfort or Gilbert de Clare, will affirm the same in our lord the king's court, we are ready to get safe conduct for you to come to the said court, to try and declare the truth of our innocency, and the falsehood of you both, as foresworn traitors, by some man equal with you in nobility and stock. All we are contained with the seals of the aforesaid lords, the lord Richard and the lord Edward. Dated the day aforesaid.

Henry  
III.A.D.  
1264.

Both which letters being read, they drew near to the king ; for they were not far distant from Lewes. And because there was wanted to the king's store, provision for their horses, it was commanded them, on the Tuesday, to go forth to seek for hay and provender ; who, when they were gone forth, were prevented by their enemies, and most of them killed ; but the residue returning, saw their enemies coming, very early on the Wednesday morning, and making outcries, stirred up the king and his host to arm themselves. Then the barons, coming to the full plain, descended there, and girding and trimming their horses, made fit their harness to them. And there the earl Simon made the earl of Gloucester, and Robert de Vere, and many others new knights. Which being done, he divided and distincted his host into four several battels, and he appointed noblemen to guide and govern every battel ; and over the first battel were ordained captains Henry Montfort, the eldest son of the earl Simon, and Guido, his brother, lord John de Burgh the younger, and lord Humfrey de Bohun ; over the second battel lord Gilbert of Clare, earl of Gloucester, lord John Fitz-John, and lord William of Montchensi ; and over the third, in which the Londoners were, at their request the lord Nicholas Segrave was assigned, who required also very instantly that they might have the first stroke in the battel, at the adventure, come what would ; but over the fourth battel the earl himself was captain, with the lord Thomas of Pilveston. In the mean season came forth the king's host, preparing themselves to the field in three battels ; of which Edward, the king's son, led the first, with the earl of Warren, and Valence the king's brother ; and the second the king of Almain guided, with his son Henry ; but the king, with his nobles, guided the third ; and the fourth legion the king appointed not, by reason that he had left many of his bannerets behind him, to keep the castle and town of Tunbridge against the earl of Gloucester ; there also were most of the young men of the king's army, for the king thought not that his barons had been come so nigh to hand. Their armies being on both sides set in array and order, they exhorted one another on either part to fight valiantly ; and after they had buckled together, the battle was great, and many horsemen were overthrown, even in a moment. But by and by Edward, the king's son, with his band, as a fierce young gentleman and valiant knight, fell upon his enemies with such force, that he compelled them to recoil

Battle of  
Lewes,  
betwixt  
the king  
and the  
barons.See  
Appendix.See  
Appendix.

*Henry  
III.*

*A. L.  
1264.*

back a great way, so that the hindmost (thinking by reason of their giving back, that the foremost were slain), ran many of them away ; and taking water to pass over, almost threescore soldiers were drowned, and a few of them being slain, all the rest fled. Straightway the Londoners, who had asked the first fight, knowing not how the battle went, took to their heels, whom Edward pursued with his band, killing the hindmost of them, for the space of two or three miles ; for he hated them because they had rebelled against his father, and disgraced his mother when she was carried by barge upon the Thames, from the Tower to Windsor, as is before recorded.

Richard,  
king of  
Almain,  
with his  
son, taken  
prisoners.

The main  
battle  
discom-  
fited, and  
the king  
fain to  
take to  
the abbey.

Prince  
Edward  
returning  
from the  
first  
chase,  
findeth all  
together  
lost.

The  
prince  
lighteth  
a new  
battle.

He also is  
put to the  
worst, and  
fain to  
take to  
the town.  
*See  
Appendix.*

Whilst prince Edward was thus in chase of the Londoners, who had the vanguard of the barons' battle ; in the mean time, the main battle of the barons set upon the king's main battle, of which the king of Almain, the brother of king Henry, had the leading ; who being soon discomfited, and he with his son Henry, Robert de Bruce, and John Comyn, with divers other captains taken prisoners, the rearward, wherein the king himself fought, being immediately so hardly beset, and he, seeing his knights and soldiers on every side about him beaten down and slain, and divers others of his soldiers to forsake the field and shift for themselves, thought good to take again to the town ; and so retired into the abbey from whence he came, shutting and rampering up the gates, and caused the same to be strongly warded with soldiers. To be brief, the barons thus getting the field, after long fight, and many men on either side slain, entered also the town of Lewes, pursuing in chase such soldiers as thither fled for succour.

In the mean time, prince Edward returning from the chase of the Londoners, as ye heard, who desired to give the first onset, and espying the chariot of the earl Simon (which he caused purposely to be made for him), and the horses in the same, without either waggoner, or any other to govern the same, fell immediately upon the chariot, and brake it all in pieces, and slew two burgesses that were within the same. But when he came near to the place where the bloody battle had been fought, and saw the great discomfiture and overthrow, which, in his absence, with great mortality and slaughter, had happened, his heart was much dismayed, and his countenance altered. Yet notwithstanding, comforting and encouraging his knights and soldiers, of whom he had a valiant company, in battle array, he marched toward the town, against whom came the barons again with all their power ; and thus was begun betwixt them a fresh field and a new battle, and many men were slain on either side. At length the earl de Warren, with the king's two brothers, forsook the field and fled ; after whom went more than seven hundred chosen soldiers, who were of their house and family, who the same day came to Pevensey, and there took shipping over the sea. Also Hugh Bigot, with divers others, fled, and left the valiant prince fighting in the field ; which thing he also perceiving, took to the town ; and when he found not the king his father, at the castle, he went from thence to the abbey where he was. In the mean season, the town was in complete confusion, both parties fighting, spoiling, and getting of booties, while scarcely one of them could know and discern another, whether he was friend or enemy. But when, within a while, the barons had assembled some

company, they gave an assault upon the castle, thinking to have rescued John Gifford and others, whom the king's soldiers had taken prisoners, and put therein. But the soldiers within manfully defended the same, and in throwing out balls of wild-fire, which for the defence thereof they had, they also fired part of the town. Then the barons retired and left the castle, and purposed to have set upon the abbey, where the king and prince Edward, his son, were, which also was set on fire by the assault given to the castle; but yet it was shortly recovered and quenched. Then Edward, the king's son, perceiving the bold enterprise of the barons, prepared with the courageous knights and soldiers yet remaining and within the abbey, to issue out, and to give a new charge upon them. But the barons, perceiving that, sent unto the king messengers to entreat a truce for that day, and on the morrow to talk of and conclude a further peace between them. This battle was fought upon the fourteenth day of May.

*Henry  
III.*

A. D.  
1264.

The castle  
of Lewes  
besieged.

The next day, which was Thursday, there were sent on either side two preaching friars, between the king and the barons, with certain articles and demands of peace, so that with certain others, these conditions were agreed on: that on the morrow, being Friday, the prince should give himself as hostage for the king, his father, and others of his party, and that Henry, the king's son of Almain, should also give himself in like manner for his father; that those things which should be concluded upon for the benefit and commodity of the realm, and peaceable quietness thereof might be performed, and that all such prisoners as were taken on either side, should be freely ransomed and sent home.

Peace be-  
tween the  
king and  
the  
barons.

The two  
princes  
given as  
hostages.

*See  
Appendix.*

The next day, which was Saturday, the king discharged all his soldiers, and others that were with him in the abbey, licensing them to depart whither they listed. And furthermore, by the advice of his son and the barons, he gave commandment to those whom he had appointed to the keeping of Tunbridge, that they should make no attempt to the prejudice or hurt of the barons; but in hope of the peace which was now on the point of being concluded, they also should depart every man to his house and habitation. But they, giving no credit thereunto, went with their furniture to Bristol, where they kept themselves in garrison, until the escaping of Edward the king's son, out of prison. But first, before that, when they heard at Tunbridge that the king was vanquished in battle, and that the Londoners in the fore-ward were put to flight by prince Edward (by a messenger that escaped from the same), and that also the same Londoners were at Croydon, they set upon them in the evening tide, and taking from them much spoil, slew also many of them.

The  
king's  
soldiers  
in Tun-  
bridge,  
after  
spoiling  
the Lon-  
doners at  
Croydon,  
keep in  
garrison  
at Bristol.

But when thus Mortimer's part began to decrease, and Simon the earl's part on the other side to increase, the earl bare himself more stout, for that both the king and all that was his did depend upon his good will and favour; and he led with him the king and the king's son to such holds and castles as he thought to be most strong, till almost all of them were in his hands; and he kept the hostages more straitly than was usual, insomuch that when it was blown abroad that the king's son was kept as prisoner, divers that were his friends counselled him, that he should desire to disport himself at the barriers, that the people might have a sight of him. But he,

Earl  
Simon  
after this  
beareth  
himself  
so stout,  
that he  
imprison-  
eth the  
hostages  
of the  
king.

*Henry  
III.**A.D.  
1264.**See  
Appendix.*

being narrowly guarded as he knew, and fearing some tumult to arise, thought good to refuse their counsel, and so did.

In this troublesome year, which was A.D. 1264, as the Londoners with the nobles were thus occupied in war and dissension, the malignant Jews, thinking to take vantage of that time, with privy treason conspired against the whole city and state of the nobles; who being taken with the manner, were almost all slain that dwelt in the city of London. \*<sup>1</sup> In this year also, Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, the son of Peter, earl of Savoy, and a stranger, having been certain years beyond the seas in disgrace with the king of England, upon occasion of some misdemeanour belike (for he was, as Matthew Parker writeth of him, "*Ut moribus gestisque peregrinus, sic nomine ipso et appellatione cæteris archiepiscopis dissimilis*"), howbeit the king being of a relenting nature, and bearing much with clergymen's insolencies, which for a while he might perhaps gainstand, but at last bare with them as supported by the court of Rome, did consult with his nobles about the return of the said Boniface into England conditionally, as followeth.

### Acts passed in the King's Council, touching the Archbishop of Canterbury's return into England, under certain conditions.<sup>2</sup>

In the year of our Lord 1264, in the month of March, it was enacted in the presence of the renowned king of England, by the counsel of the peers and states of the said realm, that the reverend father Boniface, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, should return into England, and abide in the realm peaceably, upon the conditions under-written:—

First, therefore, it is enacted, that the archbishop at his return, do without any difficulty release in form of law his sentences of excommunication, published against all persons whatsoever, on occasion of the late troubles in the realm of England; but yet so, that they who should be found excommunicate be ready to make satisfaction for their excesses, and for the same receive the canonical commandments of the archbishop, in form hereunder in the next article contained.

Secondly, it is enacted, that in making amends for excesses done to the churches and churchmen within such places as are immediately subject unto his jurisdiction, the archbishop do arbitrate according to the counsel of all his suffragans, or the greater and sounder part; and of weighty affairs belonging to the church and realm of England, do in time to come after his return order and dispose likewise by their counsel, and the counsel of other discreet men of the realm.

Thirdly, it is enacted, that he bring with him Master Henry Mortimer,<sup>3</sup> archdeacon of Canterbury, and Pont Sabler, his familiar clerks or household chaplains; and that these be the only clerks, being strangers born, whom he shall keep and retain of his council and household.

Fourthly, it is enacted, that any other clerks whatsoever, beneficed in the church of England, willing to return with the archbishop, may safely return and abide on their benefices, and shall expend the church goods within the realm as they are bound; carrying or sending nothing out of the realm, unless necessary occasion, allowed of the king's council, do so require.

Fifthly, it is enacted, that the archbishop or the clerks coming with him, shall bring nothing with them in letters, message, or commandment, nor shall procure any thing else, during their abode in this realm, either by themselves, or by others, whereby any damage, danger, or prejudice, may redound to the king, or to any of his realm. And for memory of the premises, the seal of the said renowned king of England is hanged unto these presents.—By the whole council.

(1) This passage is not in the Editions previous to 1596.—Ed.

(2) "Anno Domini 1264, mense Martio, in præsentia illustris regis Angliæ, de concilio procerum et magnatum ejusdem regni actum est," &c.—Turril Lond. [The translation is revised from the Latin in Rymer.—Ed.]

(3) Henricus de mortuo mari. [See Appendix.]

Notwithstanding this conclusion, the archbishop did not presently return, but continued in Provence and elsewhere, behaving himself imperiously as a prelate of the right Romish stamp. In the mean time many matters incident to this place, were omitted and neglected, which personally by him should have been executed; but by reason of his absence the same were despatched by deputation, and the same ordered likewise according to his own fancy, which he preferred before the king's authority and commandment. The copy of a letter describing the contumacy of the said Boniface doth sufficiently testify this to be true, the same being set down agreeable to the prototype.

Henry  
III.  
A.D.  
1264.

A Letter of the King to Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, charging him to return into England, there personally to discharge his archiepiscopal function.<sup>1</sup>

The king to Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, greeting. Although hitherto by patience we have suffered oftentimes bishops elect, abbots, and other prelates in our realm, for the benefit of their confirmation to be obtained, to pass over beyond sea unto you, we thought not to receive at your hands any such reward, as that against the right and custom of our realm (to the which we mean not by this our patience, that prejudice shall any way be procured or bred), you should attempt this to be followed. We do marvel therefore, and are moved that you, at the request of us, have refused to commit the examination of the election of our well-beloved in Christ, Master Walter Gifford, late of Bath and Wells bishop elect, and the confirmation of the same election, unto some discreet persons of our realm; we having detained, and as yet detaining, the same Gifford against his will, that he might not repair personally unto you: whereunto common right and the very custom of the realm ought to have led you unrequested, whilst you abide out of the realm. Lest, therefore, our too much patience might breed in you a contempt, we will you to understand, that henceforward we mean to bear less with such dealing, especially in these days, wherein there is no safe passage for Englishmen unto you through the parts of France, as it is reported. Wherefore we thought good to desire your fatherhood, and also to admonish you, giving you, moreover, in charge and commandment, and upon the fealty wherein you are bound unto us, firmly enjoining, that in respect of the aforesaid election and other ceremonies, you come personally into England, to execute your office and charge, or send some other in your room; or at least procure and cause some discreet persons of our realm, whom you shall repute more meet for this matter, to serve the turn for you in this behalf: lest, if with contumacy you refuse to hear our requests and commandments the second time, which you are by duty bound to obey, we be compelled to take indignation against you, as a contemner of the rights, the liberties and the customs of our kingdom, and so to proceed against you more sharply by way of revenge: neither will we suffer, if you should do otherwise, that the revenues of your said archbishopric shall henceforth be conveyed unto you out of our realm; but as you refuse the burden, so will we in like sort do what we can to withdraw, hereafter, the profits and commodities from you during your abode out of our land. Finally, we, if need shall be, are ready to give you a sure and safe conduct. Witness the king at St. Paul's of London, the twenty-fifth of June, and the forty-eighth year of our reign.

Against the archbishop of Canterbury, abiding in a foreign country.

Now after all this ado, we read that at last Boniface returned, and becoming more holy towards his end, he went with other bishops to the king, requesting him, that being mindful of the decay of his kingdom, by ecclesiastical livings bestowed upon strangers, he would hereafter prefer learned and godly men of his own nation. To whom the king answered that he would willingly do it. "Wherefore," said

The advice of Boniface disadvantageous to himself.

(1) "Rex Bonifacio Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ," &c.—Turris Lond.



Henry  
III.A. D.  
1265.Boniface  
maketh  
spoil of  
the arch-  
bishopric,  
is hated,  
and dieth.

he, "I think it meet that you, who are a stranger and unlearned, and also my brother Ethelmer, bishop of Winchester, whom I have preferred to such dignities only for kindred's sake, should first give examples to others, and forsake your churches, and I will provide other learned men to serve in them." This answer of the king so pierced this Boniface, that he always after lived a wearisome life in England; wherefore, perceiving himself to be misliked of the king and the people, he desired to return into his country, and thereupon, first felling and selling the woods, letting out the archbishopric, taking great fines of his tenants, and making a great mass of money of the clergy of his province, he went, with the curse of all men into Savoy; where, in the castle of St. Helen's, after he had misgoverned the see six and twenty years, six months, and sixteen days from his consecration, being nine and twenty years from his first election, he died the fifteenth of the kalends of August. And so ceased the troubles between the king and the said bishop, whose contumacy, with that of others of the like brood, doth largely appear in this book.

Death  
of pope  
Urban.  
Pope Cle-  
ment IV.Pope  
Clement  
first a  
married  
man, with  
a wife  
and chil-  
dren.Aquinas  
and Bona-  
venture,  
readers at  
Paris.See  
Appendix.

But to leave Boniface now dead, note ye this,\* that in this year, died pope Urban IV., after whom succeeded (A.D. 1265) pope Clement IV.; which Clement, as affirmeth Nicholas Trivet, was first a married man, and had a wife and children, and was the solicitor and counsellor to the French king; then, after the death of his wife, was bishop of Le Puy, after that archbishop of Narbonne, and at last made cardinal; who being sent of pope Urban in legacy for reformation of peace in England, in his absence was elected pope by the cardinals. About this time flourished Thomas Aquinas, reader at Paris among the Dominic friars, and Bonaventure among the Franciscan friars.<sup>1</sup>

\*<sup>2</sup> Now, after all the aforesaid tumults and broils of the king and his barons, to the vexation of the whole land, it was thought meet and necessary that all parties at variance should be reconciled; whereupon, it was concluded amongst them as followeth.

### A Form of Peace between the King and his Barons.<sup>3</sup>

This is the form of peace allowed by the king our lord, by the lord Edward his son, by all the prelates and peers, and by the whole commonalty of the realm of England, with common consent and agreement: To wit, that a certain ordinance or decree made in a parliament holden at London about the feast of the nativity of St. John Baptist last past, for the maintaining and keeping of the peace of the realm, shall continue all the days of the said king our sovereign lord, and the time of the lord Edward, after he shall be received as king, even till the end and term that shall be thought meet and convenient. The said ordinance or decree is this:

For the redressing of the state of the realm of England, let there be chosen or named three discreet and trusty persons of the realm, who may have authority and power from the lord the king to choose or name, in the king's behalf, nine counsellors; of which nine, three at least, by course or turns, may always be present in the court. And let the lord the king, by the counsel of the said nine, order and dispose of the keeping of castles, and the managing of all the affairs in his realm. Let the lord the king also, by the advice of the aforesaid nine, appoint justices, chancellors, treasurers, and other officers, greater and lesser, in those matters that pertain to government of his court and realm.

(1) Ex Nieh. Trivet.

(2) The next few pages, are not in the Editions previous to 1596.—Ed.

(3) "Hæc est forma pacis a domino rege, et domino Edwardo filio suo, prælati et proceribus omnibus, et communitate tota regni Angliæ communiter et concorditer approbata," &c.—Turris Lond.

The choosers or namers shall swear first, that according to conscience they will choose or name such counsellors as they verily believe will be profitable and trusty in respect of God's honour, the church, the lord the king, and his realm. The counsellors likewise, and all the officers greater and lesser in their creation shall swear, that to the uttermost of their power they will faithfully execute their offices to the honour of God and of the church, and to the profit of the lord the king, and his realm, without bribe or gift; meat and drink, which are commonly wont to be set upon the table, excepted. And if so be that the aforesaid counsellors, or some or any of them, in the charge to them committed (whether they be he or she), have behaved themselves ill, or that upon some other occasion such officers are to be changed; the lord the king, by the counsel of the three former choosers or namers, may remove such as he shall see meet to be removed; and in their rooms by the same men's advice may appoint and place other persons trusty and serviceable.

And if so be that either the greater officers, or the lesser, do disorderly demean themselves in their offices, the lord the king, by the counsel of the aforesaid nine, may displace them, and without delay by the same advice set others in their room. And if so be that the three first or chief choosers or namers, in the choice or naming of counsellors, or perhaps the counsellors in the creating of officers, or in other affairs of the lord the king and the realm to be ordered or done, shall be at disagreement, then, whatsoever by consent of two parts shall be concluded or decreed, let the same be firmly kept and observed; so that of those two parts, one be a prelate of the church in the business belonging to the church: and if it so happen, that two parts of the said nine in some matter disagree, then shall they for their variance stand to the ordinance of the three first choosers or namers or the greater part of them. And if so be it seem expedient to all the prelates and barons, by consent, that some or one, in place of some or one of the three first namers be put and appointed, then let the lord the king, by the counsel of all the prelates and barons, ordain some others, or one other. And let the lord the king do all the premises by the advice of the said nine in manner above mentioned, or let them do it in the lord the king's behalf and by his authority, by this present ordinance to continue and hold out till such time as this agreement, made and afterwards sealed by the parties, be perfected by consent, or some other proviso be had, which the parties by consent shall judge allowable.

This ordinance was made at London, by the consent, will and commandment of the lord the king, and also of the prelates and barons, with the commonalty then and there present. In witness whereof R. Bishop of Lincoln, and H. Bishop of Ely, R. Earl of Norfolk and marshal of England, Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Humphrey de Bohune, William de Montchensi, and the mayor of London, to this writing have set their seals. Acted in the parliament at London in the month of June A.D. 1264.

It is also ordained, that the state of the English church shall be reformed into a state meet and convenient.

It is also ordained, that the three choosers above named and counsellors, of whom mention is made in the said ordinance at London, and the keepers of castles and others the king's bailiffs be homebred. And as for strangers born, let them come, tarry, and depart peaceably, as well laymen willing to dwell upon their possessions, as clergymen residing upon their benefices.

Merchants also, and all others, to further and see to their affairs, shall come freely, and tarry peaceably; but yet conditionally, so they come without armour and a suspected multitude. And that none of them be received in any sort into any office or bailiwick in the realm, or otherwise in the king's house and service be entertained. As for the charters of general liberties and forests granted unto the homebred of late by the king, and the statutes made upon revoking of grievances, which the lord the king, the third year past, in every shire by his letters patent hath caused to be published, with the commendable customs of his realm, and a long time allowed, let them be for ever observed: and that it might be provided how they may be better and more soundly observed, it is also provided, that the lord the king, and the lord Edward, the barons and those that stand with them, let go all injury and rancour, so that they neither grieve, nor suffer to be grieved by any of theirs, any one of them by occasion of things done in the hurly-burly past, and also cause all their

Henry  
III.

A. D.  
1264.

Reforma-  
tion of the  
church.

No stran-  
gers to be  
keepers  
of the  
king's  
castles.

Henry  
III.

A. D.  
1264.

bailiffs at the undertaking of their bailiwicks, that they shall grieve none by the occasion aforesaid, but shall do justice and right to everybody with equality. And let there be good security provided how all these things may be firmly observed.

When this agreement was despatched, to set the realm in some quietness, a little leisure was allowed to look into the losses and damages of the church, whereupon it was provided as followeth.

### Of the repairing of Trespasses committed against the Church.

It is provided by common assent of the king, of the prelates, earls, and barons of the land, that the trespasses which are committed against the church of England, by reason of the tumults and wars that have been in this realm of England, shall be reformed and amended in this manner.

There shall be chosen by the earls and great estates of the land, with the liking and assent of the prelates, three bishops authorized and having full power to establish and provide for such reasonable amends, as are to be made for the aforesaid trespass committed against holy church, so far forth as shall be fit and convenient.

Those that shall be found excommunicated, shall be absolved in form of right by such as have power and authority so to do.

The authority of the prelates shall be established in this manner: First, it shall be faithfully undertaken by the earls, justices, and the other laymen of the king's council, and other great barons of the realm, that all those things which the prelates that shall be chosen shall reasonably ordain and appoint by way of reformation, they themselves shall observe and fulfil, and shall do their endeavour faithfully to cause the same to be observed by others, and thereof they shall deliver their letters patent.

Moreover, unto the prelates, after they shall be chosen, full power shall be granted by the king, and the commonalty, the earls, barons, and great men of the land, to ordain those things which are needful and profitable to the full reformation of the estate of holy church, to the honour due to the fealty of our lord the king, and to the profit of the realm. And that the promise made by the king, and by the earls and barons aforesaid, and by the other great men of the land, may appear to be made in good faith, they shall thereof make their letters patent, to wit of things that have been done a year past before the last Easter.

If any be found that will not stand to the ordinance and appointment of the prelates in the causes, and according to the form aforesaid, he shall be compelled thereunto by doom of holy church; yea, if need be, he shall be thereunto forced by the secular power. And that it may the better be done, the justice shall have a hundred or more of choice men at arms, or serjeants, soldiers elect, to distrain the malefactors when by the said prelates he shall be required. Those soldiers to be sustained of the common goods of holy church, during the time they shall be employed in that business. And this ordinance shall continue for a year or two, till such time as matters be quieted, and that the provisions of the prelates, and the peace of the land be well observed.

Provided always, that the profits of benefices of holy church belonging to aliens, and others that have been enemies to the land, shall be collected and safely kept in the hands of the prelates, until such time as order be taken by common advice what is to be done therewithal. And for the more assurance and further testimony hereof, the king and the high estates of the land have unto this writing set their seals.

Besides all this it was considered, that non-residency being a default blameworthy, deserved reformation. To this the king having special regard, wrote his mind to the bishop of Hereford for the redress of the same; whose letter, because it is memorable, and convenient matter is therein contained for non-residents of our time, we have here introduced according to the record.

A Letter of King Henry III., directed to the Bishop of Hereford, concerning his Non-residence.<sup>1</sup>

Henry  
III.

A. D.  
1264.

Against  
non-resi-  
dence of  
prelates.

See  
Appendix

The king to the bishop of Hereford sendeth greeting. Pastors or shepherds are set over flocks, that by exercising themselves in watching over them day and night, they may know their own cattle by their look, bring the hunger-starved sheep into the meadows of fruitfulness, and the straying ones into one fold by the word of salvation, and the rod of correction; and to do their endeavour that unity indissolubly may be kept. But some there be who, damnably despising this doctrine, and not knowing to discern their own cattle from others, do take away the milk and the wool, not caring how the Lord's flock may be nourished; they catch up the temporal goods, and who perisheth in their parish with famishment, or miscarrieth in manners they regard not; which men deserve not to be called pastors, but rather hirelings. And that even we, in these days, removing ourselves into the borders of Wales to take order for the disposing of the garrisons of our realm, have found this default in your church of Hereford, we report it with grief; for that we have found there a church destitute of a pastor's comfort, as having neither bishop nor official, vicar nor dean, who may exercise any spiritual function and duty in the same. But the church itself (which in time past was wont to flow in delight, and had canons that tended upon days' and nights' service, and that ought to exercise the works of charity), at their forsaking the church, and leading their lives in countries far hence, has put off her stole or robe of pleasure, and fallen to the ground, bewailing the loss of her widowhood, and none among all her friends and lovers will comfort her. Verily while we beheld this, and considered it diligently, the prick of pity did move our bowels, and the sword of compassion did inwardly wound our heart very sorely, that we could no longer dissemble so great an injury done to our mother the church, nor pass the same over uncorrected.

Wherefore we command and straitly charge you, that all occasions set aside, you endeavour to remove yourselves with all possible speed unto your said church, and there personally to execute the pastoral charge committed unto you in the same. Otherwise we will you to know for certainty that if you have not a care to do this, we will wholly take into our own hands all the temporal goods, and whatsoever else doth belong unto the barony of the same church, which goods, for spiritual exercise' sake therein, it is certain our progenitors of a godly devotion have bestowed thereupon. And such goods and dues as we have commanded hitherto to be gathered and safely kept and turned to the profit and commodity of the same church, the cause now ceasing we will seize upon, and suffer no longer that he shall reap temporal things, who feareth not irreverently to withdraw and keep back spiritual things, whereunto by office and duty he is bound; or that he shall receive any profits who refuseth to undergo and bear the burdens of the same. Witness the king at Hereford, the first of June, in the forty-eighth year of our reign. [A. D. 1264.]

The  
bishop  
strictly  
charged  
to be per-  
sonally  
incum-  
bent and  
abiding  
upon his  
cure.

About this time (as appeareth by course of record, and thereby may well be gathered) a redress of certain sects was intended; among which one by name especially occurreth, and called the Assembly of Harlots; a kind of people of a lewd disposition and uncivil. Of their manners and life the king having been informed, addressed his letters to the sheriff of Oxfordshire, a place which they haunted, and wherein they practised their evil conversation; whose letter here followeth.

An as-  
sembly of  
ill-dis-  
posed peo-  
ple  
called  
Harlots,  
whereby  
may be  
gathered  
the an-  
cientness  
of that  
name.

A Letter of King Henry III. to the Sheriff of Oxfordshire, concerning the Banishment of an unlawful assembly called Harlots, out of that Country.<sup>2</sup>

The king to the sheriff of Oxfordshire sendeth greeting. Because we understand that there be certain vagrant persons who call themselves Harlots, main-

(1) "Rex episcopo Hereford, salutem. Pastores gregibus præponuntur ut diel noctisque vigilias exercendo," &c.—Turris Lond.

(2) "Rex vic. Oxon. salutem. Quia intelleximus quod quidam, qui se harlotos appellant, vagi et otium foveantes, in diversis partibus regni nostri, cor gregationes et conventicula, necnon contractus illicitos," &c. Turris Lond.

*Henry  
III.*

*A. D.  
1264.*

taining idleness in divers parts of our realm, most shamelessly making their meetings, assemblies, and unlawful matches against the honesty of the church and good manners, which abuse we will not, neither ought we to suffer; we charge thee that on our behalf thou forbid the said Harlots henceforth in the said countries to make any more such meetings, conventicle, or contracts; or to presume according to their lewd manner and wonted fashion to rogue about our realm; and hereto thou shalt (if need be) bind them, as by law may be done. Wherein so behave thyself in this behalf, as we may commend thy diligence. Witness the king at Reading the twenty-third of November, in the forty-eighth year of our reign. [A. D. 1263.]

What manner of persons these were, or what their conversation was, it doth not further appear; nevertheless by the premises it may seem to be some pretended order of religion. And it is most probable that the reproachful name of harlot had its beginning from hence.

To conclude with special matters of the church, wherein we have made somewhat the longer delay, by occasion of such necessary records as came to hand, and brought with them their necessary use, this one remembrance, notwithstanding, remaineth, no less worthy of note than the rest, and falling within the revolution of the forty-eighth year of this king's reign, a year of great trouble, as by the premises may be gathered.

You are therefore to note that at this time the prelates of England stood upon their pantofles, and jolly fellows (I tell you) they would be known to be. For in an inquisition made after the death of one Alfred of Lincoln, being, as is supposed, a baron of this realm, there is found, among other things, as followeth: "The beforenamed Alfred held a certain piece of the park of Dunetish and Tilei of the abbot of Cerne, by service of holding his stirrup when the abbot should take horseback, and to give him place in the shire at such time as he should be present." The circumstances hercof being considered, together with the time when it was done, give probable cause to conjecture that the occasion of this matter came by this means: viz. That whereas the said Alfred was desirous to enlarge his park, and could not so do but by purchasing part of some other ground next adjoining, whereof the said abbot was owner, he was therefore constrained either to lack that he liked, or to admit such conditions as pleased my lord abbot; who, like a lord, as you see, was content to let him have his land, reserving such service as is above said. Wherein should be noted the pomp of prelates in those days, and how near they drew in imitation to the pope, in whose footsteps they trod.

But leaving these affairs of the church and churchmen, into which we have gone somewhat largely, we will now enter into other troubles of the temporal state. You heard before of a pacification concluded between the king and his barons, A. D. 1264; the same having been admitted by mutual and common consent of the temporality and clergy. Nevertheless, as a sore not well searched and tented, but superficially and overly skinned, doth break out into a more dangerous botch, so it came to pass among the lords and barons; betwixt

*See  
appendix.*

(1) "Quod prædictus Alluredus tenuit quandam particulam parere de Dunetish et Tilei de abbate e Cerne, per servitium tenendi stropem suum, quando abbas debet ascendere equum suum, et dare ei locum in comitatu quando præsens fuerit."



whom no such firm reconciliation was made as was likely long to last ; whereupon ensued, after secret grudge and privy hatred, open arms and conflicts.\*

*Henry  
III.*

*A. D.  
1265.*

For in this year,<sup>1</sup> the sons of Simon the earl, to wit, Henry, Simon, and Guido, being all puffed up, and with the pride of their success elevated, did things which nothing contented the earl of Gloucester ; insomuch that he challenged Henry the eldest son of the earl Simon Montfort at the barriers to be tried at Northampton. But that challenge was taken up, lest some further inconvenience might have risen thereof. But the earl of Gloucester, being moved therewith in his mind, sent unto his father the earl, that he should deliver him such prisoners being noblemen, as he had captured with his own hands at the battle of Lewes ; amongst whom the king of Almain was named first. But he by countermand answered him and said, that it might content and satisfy him, that he had saved and preserved to him his lands, that day the battle was fought at Lewes.<sup>2</sup> The earl Simon, therefore, would not send him such prisoners as he demanded, but himself kept the more noble in the castle of Dover. Among them was Philip Basset, who undermined and brast down the walls of Northampton at that conflict, as is said before and specified.<sup>3</sup>

Dissen-  
sion be-  
tween  
earl Si-  
mon and  
the earl of  
Gloucester.

The earl of Gloucester being herewith displeased, as soon as he heard this answer, sent incontinently to the lord Roger Mortimer, who had always taken the king's part, desiring that they two might talk together touching the benefit and commodity of the king. Who, doubting some deceit, desired sureties and pledges for his safe return, and he would come and talk with him. When they met, and had a while talked familiarly, the earl of Gloucester showed him all that he was purposed to do, and that further, he lamented he had so much and so greatly offended the king ; and that he would with all his power and ability make amends for that offence, in the restitution of the king again to his kingly dignity, as much as he possibly might. Therefore they sent secretly to Thomas,<sup>4</sup> the brother of the earl of Gloucester, who was near about the earl Simon, and, informing him of this coalition, begged him to watch some opportunity and procure the escape of the king's son. Roger Mortimer, also, sent to the king's son a horse excelling all others in footmanship, unto which he might be sure to trust, when he saw convenient time thereunto. After which things thus contrived, prince Edward desired leave of the earl to prove the coursers against such time as he should ride at the tilt, as they had sometime wished him to do.<sup>5</sup> As soon as he had got leave, and that with galloping and ranging the field he had wearied divers of their horses, at the last getting up upon the horse which for that purpose was sent, and spying a servant on horseback coming towards him with two swords, he turned about to his keeper, whose name was Robert de Ros, and to others his attendants that were with him, saying, " My loving lords, thus long have I kept you company, and have been in your custodies ; and now not purposing to use your companies any longer, I bid you adieu ! " And quickly turning his horse about, put to the spurs, and away went he. The others pricked after apace, but yet came far enough behind, and overtake him they could not. At last, when they saw Roger Mortimer coming from his castle of Wig-

The earl  
of Glou-  
cester and  
Roger  
Mortimer  
conspire  
together  
against  
earl Si-  
mon.

Prince  
Edward  
escapeth  
from out  
of the  
custody of  
earl Si-  
mon by a  
train.

See  
Appendix.

(1) The following pages, to p. 567, are probably all from *Scala Mundi* ; most of the matter, however, is in Hemingford and Knyghton, whence the text is revised.—ED.

(2) See Appendix.

(3) See *suprà*, p. 548.

(5) See *suprà*, p. 553.—ED.

*Henry  
III.*

A. D.  
1265.

Earl  
Simon  
sendeth  
about and  
in all  
haste  
gathereth  
a power.

*See  
Appendix.*

The first  
enterprise  
of prince  
Edward  
after his  
escape, by  
the means  
of a spy.

The dis-  
posing  
of the  
prince's  
battel  
against  
earl Si-  
mon  
fought at  
Evesham.

*See  
Appendix.*

more, accompanied with many armed men, to meet him, as before it was appointed, they returned home again as wise as they came forth. And when this the prince's escape was divulged, much people came forth unto him out of every quarter, with great joy thereof; amongst whom, the first was the earl of Gloucester, and then other partisans of the king, who had long now lain at Bristol and thereabouts; and within a short space he had a great and a mighty host.

Which thing when the earl Simon understood, he much doubted and mistrusted himself; and sending into Wales, he got from thence a great many men, and augmented his power as strongly as he might from every part of England. He sent also Simon, his son, to the noblemen of the north parts, that with all possible speed he might bring them with him; who with a great company came with him, and at Kenilworth awhile they staid, and there pitched their tents. But leaving Kenilworth for a certain time, they went to Winchester, and spoiled the same, and then returned again to Kenilworth. And when this was by a certain spiall declared to Edward the king's son, who was then at Worcester (which place, as well as Gloucester, he had won a little before), he prepared himself with his soldiers that very night to go to the place where the spy should bring him, which was into a deep valley, near unto the place where Simon and his company had pitched. And when in the morning they were very early about to arm themselves and prepare their horses, they heard a great noise of their enemies coming towards them. Then, thinking that the latter had prepared themselves against their coming and so had themselves been betrayed, they set forth in battle array, marching forwards, till they met certain large baggage-wagons of their enemies going a foraging, and to procure victuals: which they took, and with the fresh horses new horsed their own soldiers who had their horses tired with long travel, and so marching forward came very early in the morning upon their enemies, whom for the most part they found sleeping; and laying lustily about them, they slew divers, some they took, the rest they put to flight, and fifteen of their chiefest bannerets they took, with many rich spoils. But young Simon himself had lodged that night in the castle, and so with a few escaped being made prisoners. And this was the fourth day before the nones of August, A.D. 1265. Prince Edward immediately returned to Worcester.

But when Edward heard that earl Simon was coming toward Kenilworth, to join with his son's battel, he marched forward and met him the third day after at Evesham, where he divided his host into three battels, he himself having the leading of one, the earl of Gloucester of the second, and Roger Mortimer of the third, which took them in the rear. The king's son Edward came from the northward, as though he were coming from Kenilworth to Evesham; and because he would not be descried, he caused his own standards and ensigns to be taken down, and young Simon's, which he had taken before, to be advanced. The earl Simon's scurrier, whose name was Nicholas,<sup>1</sup> showed the earl that such bands and companies were marching towards him, and thought the same to be his son Simon's power, not knowing of the overthrow which he had just had. The earl thought the same, but advised caution; wherefore the said Nicholas, the better to desery them, went up the abbey steeple of Evesham, whence he might plainly discern them all and their standards. By this time

(1) The king's barber, very clever at distinguishing accoutrements. Hemingford.—Ed.

they were mounted the hill, which they had made a push to attain, thinking to have that vantage when they should give their charge as they had purposed ; and Edward had advanced again his own standards, and had pulled down Simon's, whereby they were the more easily descried and known. Then the aforesaid Nicholas cried aloud to the earl Simon, and said, " We are all but dead men ; for it is not your son, as you suppose, that cometh, but it is Edward the king's son that cometh from one part, and the earl of Gloucester from another part, and Roger Mortimer from the third part." Then said the earl, " The Lord be merciful unto our souls, forsomuch as our bodies and lives are now in their hands ;" and so saying, he commanded that every man should confess, and prepare for battle, who was willing to die for the laws and in a just quarrel ; and such as would depart, he gave leave to go their ways, that they should be no discomfiture to the rest.

Then<sup>1</sup> came unto him his eldest son Henry and comforted him, desiring him to have no despair nor yet mistrust in the good success of this battle, with other such cheerful words. " No, my son," saith he, " I despair not ; but yet, it is thy presumption and the pride of the rest of thy brethren that hath brought me to this end you see ; notwithstanding yet, I trust I shall die to God, and in a righteous quarrel." After words of comfort given to all his host, and the oration made as is the manner, they all armed themselves. The king also, whom the earl always kept with him, he armed in an armour of his own ; and then dividing their battels, they marched towards their enemies. But before they joined, the Welshmen ran their ways, and thinking to escape over the river Dee, were there, some drowned, and some slain. Then when the battels joined and came to handy strokes, within short space many of the earl's part fell and were slain ; and the king himself being struck at cried with a loud voice to them, saying, " Kill me not, I am Henry your king." And with these the king's words, the lord Adam de Montalt knew him, and saved him. At whose voice and cry came also prince Edward his son, and delivered him to the guard and custody of certain knights. In the mean season the earl Simon was hard bestead and beaten down, and also slain before Edward the prince came at him. Howbeit, before he fell, when as he fought for life, and Henry his son and other noblemen on his part were about him, he brake out into these words unto his enemies, saying, " What, is there no mercy and compassion with you ?" Who again answered, " What compassion should there be showed to traitors ?" Then said he, " The Lord be merciful unto our souls, our bodies are in your hands." And as soon as these words were spoken, they slaughtered him,<sup>2</sup> and mutilated his members, and cut off his head, which head Roger Mortimer sent unto his wife. But after the battle was ended and done, certain of them that loved the earl, upon an old ladder gathered up such parts of his body as remained, and covering the same with an old gown, brought it to Evesham, where they, putting the same in a fair linen cloth, buried it in the church. But not long after, such as thought themselves not sufficiently revenged by his death, to wreak them of the dead corpse, took up the same and threw it into another place, saying, that he who was both accursed, and a traitor, was not worthy of christian burial.

*Henry**III.**A. D.*  
*1265.*

Prince  
Edward's  
host de-  
scribed,  
whereat  
the earl  
is much  
abashed.

*See*  
*Appendix.*

The  
words of  
earl Si-  
mon to  
his son.

King  
Henry  
almost  
slain in  
the battle,  
at length  
known by  
his voice,  
and re-  
scued by  
his son.

*See*  
*Appendix.*

The earl's  
carcase  
untomb-  
ed and

(1) The next six pages (taken from "Scala Mundi" and "Eulogium") have been revised and somewhat re-arranged according to the best authorities. See Hemingford, M. Westm., Wikes, and the Waverley Annals.—Ed.

(2) "Martyrizaverunt," Hemingford and Knyghton.—Ed

Henry  
III.

A. D.  
1266.

east forth  
of chris-  
tian  
burial.  
Earl  
Simon's  
son, and  
many  
more  
lords and  
barons,  
slain  
at this  
battle of  
Evesham.

A parlia-  
ment  
summon-  
ed at  
Winches-  
ter; king  
Henry  
again  
restored  
to his re-  
gality.  
The con-  
federates  
of Simon  
Mount-  
fort with  
their chil-  
dren dis-  
inherited  
by the  
king, and  
excom-  
municat-  
ed by the  
pope's  
legate.  
Tenths  
granted  
by the  
pope to  
the king  
for seven  
years.  
Assembly  
of the  
barons at  
Axholm.

The Jews  
spoiled  
and slain  
at Lin-  
coln by  
the ba-  
rons, who  
are dis-  
comfited.

And not far off from him also were slain Henry, his eldest son, the lord Hugh le Despenser, the lord Ralph Basset, the lord Thomas de Astley, the lord William Mandeville, the lord John de Beauchamp, the lord Guy de Bardolf, Sir Roger de Roweles, knt., and many other noble men besides, with a great multitude of people, the Lord knoweth how many. This battle was fought on the fourth of August, and continued from one o'clock till it was night; in the which was not so much as one man on the earl's part of any estimation, fortitude, and courage, but in that battle lost his life, more than the lord John,<sup>1</sup> who by the great grace of God escaped death. Neither is this to be forgotten, that the same day, being Tuesday, at that very hour when the battle began, which was at one o'clock in the afternoon, there was such a darkness over all, such thunder and tempest, that the like before that time was never seen, being very calm and fair weather both immediately before and after; which seemed (saith mine author) to give a plain demonstration of that which afterwards chanced and followed.

After this great slaughter and overthrow there was a parliament summoned at Winchester by the earl of Gloucester, and others of his part. Here, by the way, is to be considered, that the king, although he was in the camp of the earl of Leicester, being then in custody, and his son Edward with the earl of Gloucester, yet the king was on that side against his will, and therefore in the said parliament the king was restored to his kingly dignity, which was before that time under the custody of the barons. In this parliament the king disinherited all those that took part with the earl Simon, and all their children.<sup>2</sup> After this the king kept a parliament at Northampton: there also the pope's legate, Octobonus, held a convocation, and excommunicated all such bishops as had taken any part with Simon against the king; of whom divers he afterward sent up to Rome, to be absolved of the pope;<sup>3</sup> and further, the said legate caused to be proclaimed certain decrees which he himself had made, and also the new grant of pope Clement to the king and queen, of all the tenths for seven years to come. And shortly after, the Norwich valuation was made; to the making whereof Walter, the bishop of Norwich, was appointed.<sup>4</sup>

In the meanwhile, the barons who were yet remaining had gathered themselves together again in the isle of Axholm;<sup>5</sup> amongst whom John d'Eyvile (being a subtle and stout man of war) began to have a name, and was well esteemed amongst them; who, altogether, did what mischief they might.

The next year (A.D. 1266) died Walter Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester, after whom succeeded Nicholas of Ely, the king's chancellor.<sup>6</sup>

At this time also the barons again assembled with John d'Eyvile, and so proceeded till they came to Lincoln, which they also took, and spoiled the Jews, and slew many of them; and entering their synagogue, tare and rent the book of their law, and burnt the same, and all other writings and obligations which they could come by. Which thing when the king heard, he sent thither his son prince

(1) Simon de Montfort and others escaped, and Guy de Montfort, Henry de Hastings, Humphrey de Robun, jun., Peter de Vesli, Peter de Montfort, jun., and Nicholas de Segrave, with others, were taken prisoners, besides lord John Fitz-John. The list of the slain, a little above, has been verified by Dugdale's Baronage. See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) This parliament met Sept. 8th: M. Paris; see also Pat. Rot. 49 H. III. m. 8 dorso, cited by Tyrrell.—Ed.

(3) See Wilkins's Concilia, and Appendix.—Ed.

(4) See Appendix.

(5) The barons entered Axholm (in Lincolnshire) St. Clement's day (Nov. 23d), and surrendered Dec. 27th. Ann. Waverl. T. Wikes, M. Paris. See Appendix.—Ed.

(6) See Appendix.

Edward; but as soon as they heard that, they fled. This was in the month of April;<sup>1</sup> and in the month of May they assembled at Chesterfield, under the said John D'Eyvile and the earl Ferrers, upon whom the king's soldiers coming suddenly in the night, took them sleeping and slew many of them. Then the said John D'Eyvile quickly arming himself came forth, thinking with more defence both to save himself and to escape, who, in the way, struck the lord Gilbert Haunsard such a blow with his demi-lance, that he felled both him and his horse to the ground, and so fled with a few more after him. And thus, while the poor soldiers fought and were slain, the barons fled away and saved themselves. Also the earl Ferrers fled, and hid himself in a church; but being betrayed by a woman, he was taken forth, and led away prisoner.<sup>2</sup>

Henry  
III.A. D.  
1266.New assembly of  
the barons at  
Chesterfield,  
where they had  
the overthrow.

The same year, the king perceiving that unless the castle of Kenilworth were recovered, and the boldness of them restrained who kept the same, many evils and inconveniences might ensue thereupon, to the prejudice of his kingdom, for that the number increased every day more and more, wasting and spoiling the country all about, therefore he gathered an army and came down to Warwick; where he awhile tarried, expecting the meeting and assembling of his marquisses and lords, with ensigns and other sautable munition. When their bands were furnished and mustered, and all things ready, the morrow after Midsummer-day he displayed his banner, and began his viage, marching towards Kenilworth, and besieged the same. During which siege the barons assembled with the aforesaid John D'Eyvile in the isle of Ely, and fortified the same with bulwarks as strongly as they might, at every entrance into the same.<sup>3</sup> Shortly after, by the advice and counsel of the king, the pope's legate, and other noblemen, twelve persons were chosen, who should have the disposing of those things that pertained to the state of the realm, and of those that had lost their lands and inheritances: who amongst other things made and established this one proviso, that was commonly called the Kenilworth decree, that all those who had lost their lands by attainder (although not yet attainted) should fine therefor at the king's pleasure, and take their lands of him again; paying some two years', some three years', and some four years' revenues of the same, according to the quality of the crime and offence committed. All which provisos were established and confirmed as well by the corporal oath, as by signment of the same with the hands and seals, of all the prelates and clergy of England, there assembled for that purpose by the pope's legate, upon the feast of All Saints. When these things were thus finished, messengers were sent on the king's behalf, as well to those that kept the castle of Kenilworth, as also to those that were assembled in the isle of Ely; willing them to come under the protection of the king's peace, and yield to the aforesaid provisos established by the twelve commissioners; who altogether answered and said, that they would in nowise condescend thereunto, both for that it was done without their consents, not being called unto it, and also for that the said decree was over-strait and intolerable. Within short space after, great famine and pestilence chanced

Kenilworth castle besieged of the king.

The barons fortify the island of Ely.

See  
Appendix.

Kenilworth decree against the disinherited.

Kenilworth decree gained by divers.

(1) The rescue of Lincoln took place about Tuesday, April 27th (Annales Waverl.); which (by Nicholas's Tables) gives the year 1266.—Ed.

(2) The affair at Chesterfield happened on the Ides of May, on Whitsun-eve (Ann. Waverl.), which (by Nicholas's Tables) gives Saturday, May 15th, 1266.—Ed.

(3) On the eve of St. Laurence (Aug. 9th). M. Paris.—Ed.



Henry  
III.A. D.  
1267.See  
Appendix.

amongst those who kept the castle, insomuch that they were without all hope of keeping the same; wherefore soon after, the king sending again to them to yield the castle and take their pardons, they, consulting together of their own estate, thus answered the king's messengers: "If it please the king and his council to permit us to send our messengers to the lord Simon Montfort, who is beyond the sea, that he may come by a certain day to the defence of this his garrison and fort, and that in the mean space we be not disturbed by the king's army that hath environed us, till the return of our messengers; if, by the day appointed, he come not, we will yield up the same, so that we may be pardoned of life, limb, and moveables."

When the messengers were returned, and had declared to the king their answer, he, consulting with his nobles about the matter, agreed unto their petitions, and caused the truce to be proclaimed throughout all his camp, after that sufficient hostages were on either side given for the performance of the same; whereupon they set forward their messengers, as before was said they would. But after that, many of them within the castle being very grievously vexed with the bloody-flux and other diseases, insomuch that the whole men might not abide the corruption and annoyance of those that were diseased, they delivered up the castle before the return of the messengers again, and were permitted to go whither they would to refresh themselves, as men molested with great vexations and miseries. King Henry besieged the castle of Kenilworth from the seventh day before the first day of July until the thirteenth of December;<sup>1</sup> whither came Octobonus, the pope's legate, by whose entreaty the same was delivered unto the king by Henry Hastings, who stoutly had defended the same and resisted the king, having pardon granted both for him and his, of his life, lands, goods and chattels. After the rendering up of the castle, the king committed the custody thereof to his son Edmund, and so with his host departing from the siege, he came upon Christmas-even's even to Osney; where with great solemnity and triumph he kept his Christmas during seven days.

The same year pope Clement IV. promoted Master Walter Gifford, bishop of Bath, to be archbishop of York.<sup>2</sup>

In this year also the church of England (the regulars as well as the seculars) began to pay the tenths of all her revenues to the king, to continue for three years' space; and this was done by the authority apostolical.<sup>3</sup>

In the beginning of the next year, which was A.D. 1267, the king with his host came to Windsor, from whence after a few days he marched towards Ely; in which island he besieged those who were disinherited, and sharply also assaulted them; upon which John D'Eyville and several other of the barons fled to London, where of the Londoners they were well entertained. After this, both the king and Edward his son came to London with a great power, but yet were kept out of the city by the barons and citizens for the space of forty days. And Octobonus the legate (who for fear had fled into the Tower) they narrowly laid for, that he should not escape. At length, by the entreaty of the earl of Gloucester and other earls that were his friends, both the barons and the citizens

Kenilworth yielded up to the king, before the return of the messengers out of France.

The tenths granted to the king by authority apostolical.

See Appendix.

The king kept out of London forty days.

(1) "The Ides of December," says Hemmingford: "The feast of St. Lucy," say the Waverley Annals; either of which means Dec. 13th.—Ed.

(2) See Appendix.—Ed.

(3) Ibid.

were pardoned, and admitted to the king's favour.<sup>1</sup> After this, Edward, the king's son, returned to besiege again the rest which were in the isle of Ely; who, when he came thither, for the great abundance of waters in the same could by no means enter the island, till at length, by the counsel of the inhabitants of that province, he caused with a number of workmen great trenches and ditches to be made, somewhat to convey away the water; and so long used he their counsel in making bridges with planks and hurdles, till at the last they entered the island; who as soon as they were entered, the rest which were in the island yielded themselves; amongst whom were the lord Wake, Simon the younger, and Peches, saving their lives and members.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, four bishops and eight other noblemen had been chosen, such as were at Coventry first nominated, that they should order and dispose all matters between the king and such as had lost their inheritance, as also the form of their peace and ransom; and a proclamation was made, upon the feast of All Saints, of perfect peace and concord through all the realm.

Henry  
III.  
A. D.  
1268.

The isle  
of Ely  
assaulted  
and entered  
by  
prince  
Edward.

Peace  
concluded  
between  
the  
barons  
and  
the  
king.  
Statutes  
of Marl-  
borough,  
Nov. 18th,  
A. D. 1267.

In the year of our Lord above recited, eight days after the feast of St. Martin in the fifty-second year of this king Henry's reign, he held a parliament at Marlborough, where, by the advice of wise and discreet men, and with all the consents of the nobles, he ordained and enacted divers good and profitable statutes for the reformation and bettering of the state of the realm and execution of common justice, which are called 'the statutes of Marlborough.'

The next year (A. D. 1268), upon St. Gregory's day, Octobonus, the legate, called a council at London, where were five archbishops, and a great number of bishops, abbots, and other prelates; which council also within three days brake up again.<sup>3</sup>

Con voca-  
tion hold-  
en at  
London  
by the  
legate.

The same year, upon St. John the Baptist's day,<sup>4</sup> Edward the king's son, and divers other noblemen of England, took upon them the cross by the legate's hands at Northampton, to the relief of the Holy Land and the subversion of the enemies of the cross of Christ. Which done, the legate the same year went out of England,<sup>5</sup> not purposing after that to return again. This holy legate (saith mine author), who might well be resembled to a lynx, that monstrous beast whose quick sight penetrateth every thing, enrolled to perpetual memory the valuation of all the churches in the realm of England so narrowly as by any means possible he might inquire the certainty thereof.<sup>6</sup> The same was he that made all the cathedral and conventual churches to pay pensions; so that those churches which gave not the vacancy of their benefices to their clerks and strangers, should pay unto them a certain yearly pension, during the vacancy of the benefices which they should have.

The  
legate's  
departing  
out of  
England,

Valuation  
of all  
churches  
by Octo-  
bonus the  
legate.  
Pensions  
out of  
cathedral  
and con-  
ventual  
churches  
payed to  
the pope's  
clerks.

The same year died pope Clement IV., after whose death the church of Rome was two years and nine months vacant; and then was chosen the archdeacon of Liege, whose name was Theardus or Thibaud, while he was with prince Edward in the Holy Land; and they called him Gregory X.<sup>7</sup>

Nov. 29th,  
A. D. 1268.

Then also did Edmund, earl of Lancaster and Leicester, and second

Marriage  
of Ed-  
mund earl

(1) June 15th, according to Rot. Pat. 51, H. iii. m. 16, N 49, cited by Brady.—Ed.

(2) On the feast of St. James (July 25th). T. Wikes. See Appendix.—Ed.

(3) Ex Scala Mundi. [Holinshead says that this council met on St. George's day: Wikes says it met on the Quindene of Easter, i.e. (by Nicholas's Tables) April 22d; that being a Sunday, they probably proceeded to business the next day, April 23d, which is St. George's day. See Appendix.—Ed.]

(4) Which Wikes rightly observes fell on a Sunday this year, 1268.—Ed.

(5) July 20th. Wikes.

(6) See Appendix.

(7) Ibid.

*Henry III.* son of king Henry, take to wife the earl of Albemarle's daughter, and the niece of the earl of Gloucester; at which marriage were the king and queen, and all the nobility of England.

A. D. 1271.

of Lancas-  
ter,  
[July 10th,  
A. D. 1269.  
Dugd.  
Bar.]

King Ed-  
mund the  
Confessor  
shrined,  
[Oct. 13th.  
T. Wikes.]

The same year was the body of St. Edward, the king and confessor, by Walter Gifford, archbishop of York, and other bishops entombed in a new and rich shrine of gold and silver, beset with precious stones, in the presence of Henry, king of England. In which year also fell great rain and inundation of waters, such as hath not lightly been seen, which increased and continued the space of forty days, and more.

During this king's reign, there was made a great and general expedition of sundry and divers christian princes to Jerusalem, taking upon them the Lord's character, that is, the cross, among whom (as is said) was also Edward the king's son one; to the which expedition was granted him a subsidy throughout all the realm; and in the month of May, A. D. 1270, he set forward on his journey.<sup>1</sup>

Death of  
Boniface,  
arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury,  
[July  
18th.]  
Adam  
Chelind-  
on elect-  
ed in his  
stead.

About the time when prince Edward was preparing his journey toward Asia, Boniface of whom ye heard before, the archbishop of Canterbury, ended his life in the country of Savoy, going belike to Rome, or coming thence. After whose death the monks of Canterbury, proceeding to a new election granted by the king, agreed upon the prior of their house, named Adam Chelindon. But the king and his son, prince Edward, consenting and speaking in the behalf of Robert Burnell, the prince's chaplain, and afterwards chancellor,<sup>2</sup> did solicit the matter with the monks, partly entreating, partly threatening them, to choose the said Robert to be archbishop. Notwithstanding, the monks being stout would neither relent to their courteous request, nor yet bow to their boisterous threats, but constantly persisting in their former election, appealed from the king and prince to the pope. Prince Edward being now on his journey, and seeing himself thus frustrated of the monks, writeth back to the king, his father, devoutly praying and beseeching him in no wise to admit the election of the aforesaid monks. And so passing to Dover with Henry, the son of Richard his uncle (king of the Romans), with their wives, they took their passage in the month of August. After this the prior thus elected (as is foretold), but not admitted by the king, to be archbishop, went up to Rome.

Appella-  
tion from  
the king  
to the  
pope by  
the  
monks of  
Canter-  
bury.  
Chelind-  
on goeth  
up to  
Rome.

In the mean time the monks, in the absence of their elect, ordained one Geoffrey Pomenall to be their official; who, seeing himself advanced to that dignity, and bearing belike some old grudge against the prior of Dover, caused him to be cited up to appear in the chapter-house of Canterbury. The prior of Dover seeing this citation to be prejudicial to him and to the church of Dover, and knowing the monks of Canterbury to have no such jurisdiction, the see of Canterbury being vacant, but that all things appertaining to that church ought to be reserved whole till the consecration of the new archbishop, therefore, for the state both of him and of his church, he appealed up also unto Rome.

Variance  
between  
the offici-  
al of Can-  
terbury,  
and the  
prior of  
Dover.  
Appella-  
tion to  
Rome.

[Jan. 3d,  
A. D. 1271.  
Godwin,  
Ed. Rich.]  
Bishop of  
Sarum  
elected  
but not  
consec-  
rated.

The next year died Walter de la Wyle, bishop of Sarum, the third day before the nones of January; after whom succeeded Master Robert of Wikhampton, the dean of the same church; and because the see of Canterbury was then vacant, he was confirmed by the chapter of Canterbury, which chapter had always the jurisdiction in spiritual causes during the vacancy of that see, in as ample manner as the bishop himself had being alive. After this, the bishop elect

(1) This was the last attempt at recovering the Holy Land.

(2) See Appendix.

coming thither, thinking to have had his consecration, was, notwithstanding, put back for two causes; one was, for that there was present then no more than one bishop; the other was, for that all the other bishops had appealed that he might not be consecrated to their prejudice, that is, by the authority of the chapter of Canterbury, saying, that they would not be under the obedience of the monks. After this, when solemn messengers were for this cause sent to the cardinals of Rome, for that then the see of Rome was vacant, they received answer, that, during the vacation of that see, the confirmation and consecration of the bishop elect pertained to the aforesaid chapter of Canterbury. But to return to the archbishop again.

The next year after, Adam Chelindon, the aforesaid archbishop elect, remaining all this while at Rome, at last resigned up his election to the pope's hand (being Gregory X.), who then gave the same to Robert Kilwardby. Who then coming to Dover, restored again the prior of that house, being before excluded upon certain causes (as ye heard). By these contentions judge, good reader, of the religion of these men, and of these times.

About which time came out the great concordance by an English friar, called John Derlington.<sup>1</sup>

And now to return to our former story. It was above declared how a general viage being proclaimed to war against the Turks, and a subsidy being collected in England on the same, prince Edward with others was appointed to take their viage, and were now onward in their journey. Who at Michaelmas following with his company came to Aiguesmortes, which is from Marseilles eight leagues westward, and there taking ship again, having a merry wind and prosperous, within ten days arrived at Tunis, where he was with great joy welcomed and entertained of the christian princes, who were to this purpose assembled, as, of Philip the French king (whose father Louis died a little before), of Charles the king of Sicily, and of the two kings of Navarre and Arragon. And as this lord Edward came thither for his father the king of England, thither came also Henry, the son of the king of Almain, for his father; who, at his return from the viage, was slain in a chapel at Viterbo, hearing mass, by the lords Simon and Guido, the sons of the lord Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester.<sup>2</sup>

When prince Edward demanded of these kings and princes what was to be done, they answered him again and said, "The prince of this city (said they) and of the province adjoining to the same, hath been accustomed to pay tribute unto the king of Sicily every year. And now for that the same hath been for the space of seven years unpaid and more, therefore we thought good to make invasion upon him. But the king, knowing the same tribute to be but justly demanded, hath now, according to our own desires, satisfied for the time past, and even paid his tribute before-hand.

Then said he, "My lords! what is this to the purpose? Are we not here all assembled, and have taken upon us the Lord's character, to fight against the infidels and enemies of Christ? What mean you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we should do so, for now the land is plain and hard, so that we may march straight to the holy city Jerusalem." Then said they, "Now have we made a

Henry  
III.

A. D.  
1271.

Chelindon resigneth to the pope. Robert Kilwardby archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1272.

The great Concordance.

Aug. 25th.

Death of lord Henry, Richard king of Almain's son, at Viterbo, March 8d, A.D. 1271.

Expedition to invade the Turks, prevented by peace.

(1) Ex Eulogio. [See Appendix.]

(2) Confirmed by the king of Sicily's letter in Rymer, dated March 23d.—Ed.

Henry  
III.A.D.  
1271.The great  
rage of the  
French  
king  
against  
them  
turned  
into a  
money  
matter.Clemency  
of prince  
Edward to  
the poor  
soldiers.[Oct. 26th.  
Heminf.]Great  
ship-  
wreck of  
the Chris-  
tians near  
Trapani.  
Money  
evil got,  
as evil  
lost.  
"Non  
habet  
eventus  
sordida  
præda  
bonos."  
Prince  
Edward  
preserved  
from tem-  
pest.  
His in-  
tegrity  
rewarded  
of God.

league with them ; neither is it lawful for us to break the same ; but let us return again to Sicily, and when the winter is past we may well take shipping to Acre." But this counsel nothing at all liked him. neither did he show himself well pleased therewith ; but after he had made them a princely banquet, he went into his closet or privy chamber from amongst them, neither would he be partaker of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They, notwithstanding, continuing their purpose, at the next merry wind took shipping, but for want of more ships left two hundred of their men ashore, crying out and piteously lamenting for the peril and hazard of death they were in ; wherewith prince Edward being somewhat moved with compassion, came back again to the land, and received and stowed them in his own ships, being the last that went aboard. Within seven days after, they arrived in the kingdom of Sicily, over against the city Trapani, casting their anchors a league from thence within the sea, for that their ships were of great burthen, and thoroughly fraught ; and from the haven of the city they sent out barges and boats to receive and bring such of the nobility to land as would ; but their horses for the most part, and all their armour, they kept within board. At length, towards evening, the sea began to be rough, and increased to a great tempest and a mighty, insomuch that their ships were beaten one against another's sides ; and sunk there were of them at that tempest, lying at anchor, more than a hundred and twenty,<sup>1</sup> with all their horses and munition, with innumerable souls besides ; and that wicked money also which they had taken before likewise perished and was drowned. But the tempest hurt not so much as one ship of prince Edward's, who had in number thirteen, nor yet had he one man lost thereby ; for that (as it may be presupposed) he consented not to the wicked counsel of the rest. When in the morning the princes and kings came to the sea-side, and saw all their ships sunk, and saw their men and horses in great number cast upon the land drowned, they had full heavy hearts, as well they might. For of all their ships and mariners, who were in number fifteen hundred, besides the common soldiers, there were no more saved than the mariners of one only ship, and they in this wise : there was in that ship a good and wise matron (a countess or an earl's wife), who perceiving the tempest to grow, and fearing for herself, called to her the master of the ship, and asked whether, in attempting the shore, it were not possible to save themselves ? Who answered, that to save the ship it was impossible ; howbeit, to save the men that were therein, by God's help, he doubted not. Then said the countess, " For the *ship* care no whit ; save the *souls* therein, and I will give thee double the value of thy ship." Who immediately hoisting the sails with all force ran the ship aground, so near the shore as possible was. Thus, with the vehemency of the weather and force he came withal he brast the ship, but saved all that was within the same, as the master had showed and said before.<sup>2</sup>

Then the kings and princes (altering their purpose after this so great a shipwreck) returned home again every one unto their own lands ; only Edward the king's son remained behind with his men and ships, which the Lord had saved and preserved. Then prince Edward (renovating his purpose) took shipping again, and within fifteen

[1] "Centum xx," Knyghton, "xx," Hemingford.—Ed.

[2] Ex Scala Mundi. Ex Gualt. Gisburn. Ex Flor. Hist. [Whence several corrections are made in the foregoing paragraph. The same authorities supply the rest of this reign.—Ed.]



days after Easter, arrived at Acre, and went on shore, taking with him a thousand of the best and most expert soldiers, and tarried there a month, refreshing both his men and horses, so that in this space he might learn and know the secrets of the land. After this he took with him six or seven thousand soldiers, and marched forward twenty miles from Acre, and took Nazareth; and those that he there found he slew, and afterwards returned again to Acre. But their enemies following after them, thinking to have set upon them at some strait or other advantage, they were by the prince premonished thereof, and returning again upon them, gave a charge, and slew many of them, and the rest they put to flight. After this, about Midsummer, when the prince had understanding that the Saracens began to gather at Cackhow, which was forty miles from Acre, he, marching thither, set upon them very early in the morning, and slew of them more than a thousand; the rest he put to flight, and took rich spoils, marching forward till they came to a castle named *Castrum Peregrinorum*, situated upon the sea-coast, and tarried there that night, and the next day they returned towards Acre. In the mean season the king of Jerusalem sent unto the noblemen of Cyprus, desiring them with speed that they would come and aid the Christians; but they would not come, saying, they would keep their own land, and go no further. Then prince Edward sent unto them, desiring that at his request they would come and join in aid with him, who immediately thereupon came unto him with great preparation and furniture for the war, saying, that at his command they were bound to do no less, for that his predecessors were sometime governors of their land, and that they ought always to show their fidelity to the kings of England. Then the Christians being herewith animated, about the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula [Aug. 1st] made a third viage or rode, and when they had slain certain, not finding any to make resistance against them, they retired from whence they came, about St. George's day [Aug. 27th].

*Henry III.*

A. D. 1271.

Arriving at Acre, taketh Nazareth.

The nobles of Cyprus show their fidelity to the king of England  
*See Appendix.*

When thus the fame of prince Edward grew amongst his enemies, and they began to stand in fear of him; they devised among themselves, how by some policy they might circumvent and betray him. Hereupon the great prince and admiral of Joppa sent to him, feigning himself, under great deceit, to become a Christian, and that he would draw with him a great number besides, so that they might be honourably entertained and used of the Christians. This talk pleased the prince well, and persuaded him to finish the thing he had so well begun, by writing again; who also by the same messenger sent and wrote back unto him divers times about the same matter, whereby no mistrust should spring. This messenger, saith mine author, was one 'ex cote nutritus,' one of the stony-hearted, who neither feared God nor dreaded death. The fifth time when this messenger came, and was of the prince's servants searched, according to the manner and custom, to discover what weapon and armour he had about him, as also his purse, and when not so much as a knife could be found about him, he was had up into the prince's chamber, and after his reverence done, he pulled out certain letters, which he delivered to the prince from his lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight days after Whitsuntide, upon a Tuesday, somewhat before night: at

Guileful deceit of the Saracens practised against prince Edward.

*See Appendix.*

*Henry  
III.**A.D.  
1271.*Edward  
wounded  
with an  
enve-  
nomed  
knife  
by the  
'Turks'  
messen-  
ger.In peril  
of death  
by reason  
of his  
hurt, is  
comforted  
by the  
physi-  
cians.

which time the prince was laid upon his bed, bare-headed, in his jerkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

When the prince had read the letters, it appeared by them, that upon the Saturday following, his lord would be there ready to accomplish all that he had written and promised. The report of this news, by the prince to the standers-by, liked them well, drawing somewhat back to consult thereof amongst themselves. In the mean time the messenger, kneeling and making his obeisance to the prince, who was questioning further with him, put his hand to the belt, as though he would have pulled out some secret letters, and suddenly he pulled out an envenomed knife, thinking to have stricken it into the prince's belly as he lay; but Edward, lifting up his hand to defend the blow, was stricken a great wound in the arm; and the messenger being about to fetch another stroke at him, the prince with his foot took him such a blow that he felled him to the ground. With that the prince gat him by the hand, and with such violence wrested the knife from him, that he hurt himself therewith in the forehead, and immediately thrust the same into the belly of the messenger and striker, and slew him. The prince's servants being in the next chamber not far off, hearing the buskling, came with great haste running in. And finding the messenger lying dead on the floor, one of them took up a stool and beat out his brains; whereat the prince was wroth, for that he struck a dead man, and one that was killed before. The rumour hereof, as it was strange, so it soon went throughout all the court, and from thence amongst the common people; wherefore they were very heavy and greatly discouraged. To him came also the captain of the temple, and brought him a costly and precious drink against poison, lest the venom of the knife should penetrate the lively blood, and in blamingwise said unto him, "Did I not show your grace before, of the deceit and subtlety of this people? Notwithstanding," saith he, "let your grace take a good heart; you shall not die of this wound, my life for yours." But straightway the surgeons and physicians were sent for, and the prince was dressed, and within a few days after the wound began to putrefy, and the flesh to look dead and black; whereupon those who were about the prince began to mutter amongst themselves, and were very sad and heavy. Which thing he himself perceiving, said unto them, "Why mutter you thus amongst yourselves? What see you in me, can I not be healed? Tell me the truth, be ye not afraid." Whereupon one said to him, "Your grace, you may be healed, we mistrust it not; but yet it will be very painful for you to suffer." "May suffering," said he again, "restore health?" "Yea," saith the other, "on pain of losing my head." "Then," said the prince, "I commit myself unto you, do with me what you think good." Then said one of his physicians, "Is there any of your nobles in whom your grace reposeth special trust?" To whom the prince answered "yea," naming certain of the noblemen that stood about him. Then said the physician unto the two whom the prince first named, the lord Edmund and the lord John Voisie: "And do you also faithfully love your lord and prince?" Who answered both, "Yea, undoubtedly." "Then," saith he, "take you away this gentlewoman and lady," meaning his wife, "and let her not see her lord and husband

until such time as I will you to let her;" whereupon they took her out of the prince's presence, crying out and wringing her hands. Then said they unto her, "Be ye contented, good lady and madam, it is better that one woman should weep a little while, than that all the realm of England should weep a great season." Then, on the morrow, they cut out all the dead envenomed flesh out of the prince's arm, and threw it from them, and said unto him, "How cheereth your grace? We promise you within these fifteen days you shall show yourself abroad (if God permit) on horseback, whole and well as ever you were." And according to the promise he made the prince, it came to pass, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his subjects. When the great Soldan heard of it, and that the prince was yet alive, he would scarcely believe the same; and sending unto him three of his nobles and princes, he excused himself by them, calling his gods to witness, that the same was done neither by him, nor his consent. The princes and messengers standing aloof off from the king's son, worshipping him fell flat upon the ground. "You," saith the prince, "do reverence me, but yet you love me not." But they understood him not, because he spake in English unto them, speaking by an interpreter. Nevertheless he treated them honourably, and sent them away in peace.

*Henry  
III.*

*A. D.  
1271.*

*The  
prince re-  
stored to  
health;  
the Sol-  
dan for-  
sweareth  
himself.*

Thus, when prince Edward had been eighteen months in Acre, he took shipping about the Assumption of Our Lady, as we call it, returning homeward; and, after seven weeks, he arrived in Sicily, at Trapani, and from thence travelling through Palestrina and Metmes, and so through the midst of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the pope honourably entertained; from thence he came into France, whose fame and noble prowess was there much noised about among the common people, and envied of the nobility, especially of the earl of Chalons, who sent unto him, and required him that he might break a staff with him at the tilt in his country. This the prince, because he would not diminish his honour and fame, willingly consented to do, although he might have well alleged a sufficient excuse by means of his travail. It was therefore proclaimed, that prince Edward, by such a day, with those that were with him, had challenged all comers at the tilt and barriers. Hereupon great assemblies were made in the country all about; and divers, as well horsemen as footmen, had confederated among themselves, and conspired against the Englishmen, selling their horses and armour beforehand, and drinking one to another in 'boon viage,'<sup>1</sup> of the spoil of them-whom they would take as their prisoners. Prince Edward, in the mean time, sent into England for divers earls and barons, who came unto him. When the day appointed was come, the prince had with him more than one thousand horsemen, who were knights, besides his footmen; but yet there were as many more, on the other side, both in horsemen and footmen. When the parties met, the French footmen, who had before conspired, began both to spoil, rifle, and kill. The Englishmen resisted and defended themselves, both with bows and slings; many of the Frenchmen they slew, and drove them to the gates of their city; the others they chased over a river, where many

*The  
prince re-  
turneth  
to Eng-  
land.  
See  
Appendix.*

*A day of  
sport  
which  
turneth to  
good ear-  
nest.*

*Conspi-  
racy of  
the  
French-  
men  
against  
the Eng-  
lishmen.*

(1) "Drinking one to another in boon viage;" a common expression in old authors, in other words, "Drinking one another good success in the spoiling of those whom they had destined for their prisoners."—ED.

Henry  
III.A.D.  
1272.Exercise  
of battle,  
instead of  
barriers  
and tour-  
ney.Victory  
of the  
English  
against  
the earl  
de Châ-  
lons.Prince  
Edward  
in Gasco-  
ny at his  
father's  
death.A.D. 1268.  
Pope Cle-  
ment IV.  
dies.

of them were drowned. In the mean while the earl, with fifty of his knights who followed him, came forth and joined together, so many for so many, and a long time together they tried with ic their swords, laying one on another. At last the earl, perceiving himself not able to match with the prince at arms' length, closed with him, and taking him about the neck, held him with his arms very straight. "What mean you, my lord," saith the prince, "think you to have my horse?" "Yea, marry," quoth the earl, "I mean to have both thee and thy horse." Hereat prince Edward, being indignant, lifted up himself, and gave him such a blow, that therewithal he, forsaking his horse, hung still about the prince's neck, till that he shook him off to the ground. Herewith the prince, being somewhat in a heat, left the press to take the air, thereby to refresh himself. But when he saw the injury of the Frenchmen towards his men, and how they had slain many of them, he then said unto them that they used rather the exercise of battle than of tourney. "Spare ye not, therefore," saith he, "from henceforth, any of them all, but give them again as good as they bring." Then they essayed to kill each other freely on either part, and let their swords walk. By this time the English footmen were again returned, and seeing the conflicts of horsemen, and many other Englishmen overthrown, they put themselves amidst the press; some paunching the horses, and some cutting asunder the girths of the Frenchmen's saddles, they overthrew the riders, and gave them holy bread. When the aforesaid earl had been horsed again by some of his men, and had got amongst the throng, prince Edward also rushed in amongst the thickest, and coped again with him, to whom he often spake and cried, that he should yield himself as vanquished; but that the earl would not do. Notwithstanding, when the earl's strength began to fail him, he was fain to yield himself unto a simple knight, according as prince Edward bade him, and all the rest of his horsemen and knights fled and saved themselves; howbeit, many of them in that place were slain; and so our men returned, having the victory. But when, after this, they thought to be quiet and at rest, they were killed by the citizens by twos and threes at once, as they walked in the streets. When the prince heard this, he sent for the mayor and burgesses, commanding them to see the same redressed, and that immediately; for otherwise, of his knighthood he assured them, that upon the morrow he would fire the city, and make it level with the ground. On this they went their ways, and set watchmen in divers places of the same to keep peace, by which means the prince and his men were in safety and quiet. Thus, in this pastime of tourneying and barriers much blood was spilled, whereupon the name of the place was changed; so that it is not called 'Torniamentum de Chalons,' but 'Parvum Bellum de Chalons.'

From thence the prince came to Paris, and was of the French king honourably entertained; and after certain days he went from thence into Gascony, where he tarried till he heard of the death of the king his father.

In the year of our Lord 1268, died pope Clement IV.: after whom succeeded pope Gregory X.; who, in the year A.D. 1274, called a general council at Lyons, about the controversy between

the Greek church and the Latin church, and for the vacancy of the see apostolical.

Henry  
III.

A. D.  
1216  
to  
1272.

CERTAIN NOTES OF OTHER OCCURRENCES CHANCED IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES ABROAD, WITHIN THE COMPASS OF THE YEARS AND REIGN OF THE AFORESAID KING HENRY III.

Having thus completed the life and history of king Henry III., with such accidents as happened within this realm, I thought good to adjoin unto the same, some other foreign matters not unworthy of note, incident in other countries during the time of the said king: namely, from A.D. 1216 unto this year, 1272. These I thought the rather not to be omitted, for that even from and about the beginning of this king's reign, sprang up the very well-springs of all mischief, the sects of monkish religions and other swarms of popish orders, which, with their gross and horrible superstitions, have encumbered the church of Christ ever since.

First, to omit the repetition of pope Innocent III., the great great grandsire of that foul monster transubstantiation and auricular confession, friars Dominic and Franciscan friars, Thomas Aquinas, Jacobus de Voragine, and Vincentius, with pope Honorius III. coiner of the canon law, and the cardinal of Ostia, as also Bonaventure, Albertus Magnus, with pope Urban IV., the first founder of the feast of Corpus Christi, and the procurer of the adoration of the body of Christ in the sacrament, besides Durandus and many more: it followeth further to be noted, that the Tartars, about A.D. 1240, issuing out of Muscovy into the parts of Poland, made great waste in Christendom, and this so much the rather, because the princes about Poland, being at variance amongst themselves, used no other remedy for their defence but heaps of masses, the invocation of the dead, and the worshipping of images, which indeed did not at all relieve them, but rather increased their trouble.

See  
Appendix.

The Tartars make great spoil in Christendom.

In the year following, the whole nation of the Tartars, mustering like locusts, invaded the parts of Europe with two mighty armies, whereof the one, entering on Poland, made great havoc, and carried away many Christians from thence captives; the other overrunning Hungary, made no less spoil there. Add hereunto another fresh army of Tartars, to the number of five millions,<sup>1</sup> who at the very same time joining themselves together, entered Muscovy and Cracow, and made most horrible slaughter, sparing neither sex nor age, neither noble nor ignoble within the land. From thence passing to Lower Slavonia, they made great spoil there also, and thinking there to win the castle, were, by the miraculous working of the Lord, at the instance and prayers of good people, discomfited beyond all expectation of man, by thunder and lightning falling upon them from heaven in a most terrible manner.

The Tartars invade Europe like locusts.  
See  
Appendix.

The same year, immediately after Easter, another army of Tartars was gathered against Lignitz, drawing near to Germany; by the rumour whereof, the Germans, being put in great fears, were altogether dismayed, but yet not able to help themselves, because they lacked a good guide and governor amongst them. All this came

(1) Ex Annalibus Silesiæ.



*Henry  
III.*

A.D.  
1216  
to  
1272.

Henry of  
Poland  
slain, and  
his army  
van-  
quished.  
Nine  
sacks full  
of the ears  
of Chris-  
tians  
slain.

*See  
Appendix.*

Richard  
king of  
Almain  
dies.  
Variance  
between  
the  
monks  
and the  
citizens  
of Nor-  
wich.

Execu-  
tion at  
Norwich  
by the  
com-  
mand of  
king  
Henry  
III.  
Adam,  
prior of  
Canter-  
bury re-  
fuseth to  
be arch-  
bishop of  
that see.  
Robert  
Kilward-  
by, arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury.

Death of  
king  
Henry  
III.

*See  
Appendix.*

to pass, especially by the mischievous practice of the Roman popes, raising variance and discord among them. Notwithstanding Henry, prince of Poland and Silesia, gathering a power as well as he could, did encounter with him; but in the end his whole army was vanquished, and the king himself slain. Notwithstanding this overthrow of Christians, it pleased God to strike such a fear into the hearts of the Tartars, that they durst not approach any further or nearer into Germany, but retired for that time into their country again; who, recounting their victory by taking each man but one ear of every one of the Christians that were slain, found the slaughter so great, that they filled nine great sacks full of ears. Nevertheless, after this (A.D. 1260), the same Tartars, having the Muscovites for their guides, returned again into Poland and Cracow; where, in the space of three months, they overran the land with fire and sword to the coasts of Silesia, and had not the princes of Germany put to their helping hand in this lamentable case, they had utterly wasted the whole land of Poland, and the coasts thereof.

This year also, in the month of April, Richard, king of Almain, died at the castle of Berkhamstead, and was buried at the abbey of Hailes, which he built from the ground. The same year also, at Norwich, there arose a great controversy between the monks and the citizens, about certain tallages and liberties. At last, after much altercation and wrangling words, the furious rage of the citizens so much increased and prevailed, and so little was the fear of God before their eyes, that altogether they set upon the abbey and priory, and burned both the church and bishop's palace. When this thing was heard abroad, the people were very sorry to hear of so bold and naughty an enterprise, and much discommended the same. At last, king Henry, calling for certain of his lords and barons, sent them to the city of Norwich, that they might punish and see execution done on the chief malefactors; insomuch that some of them were condemned and burnt, some of them hanged, and some were drawn by the heels with horses throughout the streets of the city, and afterwards in much misery they ended their wretched lives. The same year Adam, the prior of Canterbury, and bishop elect, in the presence of Pope Gregory X. refused to be archbishop, although he was elected; wherefore the pope gave the archbishopric to friar Robert Kilwardby, the provost of the preaching friars, a man of good life and great learning. He was consecrated at Canterbury, on the fourth day of March, by six bishops of the same province. The same year also, at Michaelmas, the lord Edmund, the son of Richard king of Almain, married the sister of Gilbert, earl of Gloucester. Also in this year, A.D. 1272, on the sixteenth day before the kalends of December, being the day of St. Edmund archbishop and confessor, died king Henry, in the fifty-seventh year of his reign, and was buried at Westminster, leaving behind him two sons and two daughters; to wit, Edward, the prince, and Edmund, earl of Lancaster and Leicester, Beatrice, and Margaret; which Margaret was married to the king of Scots. This king Henry, in his lifetime, began the building of the church and steeple of Westminster, but did not thoroughly finish the same before his death.

EDWARD THE FIRST.<sup>1</sup>

IN the time of the death of king Henry, Edward, his eldest son, was absent in Gascony, as a little before you heard; yet notwithstanding, by Robert Kilwarby, archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishops and nobles, he was ordained heir and successor to his father; on hearing of whose death, he returned home to his country, and was crowned A.D. 1274. On that occasion he laid down his crown, saying, he would no more put it on, before he had gathered together all the lands appertaining to the same. This Edward, who had always before been a loving and natural child to his father, whom he had delivered out of prison and captivity; hearing afterwards of the death of his son, and of that of his father, both together, wept and lamented much more for his father, than for his son, saying to the French king, who asked the cause thereof, that the loss of his child was but light; for children might afterwards increase and be multiplied, but the loss of his parent was greater, which could not be recovered.<sup>2</sup> So Almighty God, for his piety shown to his father, rewarded him again with great success, felicity, and long reign, insomuch that he being young, as he was playing at chess with a certain soldier of his, suddenly having occasion given, rose up and went his way; who had only just voided the place, when incontinent fell down a mighty stone from the vault above, directly upon the place where he had sat, able to have quashed him in pieces, if he had tarried ever so little more; in whose preservation, as I see present the hand and mighty providence of the living God, so, in the king's order again, I note a fault or error worthy of reprehension, in that he, after receiving such a lively benefit at the hand of the living Lord, and going therefore on pilgrimage to Walsingham, gave thanks not only to our Lord, but rather to a rotten block.<sup>3</sup>

Of the gentle nature of this courageous prince, sufficient proof is given by this one example. One day being in his disport of hawking, he chanced sharply to rebuke the negligence of one of his gentlemen, for what fault I cannot tell, about his hawk: the gentleman, being on the other side of the river, hearing his menacing words, was glad, as he said, that the river was between them. With this answer the courageous blood of this prince being moved, upon present heat he leaped straight into the flood, being both of a swift stream and of a dangerous deepness, and no less hard in getting out. Notwithstanding, either forgetting his own life, or neglecting the danger present, and having a good horse, he ventureth his own death, to have the death of his man. At length, with much difficulty recovering the bank, with his sword drawn he pursueth his provoker, who having not so good a horse, and seeing himself in danger of being taken, reineth up his horse, and returning back bareheaded unto the prince, submiteth his neck under his hand to strike. The prince, whose fervent

*Edward I.*A. D.  
1272.*See  
Appendix.*Piety to  
parents  
rewarded  
of God.A miracle  
of God in  
preserv-  
ing king  
Edward.False  
worship  
repre-  
hended,  
God  
giveth the  
benefit,  
and a  
dumb  
stock  
hath the  
thanks.Example  
of prince  
ly cle-  
mency to  
be learn-  
ed by  
kings and  
princes.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 74. Ed. 1583, p. 339. Ed. 1596, p. 310. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 386.

(2) Rob. Avesbury. Also from the Chronicles of Thomas Walsingham. p. 44. (3) Ibid.

*Edward I.* stomach the water of the whole river could not quench, a little submission of his man did so cool, that the quarrel dropped, his anger ceased, and his sword was put up without any stroke given. And so both returned to their game, good friends again.<sup>1</sup>

Wales  
subdued.

The  
king's  
eldest son  
prince of  
Wales.

Vain pro-  
phesies  
not to be  
sought to.

In the beginning of his reign, the king had much ado in Wales, where he had divers conflicts with the Welshmen, whom he at last subdued, and cut down their woods, suppressed rebellions, and vanquishing their kings Llewelyn and his brother, ordained his eldest son Edward, born in the same country, to be prince of Wales. This Llewelyn, captain of the Welshmen here mentioned, rebelling against king Edward, asked counsel by way of conjuration, what event should come upon his attempt; to whom it was told, that he should go forward boldly, for doubtless he should ride through Cheapside in London, with a crown on his head. Which so came to pass; for, being slain, his head with a crown of silver was carried through Cheap to London Bridge. By this, men may learn not to seek or stick to these vain prophecies, which though they fall true, yet are they but the trains of the devil to deceive men.

Punish-  
ment for  
bakers  
and mil-  
lers.

The sta-  
tute of  
mortmain  
first  
enacted.

About this time there was a great earthquake, and such a rot, that it consumed a great multitude of sheep in the land, through the occasion, as they say, of one scabbed sheep that came out of Spain. The king returning from Wales to England, ordered certain new laws for the wealth of the realm. Among many others, this was one: authority was given to all mayors, bailiffs, and other officers to see execution and punishment with the pillory on all bakers making bread under the assize; and with the tumbrel, on millers stealing corn, &c. Within two years after this, the statute of mortmain was first enacted, which is as much as to say, that no man should give unto the church any lands or rents, without special license of the king.

A. D. 1279  
Black-  
friars by  
Ludgate  
built.

Boston  
blemish-  
ed with  
fire.

See  
Appendix.  
Westmin-  
ster  
church  
finished.

About this time, being the seventh year of king Edward's reign (A. D. 1279), Jews, for money-clipping, were brought to execution, and in the same year began the foundation of the Black-friars by Ludgate. The town of Boston was greatly wasted this year with fire. The halfpenny and farthing began first to be coined about the same time, which was the eighth year of this king's reign. The fourth year after this, the great conduit in Cheap began to be made. A. D. 1284. In the year following, the new work of the church of Westminster (begun as is before premised in the third year of Henry III.) was finished, which was sixty-six years in edifying. The Jews were utterly banished this realm of England at the same time, for which the commons gave to the king a fifteenth,<sup>2</sup> &c.

After that, the country of Wales was brought in a full order and quiet by the hewing down of their woods, and casting down their old holds, and building of new; which all was brought to a perfect end, about the twenty-fourth year of this king's reign.

Under<sup>3</sup> the same king, about the beginning of his reign, the year was so hot and dry, that from the month of May till near the month of September, there fell no rain; insomuch that many died for heat, and the vulgar people, in their reckoning of years, did count the time from the

(1) Rob. Avesbury, Nich. Trivet, and Tho. Walsingham. (2) Tho. Walsingham and Walt. Gisburn.

(3) The next four pages are placed by Foxe after the history of the dispute between Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair, at p. 606, and are brought back hither, to suit the chronological order.—Ed

said dry year long after. In the reign of this king, Walter Merton, *Edward I.*  
 bishop of Rochester, built Merton College, Oxford.

A.D.  
 1296.

Merton  
 College  
 built in  
 Oxford,  
 A.D. 1274.

About this time; in the days of king Edward, the church of Rome began daily more and more to rise up, and swell so high in pride and worldly dominion, that no king almost in his own country could do any thing but as the pope pleased, who both had and ruled all, in all countries, but chiefly here in England; as partly by his intolerable tallage and pillage, before signified, may appear, partly by his injunctions and commandments sent down, also by his donations and reservations of benefices and church livings, also in deposing and disposing such as him listed, in place and office to bear rule: inso-much, that when the king and the church of Canterbury, in their election, had chosen one Robert Burnell, bishop of Bath and Wells and chancellor, to be archbishop of Canterbury, pope Nicholas III. of his own singular presumptuous authority ruling the matter after his pleasure, frustrated their election, and thrust in another, named John Peckham: for among all others, this hath always been one practice of the court of Rome, ever to have the archbishop of their own setting, or such one as they might be sure of on their side, to weigh against the king and others, whatsoever need should happen. By this John Peckham was ordained, that no spiritual minister should have any more benefices than one, which also was decreed by the constitutions of Octo and Octobonus, the pope's legates formerly in England. Also, in the parliament he resisted the king in the right of certain liberties pertaining to the crown, touching patronages and such church matters.

The  
 king's  
 election  
 in his  
 own  
 realm  
 frustrate.  
 J. Peck-  
 ham made  
 arch-  
 bishop of  
 Canter-  
 bury,  
 A.D. 1278.

A point of  
 practice  
 in the  
 court of  
 Rome.  
*See  
 Appendix.*

About the beginning of this king's reign, after the decease of Walter, archbishop of York, William Wicewanger succeeding in that see, and minding to go on visitation, came to Durham to visit the church and chapter there; but the clergy and the people of the city shut the gates against him, and kept him out, whereupon rose no small disturbance. The archbishop let fly his curse of excommunication and interdiction against them. The bishop of Durham again, with his clergy, despised all his cursings, grounding themselves upon the constitution of Innocent IV. 'De censibus et exactionibus:' and so they appealed to Rome, saying, That he ought not to be received there, before he had first begun to visit his own chapter and diocese, which he had not done; for so say the words of the constitution—"We ordain and decree, that every archbishop that will visit his province, first must procure to visit his own church, city, and diocese."<sup>1</sup>

A.D. 1279.

Variance  
 between  
 the arch-  
 bishop of  
 York and  
 the clergy  
 of Dur-  
 ham.

After the death of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, above mentioned, succeeded Robert Winchelsey. To this Robert Winchelsey pope Boniface VIII. directed down a solemn bull from Rome, as also unto all other quarters of the universal church, in the which bull was contained and decreed, directly against the rule of Scripture and christian obedience, that no church or ecclesiastical person should henceforth yield to his king or temporal magistrate either any giving, or lending, or promising of tribute, or subsidy, or portion whatsoever, of the goods and possessions to him belonging; but should be clearly exempted and discharged from all such subjection of tallage or subvention to be exacted of them in the behoof of the prince and his affairs. Which decree manifestly rebelleth against the commanded ordinance of God,

Robert  
 Winchel-  
 sey, arch-  
 bishop of  
 Canter-  
 bury,  
 A.D. 1294  
 Ecclesias-  
 tical per-  
 sons ex-  
 empted  
 by the  
 pope from  
 paying  
 tribute to  
 the king.  
 The pope  
 proceed-  
 eth  
 against  
 the mani-

(1) *Sexti Decret. lib. iii. tit. 20.—Ed*

*Edward I.*A. D.  
1297.

fest word,  
in setting  
the clergy  
free from  
the king's  
tribute.

and the apostolic canon of St. Peter, and all other examples of holy Scripture. For as there is no word in the Scripture that excludeth spiritual men more than temporal from obedience and subjection to princes, so if it chanced the prince in his exacting to be too rigorous or cruel in oppression, that is no cause for the clergy to be exempted, but to bear the common burden of obedience, and to pray to God to turn and move the prince's mind, and so, with prayer and patience, not with pride and disobedience, to help and amend that which is amiss. Concerning the bull of Boniface, if any there be who do not credit the same so to contain, or would for his mind see and read the same, the words thereof are given below.<sup>1</sup>

See  
Appendix.

The clergy  
deni-  
eth to give  
tribute to  
the king.

This bull being directed, as it is said, from Rome to the archbishop of Canterbury, and likewise through the whole universal church, under the pope's authority, it chanced, not long after, that the king held his parliament at St. Edmundsbury, where was granted to him of all cities and boroughs an eighth, and of the commons a twelfth of their goods; only the clergy by virtue of this bull stood stout, denying to pay any thing to the king. This answer not well pleasing the king, he willeth them to deliberate better with themselves upon the matter, and after long advisement so to give him answer thereof against the next parliament, which should be holden the morrow after St. Hilary [Jan. 14th], at London.

The  
clergy  
secluded  
from the  
king's  
protec-  
tion.

In conclusion, the parliament came; the clergy persisted still in denial of their subsidy, alleging the pope's bull for their warrant and discharge; whereupon the king likewise secluded them from under his protection and safeguard of his laws. And as concerning the

(1) *The Copy of the Pope's Bull, wherein the Clergy are exempted from giving Tribute to Kings and Princes.*—"Bonifacius, &c. Ad sempiternam rei memoriam. Clericis laicos infestos oppidò tradit antiquitas. Quod et præsentium experimenta temporum manifeste declarant, dum suis finibus non contenti nituntur in vetitum et ad illicita sua frena relaxant, nec prudenter attendunt quomodo sit eis in clericos ecclesiasticasve personas et bona interdicta potestas. Quinimo ecclesiarum prælatis, ecclesiis, ecclesiasticisque personis regularibus et secularibus, imponuntur onera gravia, ipsosque talliant, et eis collectas imponunt, et ab ipsis suorum proventuum vel bonorum dimidiam, decimam, seu vicesimam, vel quamvis aliam portionem aut quotam exigunt et extorquent, eosque moluntur multifarie subijcere servituti, suæque subdere ditioni. Et (quod dolenter referimus) nonnulli ecclesiarum prælati, ecclesiasticæque personæ, trepidantes ubi trepidandum non est, transitoriam pacem querentes, plus timentes majestatem temporalem offendere quàm æternam, talium abusibus non tam temerarie quàm improvide acquiescunt, sedis apostolicæ autoritate non obtenta. Nos igitur talibus actibus obviare volentes, de fratrurn nostrorum consilio apostolica autoritate statuimus—quòd quicumque prælati, ecclesiasticæve personæ, religiosæ vel seculares, quorumcunque ordinum, conditionis, seu status, collectas vel tallias, dimidiam, decimam, vicesimam, seu centesimam suorum et ecclesiarum suarum proventuum vel bonorum laicis solverint, vel promiserint, vel se soluturos concesserint, aut quamvis aliam quantitatem, portionem, aut quotam ipsorum proventuum, vel bonorum æstimationis, vel valoris ipsorum, sub adiutorii mutui, subventionis, subsidii, vel doni nomine, seu quovis alio titulo, vel modo, vel quæsito colore, absque autoritate sedis ejusdem; necnon imperatores, reges, seu principes, duces, comites, vel barones, potestates, capitanei, officiales vel rectores, quocunque nomine censeantur, civitatum, castrorum, seu quorumcunque locorum constitutorum ubilibet, et quivis alius cujuscunque præminentia, conditionis, et status, qui talia imposuerint, exegerint, vel receperint, aut apud ædes sacras deposita ecclesiarum vel ecclesiasticarum personarum ubilibet arrestaverint, saysierint, seu occupare præsumperint, vel arrestari, saysiri, aut occupari mandaverint, aut occupata, saysita, seu arrestata receperint; necnon omnes qui scienter in prædictis dederint consilium, auxilium, vel favorem, publice vel occulte; eo ipso sententiam excommunicationis incurraunt. Universitates quoque quæ in his culpabiles fuerint ecclesiastico supponimus interdicto: prælatis et personis ecclesiasticis supradictis, in virtute obedientia et sub pœna depositionis, districtè mandantes, ut talibus absque licentia expressa dicte sedis nullatenus acquiescant; quòdque prætextu cujuscunque obligationis, promissionis, et concessionis factarum hactenus vel faciendarum in antea, priusquam hujusmodi constitutio, prohibitio, seu præceptum ad notitiam ipsorum pervenerit, nihil solvant, nec suprà-dicti seculares quoquo modo recipiant. Et si solverint vel prædicti receperint, in sententiam excommunicationis incidunt ipso facto. A supradictis autem excommunicationis et interdicti sententiis nullus absolvi valeat, præterquam in mortis articulo, absque sedis apostolicæ autoritate et licentia speciali, cum nostre intentionis existat tam horrendum sæcularium potestatum abusum nullatenus sub dissimulatione transire. Non obstantibus quibuscunque privilegiis sub quibuscunque tenoribus, seu formis, seu modis, aut verborum conceptione concessis imperatoribus, regibus, et aliis supradictis; quæ contra præmissa in nullo volumus alicui vel aliquibus suffragari. Nulli igitur hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre constitutionis, prohibitionis, seu præcepti infringere seu ausu temerario contraire. Datum Romæ ad sanctum Petrum, VI. Kal. Martii, pontificatus nostri anno secundo." [Feb. 24th, A. D. 1296.]—Ex Chron. Rob. Gisleburnensis. [Collated with the copy in Knighton, and in the Corp. Juris. Canonici, and corrected. Dr. Brady gives a translation of it.—Ed.]



archbishop of Canterbury, above mentioned, because he was found more stubborn than the rest, and was the inciter to the other, he seized upon all his goods, and caused an inventory of the same to be enrolled in the exchequer. Notwithstanding, divers of the other bishops relented soon after to the king, and contributed the fifth of their goods unto him, and were received again to favour.

Edward I.

A. D.  
1297.

The arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury's  
goods con-  
fiscated  
for stub-  
bornness.

In the life of this king's father it was declared before, how the said king Henry III., after divers wars and commotions had with his barons, had granted certain liberties and freedoms written and contained in 'Magna Charta,' and in 'Charta de Foresta.' Concerning which matter, much business happened in this king's days also in the realm, between the king and his barons and commons. The occasion was this: A sack of wool which before paid but a mark to the king, was now by this king raised up to forty shillings. After this, the king having a journey to make into Flanders, sent to his barons and divers other to give their attendance and service in the same, which they refused and denied to do. The king, notwithstanding, persisting in his purpose, with such a power as he had prepared toward his journey. To whom being in his way at Winchelsea the aforesaid earls, barons, and commons, sent certain petitions contained in writing, under the name of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, earls and barons, with the whole commonalty of the realm. In which writing, first lamenting and complaining of their afflicted state and misery, after humble manner they desired their lord the king to redress and amend certain grievances among them.

Variance  
between  
king Ed-  
ward and  
his barons  
and com-  
mons.

Petitions  
of the ba-  
rons and  
commons  
to the  
king.  
*See  
Appendix.*

And first, they declared in the name of the whole community of the land, that the premunitions or writs directed to them for their attendance upon his grace into Flanders, were not sufficient; for that there was no certain place in the said writs specified unto them, whither to come for making their provision, and preparing money and other things according to the same.

And if the place had been to them signified, yet, because none of their ancestors ever served the king over into Flanders before, the commons therefore thought themselves not bound to any service in that country.

And albeit they had been so bound thereunto, yet they were not able to do it, being so heavily oppressed with so many tallages, taxes, tolls, customs, and such prices of corn, oats, tin, wool, leather, oxen, kine, flesh, fish, &c.: and besides all this, having no penny of wages given them to relieve their charges. Wherefore, they were not able to render service, seeing that poverty like a heavy burden did for the aforesaid reasons miserably oppress them, insomuch that some of them had not enough to support themselves withal, and many of them were not able to till their own ground.

They alleged, moreover, that they were not now handled after the old laws and customs of the land, as their ancestors were wont. Many also found themselves aggrieved in that they were not used according to the articles contained in 'Magna Charta;' and again that the 'Charta de Foresta' was not observed nor kept, as it was wont to be. Wherefore, most humbly they beseeched the king, both for his own honour and for the wealth of his people, that of these things they might find redress.

Magna  
Charta.  
Charta de  
Foresta.

For the custom, moreover, of wool, the whole commons bewailed to the king their grief, in that for every sack of wool there was fined to the king forty shillings, and for every sack of tosed wool<sup>1</sup> seven marks; the which wool of England, as it doth rise to the value of half the realm, so the tollage of the same surmounteth to the fifth part of the valuation of the whole land.

Custom  
for wool

And because the commons wished the honour and preservation of their king (as they were bound to do), they thought it not good for his grace to sail over to Flanders, unless he had better assurance of the fidelity of the Flemings, especially at this time<sup>2</sup> when the Scots were so busy; who, if they began to rebel he being at home in his land, much more were they like to stir he being abroad

(1) To 'tose,' the same as 'tease,' *i. e.* to comb. Todd's Johnson.—Ed.  
(2) For the explanation of this allusion, see *infra*, p. 584.—Ed.

*Edward I.* out of the land. And that, not only for the Scots, but also for that the like peril was to be doubted of other foreign nations and kingdoms, which as yet were in no firm peace with England.

A. D.  
1297.

The king's answer to the petitions of the barons and commons.

[See *infra*,  
p. 584.]

See  
*Appendix*,  
[Sept. 30.]

To these petitions, the king said that he could as yet make no resolute answer, for that some of his council were gone over already to Flanders, some were yet at London. Notwithstanding, at his return again from Flanders (which he trusted should be speedily) they should then hear his answer, and know more of his mind concerning the same. In the mean time, this he required of them, to keep good rule at home while he was forth. What answer the king had minded to make them at his return, it is uncertain, which peradventure had turned to a bloody answer, but occasion served otherwise, and turned all to agreement; for the Scots with their captain William Wallace, hereafter specified, in the mean time (the king being absent) invaded the realm with such violence, that prince Edward, the king's son, who was left to rule in his father's stead, was forced to assemble a parliament, and to call for the earl of Norfolk, high marshal of England, and the earl of Hereford and Essex, high constable, with other earls, barons, knights, and esquires, to entreat peace and concord between his father and them. Who coming up to London, with fifteen hundred well-armed soldiers, and obtaining the gates of the city with their own men, fell at length to agreement with the prince, upon composition to have the articles of 'Magna Charta,' and of 'Charta de Foresta,' confirmed; and that, by his means and mediation, they might be assured of the king's displeasure to be removed from them. To the which aforesaid articles of 'Magna Charta' certain other articles were adjoined withal, which here follow.

Articles added to Magna Charta.

First, No tallage or subsidy by the king or his heirs to be imposed or levied hereafter within the realm of England, without the common assent of the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and commons of the realm.

Item, No taker or servitor of the king, or of his heirs, henceforth, within this realm, to take grain, wool, leather, or any other goods of any man, without the will and consent of the owner.

Item, No taking to be hereafter, under the name of tribute, for any sack of wool.

Item, To be granted by the king and his heirs after him, both to the clergy and laity of this realm, to have and to enjoy all their laws, liberties, and free customs, in as ample manner as they were wont at any time heretofore.

Item, If any decrees or statutes have been made and set forth by the king or his predecessors contrary to these aforesaid articles, the same to stand void and of no effect for ever.

Agreement concluded and sealed between the king and his barons.

The moderate and good nature of king Edward.

Besides these articles, also in the same composition was contained, that all grudge and displeasure between the king and barons for not going to Flanders ceasing, the earls and barons might be assured to be received again into the king's favour.

These things thus agreed upon, and by mediation of the prince also confirmed and sealed with the king his father's seal, so was all the variance pacified, to the great comfort of the people, and no less strength of the realm against their enemies; and most chiefly to the commendation of the gentle and wise nature of the king, who, as he was gentle in promising his reconciliation with his subjects, so no less constant was he, in keeping that which he had promised.

In this meanwhile there happened another broil, as great or greater, with Scotland, to the great disquiet of the king and the realm of England for many years. This trouble first began by the death of Alexander, king of Scots, who died without issue left alive behind

him: although Fabian in the seventh book of his Chronicles affirmeth that he left three daughters, the eldest married to Sir John Baliol, the second to Robert Bruce, the third to one Hastings. But this in Fabian is to be corrected, as which neither standeth not with itself, but is clearly convicted by the witness and history of Robert Avesbury and also of Gisburn.

For first, if king Alexander had left his eldest daughter married to Sir John Baliol, then what controversy might rise among the lords about succession, needing so diligent and anxious deciding by the king of England? Secondly, what claim or title could the king of Norway have to the crown of Scotland, who was one of the challengers, claiming the said crown in the behalf of Margaret, the niece<sup>1</sup> of the aforesaid king Alexander, her grandfather, if the eldest daughter of the father had been left alive? Thirdly, what can be more plain, when by the affirmance of the aforesaid story it is testified, that king Alexander had two wives, of the second whereof he had no issue? Of the first he had two children, Alexander, who died before his father, and Margaret married to the king of Norway, who died also before her father, of whom came Margaret the niece<sup>1</sup> of Alexander, and daughter to the king of Norway before mentioned; and she also died in the journey between Norway and Scotland, the fourth year after the decease of her grandfather. Wherefore, as this matter standeth most clear, so let us now, returning from whence we digressed, prosecute the rest that followeth. After that Alexander thus, as is said, departed without issue, and also Margaret his niece in Norway was deceased, the matter came to a great doubt among the nobles of Scotland (especially twelve by name), to whom the right of the crown should next pertain. After much variance among parties, at length the election and determination of the matter was committed to the judgment of king Edward of England. Who, after sufficient proof made to the Scots, and firm evidence brought out of all the ancient histories both of England and Scotland, testifying from time to time that he was chief head and sovereign of the realm of Scotland, first, by necessity of the law, and by all their consents, took full possession of the same; and, that done, adjudged the right of the crown to John Baliol,<sup>2</sup> who descended of the eldest daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother to William I., king of Scotland in the days of king Henry II. This earl David had three daughters, Margaret, married to Alan earl of Galloway; Isabel, to Robert Bruce; and Ada, to Henry lord Hastings. Alan earl of Galloway had Dorvagine, married to John Baliol, father to this John Baliol, king of Scots; and Helen, married to Roger Quincy, earl of Winchester, constable of Scotland.

When these things were thus finished in Scotland, and Sir John Baliol, as most rightful inheritor, had received the crown of Scotland at the hands of king Edward thankfully, and for the same in the presence of the barony of England and of Scotland did unto the said king Edward his homage, and swore to him fealty;<sup>3</sup> the Scots, with their new king, returned into Scotland, and king Edward removed again to England, A.D. 1292.

But not long after, the falseness of this Scottish king soon appeared, who, repenting him of his homage done, untruly forsook his former

Edward.

A. D.  
1292.Lack of  
succession, what  
disturbance it  
worketh  
in a  
realm.The king  
of Eng-  
land  
proved by  
old re-  
cords  
chief head  
of Scot-  
land.  
A. D. 1292.See  
Appendix.Sir John  
Baliol  
made  
king of  
Scotland  
by king  
Edward.  
King of  
Scots doth  
homage  
to the  
king of  
England.

(1) See note (2), vol. i. p. 89.—Ed.

(2) The whole process is given in Rymer.—Ed.

(3) At Newcastle, Dec. 26th, A. D. 1292. Rymer.—Ed.

*Edward I.* oath and promise, and made war against king Edward, through the counsel of the abbot of Melros. Wherefore the king with a great host sped him into Scotland, and in process laid siege to the town of Berwick, which the Scots did eagerly defend, not only to the discomfiture, but also to the derision, of the king and his English host. But in conclusion, the Englishmen prevailed and won the town, where were slain of the Scots to the number of five and twenty thousand. While the king was there busied in winning other holds about the same, he sent part of his host to Dunbar, where the Englishmen again had the victory, and slew of the Scots twenty thousand, Gisburn saith but ten thousand; so that very few were lost of the English company. The king, with a great number of prisoners returning into his realm, shortly after sped him over unto Flanders (as is above touched<sup>1</sup>), where he sustained great trouble by the French king, till truce for certain space was between them concluded. But, in the mean while that king Edward was thus occupied beyond the seas, the French king, resorting to his old-practised manner, set the Scots secretly against the Englishmen to keep the king at home; which Scots, making themselves a captain named William Wallace, warred upon the borders of Northumberland, where they did much hurt. At length the king, returning from Bordeaux into England, shortly upon the same took his journey into Scotland, where meeting at York with the host, he marches into the realm of Scotland, winning, as he went, towns and castles, till at length coming to the town of Falkirk on Mary Magdalen's day, he met with the power of Scotland, and had with them a sore fight, but, through God's providence, the victory fell to the right cause of Englishmen: so that of the Scots were slain in the field, as it is of divers writers affirmed, above the number of thirty and two thousand, and of Englishmen but barely twenty-eight persons.<sup>2</sup> Whereupon the king, again taking possession and fealty of the whole land, returned home.

And yet the false untruth of the Scots would not thus be ruled, but rose up in a new broil; so that the king was enforced to make his power again the year following into Scotland, where he so suppressed the rebellion of the lords and of the commons, that they, swearing to the king's allegiance, presented themselves by great companies, and put themselves wholly at the king's grace and mercy: so that the king, thinking himself to be in peaceable possession, and in a great surety of the land, caused to be sworn unto him the rulers of the boroughs, cities, and towns, with other officers of the land, and so returned unto Berwick, and so into England, and lastly to Westminster.

These martial affairs between England and Scotland, although they appertain not greatly to the purpose of our story ecclesiastical, yet so much, by the way, I thought briefly to touch, whereby the better it might be understood by these premises, that which followeth in the sequel hercof.<sup>3</sup> As the Scots were thus warring and raging against the king, and saw they could not make their party good, they sent privily to pope Boniface VIII. for his aid and counsel: who immediately sendeth down his precept to the king, to this effect, that he should hereafter surcease to disquiet or molest the Scots, for that they were a people exempt, and properly pertaining to his chapel; and therefore it could not otherwise be, but that the city of Jerusalem must needs defend its own citizens, and, as the Mount Sion, maintain

*A. D.*  
1299.

Falseness  
of the  
Scottish  
king.

Town and  
castle of  
Berwick  
won by  
English-  
men.

Falseness  
justly  
punished.

Aug. 22d,  
A. D. 1297.

The Scots  
rebel  
again.

Second  
voyage  
of king  
Edward  
into Scot-  
land.

Notable  
victory  
against  
the Scots,  
July 22d,  
A. D. 1298.

A. D. 1299.  
The Scots  
sworn to  
the king's  
allegi-  
ance.

See  
Appendix.  
The  
pope's  
message  
to the  
king

(1) Suprà, pp. 581, 582.—ED

(2) Ex Fabiano.

(3) Ex Chron. Tho. Walsingham et Avesbury



such as trust in the Lord, &c. Whereunto the king briefly maketh answer again, swearing with an oath, that he would to his uttermost keep and defend that which was his right, and known as such to all the world. Thus the Scots, bearing themselves bold upon the pope's message, and also confederating themselves with the Frenchmen, passed over that year. The next year after that (which was the twenty-eighth year of the king's reign), the said pope Boniface directeth his letters again to the king,<sup>1</sup> wherein he doth vindicate the kingdom of Scotland to be proper to the church of Rome, and not subject to the king of England; showing, therefore, that it was against God, against justice, and also prejudicial to the church of Rome, for him to have or hold any dominion upon the same; which he proved by these reasons:<sup>2</sup>—

*Edward I*  
A. D.  
1301.  
The  
king's  
answer.

The pope  
challeng-  
eth Scot-  
land to be  
free from  
the dom-  
inion of  
England.

First, that when king Henry, the father of this king, requested aid of Alexander, king of Scots, his son in law, in his wars against Simon Mountfort, he recognised and acknowledged by his letters patent, that he received the same of king Alexander, not of any subjection or duty, but only of special favour.

Item, that when the said king Alexander attended the coronation of this king Edward, he did it as a favour, not as a duty, as Edward confessed by his letters patent.

Item, that when the said king Alexander did homage to the said king Edward, he did it not as king of Scotland, but only for certain lands of Tindal and Penrith, lying in England.

Item, that when the said king Alexander left behind him Margaret his heir, being niece to the king of England, and yet under age; yet the wardship of the said Margaret was committed not to the king of England, as her superior lord, but to certain lords of Scotland, deputed to the same.

Moreover, when any legation was directed down from Rome to the realms of England and Scotland, for collecting of tenths or other causes, the said legation took no place in the realm of Scotland, and might well be resisted (as it was in king Alexander's<sup>3</sup> days) in virtue of a special privilege granted to the Scots by the holy see, except another special commission touching the realm of Scotland were joined withal. Whereby it appeareth, that these be two several dominions, and not subject under one.

Adding, furthermore, that the kingdom of Scotland first was converted by the relics of the blessed apostle St. Peter,<sup>4</sup> through the divine operation of God, to the unity of the catholic faith.

Wherefore, upon these causes and reasons, pope Boniface, in his letters to the king, required him to give over his claim, and cease his wars against the Scottish nation, and to release all such, both of the spirituality and the laity, as he had of them prisoners. Also, to call home again his officers and deputies, which he had there placed and ordained to the grievance of that nation, to the slander of all faithful people, and no less prejudice to the church of Rome. And if he would claim any right or title to the said realm, or any part thereof, he should send up his proctors specially to the same appointed, with all that he could for himself allege, unto the see apostolic, there to receive what reason and right would require."

The king, after he had received these letters of the pope, assembled a council or parliament at Lincoln, by the advice of which council and parliament, he addressed other letters responsal<sup>5</sup> to the pope again; wherein first, in all reverend manner, he desireth him not to give light ear to the sinister suggestions of false reporters, and imaginers of mischief. Then he declareth out of old records and histories, that

A. D. 1301.  
The king  
replieth  
to the pope.

"From the first time of the Britons the realm of Scotland hath always, from time to time, been all one with England, beginning first with Brutus in the time of Eli and Samuel the prophet: which Brutus, coming from Troy to this isle,

Scotland  
all one  
with Eng-  
land.

(1) Given at length in Rymer, dated Anagni, 5 Cal. July, 5th year of the pontificate, *i.e.* June 27th, A. D. 1300.—Ed. (2) Corrected and amplified from Walsingham and Rymer.—Ed.

(3) "When the cardinal of St. Adrian (afterward pope Adrian, my intimate friend) was legate there." Walsingham and Rymer.—Ed. (4) "St. Andrew." Rymer.—Ed.

(5) Given at length in Rymer, dated Kemisey, 11th May, A. D. 1301.—Ed.



*Edward I.* called then Albion, after called by him Britannia, had three sons; Loerinus, to whom he gave that part of the land, called then of him Lœgria, now Anglia; *A. D.* Albanactus, his second son, to whom he gave Albania, now called Scotia; and *1301.* his third son, Camber, to whom he gave Cambria, now called Wales.

"And thus much concerning the first division of this isle, as in ancient histories is found recorded. In which matter, passing over the drowning of king Humber, the acts of Donald, king of these realms, the division of them between his sons Belyn and Brenne, and the victories of king Arthur, we will resort," saith the king, "to more near times, testified and witnessed by sufficient authors, as Marianus Scotus, William Malmesbury, Roger Hoveden, Henry Huntingdon, Ralph de Diceto, and others, all of whom make special declaration and give manifest evidence of the execution of this our right," saith he, "and title of superiority ever continued and preserved hitherto.

"And first to begin with Edward the Elder, before the conquest, son to Alured (or Alfred), king of England, about *A. D.* 901, it is plain and manifest, that he had under his dominion and obedience the king of Scots: and here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, that Marian the Scot, writing that story in those days, granteth, confesseth, and testifieth the same: and this dominion continued in that state twenty-four years. At that time, Athelstan succeeded to the crown of England, and having by battle conquered Scotland, he made one Constantine, king of that party, to rule and govern the country of Scotland under him; adding this princely word, that it was more honour to him to make a king, than to be a king.

"Twenty-two years after that, which was *A. D.* 947, Edred the king, our progenitor, Athelstan's brother, took homage of Yric, then king of Scots.

"Twenty-six years after that, which was *A. D.* 973, king Edgar, our predecessor, took homage of Kenneth, king of Scots. Here was a little trouble in England by the death of St. Edward, king and martyr, destroyed by the deceit of his mother-in-law, but yet the Scots did not rebel.

"Forty-four years after the homage done by Kenneth to king Edgar, that is to say, *A. D.* 1017, Malcolm, the king of Scots, did homage to Canute our predecessor. After this homage done, the Scots uttered some piece of their natural disposition, whereupon (by war made by our progenitor St. Edward the Confessor, thirty and nine years after that homage done, that is to say, *A. D.* 1056), Macbeth, king of Scots, was vanquished, and the realm of Scotland given to Malcolm, son of the king of Cumberland, by our said progenitor St. Edward, unto whom the said Malcolm did homage and fealty.

"Within ten years after that, William the Bastard entered this realm, whereof he accounted no conquest perfect until he had likewise subdued the Scots; and, therefore, in the sixth year of his reign (which was *A. D.* 1071) Malcolm, king of Scots, rebelling, was forced to do homage to the said William as to his superior.

"Sixteen years after that, which was *A. D.* 1087, the said Malcolm did homage and fealty to William Rufus, son to the said William the Bastard; and after that, being slain in the third year of his reign, his son Duncan was substituted in his place, who likewise was treacherously slain; and therefore was ordained in that estate by the said William Rufus Edgar, brother to the last Duncan, and son to Malcolm aforesaid, who did his homage and fealty accordingly. *A. D.* 1096.

"Eleven years after that, which was *A. D.* 1107, the said Edgar, king of the Scots, died; when his brother Alexander was substituted in his place by Henry I., our progenitor.

"Twenty-nine years after that, David king of Scots did homage to Matilda, the emperatrice, as daughter and heir to Henry I., *A. D.* 1136. Wherefore being afterwards required by Stephen, then obtaining possession of the realm, to make his homage, he refused so to do, because he had before made it to the said Matilda, and thereupon forbore. Notwithstanding, Henry, the eldest son of the said David, did homage to the said king Stephen.

"In the sixteenth year of the reign of Henry II., which was *A. D.* 1170, William, king of Scots, and David his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland, did homage to the son of Henry II., with a reservation of their duty to his father.

"Four years after that, which was *A. D.* 1174, William, king of Scotland, after much rebellion and resistance according to their natural inclination (king Henry II. then being in Normandy), acknowledged finally his error, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great seal, and the seals of the nobility of Scotland, doing therewith his homage and fealty.

“ Within fifteen years after that, which was A.D. 1189, the said William, king of Scots, came to our city of Canterbury, in the month of December, and there did homage to our noble progenitor king Richard I. Edward I.  
A. D.  
1301.

“ Eleven years after that, the said William did homage to our progenitor king John, upon a hill beside Lincoln, making his oath upon the cross of Hubert, then archbishop of Canterbury, and there present, and a marvellous multitude assembled for that purpose. A.D. 1200.

“ Fifty-one years after that, which was A.D. 1251, Alexander, king of Scots, married Margaret, the eldest daughter of our progenitor Henry III., at our city of York, at the feast of Christmas: at which time the said Alexander did his homage to our said progenitor, who reigned in this realm fifty-six years. And, therefore, between the homage made by the said Alexander, king of Scotland, and the homage done by the same Alexander, king of Scots, to us at our coronation at Westminster, there was twenty-three years. At that time, the said Alexander, king of Scots, repaired to the feast of our coronation, and there did he his duty as is aforesaid.”<sup>1</sup>

Besides these letters of the king, the lords temporal also, in the name of the whole community and parliament, wrote another letter to the pope answering to that, whereas the pope arrogated to him to be judge for the title to the realm of Scotland, which the king of England claimed to himself; which letter I also thought here to annex, containing as in the words of the same here followeth to be read and seen.

### The Lords Temporal, and the whole Barony of England, to the Pope.

The holy mother church of Rome, by whose ministry the catholic faith is governed, proceedeth in her acts (as we firmly believe and hold) with that ripeness in judgment, that she would prejudice none, but, like a fond mother, would have every one else's rights preserved unimpaired as well as her own. Whereas therefore in a general parliament convoked at Lincoln by our most serene lord Edward, by the grace of God the illustrious king of England, the same our lord caused certain apostolic letters which he had received from you, about certain matters touching the condition and state of the realm of Scotland, to be openly exhibited and read to us seriatim: having heard and diligently considered the same, we perceived that they contained things which amazed us, and such as were hitherto unheard of. For we know, most holy father, and it is notorious in the parts of England, and not unknown in some quarters besides, that ever since England first became a kingdom, as well in the times of the Britons as of the English, its kings had the supreme and direct dominion over the realm of Scotland, and have been in possession of the said dominion without interruption in all successive periods; nor did the said realm at any time belong, nor does it by any sort of right belong, to the aforesaid church: nay, the same realm of Scotland of old time was in fee to the kings of England, ancestors of our aforesaid lord, as well as to himself. Furthermore, the kings and the realm of the Scots were never subject to, nor wont to be subject to, any other than the kings of England; nor have the kings of England ever answered, nor ought they to answer, for their rights in the aforesaid realm, or for any other their temporalities, before any judge ecclesiastical or secular, by reason of the free pre-eminence of the state of their royal dignity and custom, kept without breach at all times. Wherefore, after treaty had, and diligent deliberation on the contents of your aforesaid letters, it was and is the common, agreeing, and unanimous feeling of one and all, and shall be so immoveably in time to come, by God's grace—that our aforesaid lord the king ought by no means to answer, judicially, touching any of his rights in the realm of Scotland, or any other his temporalities, before you, nor undergo your judgment by any means, nor should bring his aforesaid

A letter of  
the lords  
temporal  
to the  
pope.

(1) The foregoing historical summary is in Avesbury and Walsingham: it is also given by Rymer, from the Records, who also gives a precept of the king (dated Sept. 26, A.D. 1300) to divers chapters and monasteries, and Oxford lawyers, to produce all the information they could discover touching the question, by the octaves of St. Hilary. A similar historical epitome is also given by Rymer, A.D. 1292, much more resembling this. From Avesbury and Rymer Foxe's text is corrected.—ED.

*Edward I.* rights into question, nor ought to send any proctors or messengers to your presence for that purpose: especially seeing that the premises would manifestly go to the disinheriting of the right of the crown of England, and the plain overthrow of the state of the said realm, and also to the prejudice of the liberties, customs, and laws of our fathers; to the keeping and defence of which we are bound by the duty of our oath made; add which we will maintain with all our power, and defend, by God's help, with all our might. And further, we neither do nor will (neither can we nor ought we to) suffer our aforesaid lord the king by any means to do or to attempt the premises, being so unusual, improper, prejudicial, and hitherto unheard of. Wherefore, we reverently and humbly beseech your holiness, that ye would kindly allow the same our lord the king (who among other princes of the world, sheweth himself catholic and devout to the Romish church) peaceably to enjoy his rights, liberties, customs, and laws, without diminution or molestation, and to let them continue untouched. In witness whereof we have set our seals to these presents, as well for ourselves as for the whole community of the aforesaid realm of England. Given at Lincoln, on the twelfth day of February, in the year of our Lord 1301, and in the twenty-ninth year of Edward I.<sup>1</sup>

*A. D. 1302.* The year next following (A.D. 1302), the said pope Boniface, the eighth of that name, taking displeasure with Philip the French king, excited king Edward of England to war against him, promising him great aid thereunto. But he (as mine author saith), little trusting the pope's false unstable affection toward him well proved before, put him off with delays.<sup>2</sup> Whereupon, the French king, fearing the power of king Edward, whom the pope set against his friendship, restored unto him again Gascony, which he wrongfully had in his hands detained. Concerning this variance here mentioned between the pope and the French king, how it began first, and to what end it fell out, the sequel hereof (Christ willing) shall declare, after I have finished the discourse begun between England and Scotland.

*A. D. 1303.* *Rymer.]* Next year the aforesaid William Wallace, who had done so many displeasures to the king before, continuing still in his rebellion, gathered great multitudes of the Scots to withstand the king, till at length in the year following he was taken, and sent up to London, and there executed for the same. After which things done, the king then held his parliament at Westminster, whither came out of Scotland the bishop of St. Andrews, Robert Bruce, grandson of Robert Bruce above mentioned, the earl of Dunbar, the earl of Athol, and sir John Comming,<sup>3</sup> with divers others, who voluntarily were sworn to be true to the king of England, and to keep the land of Scotland to his use against all persons. But shortly after the said Robert Bruce, forgetting his oath before made unto the king, by the counsel of the abbot of Seone and the bishop of St. Andrews sent up unto pope Clement V. for a dispensation of his oath made, insinuating to him, that king Edward vexed and grieved the realm of Scotland wrongfully; whereupon the pope wrote unto the king to leave off such doings. Notwithstanding this inhibition of the pope, the king, prosecuting his own right, after he had understanding of the doings of the Scots and of the mischief of Robert Bruce, who had slain with his own hands sir John Comming, for not consenting with him and other lords at his parliament, arrayed his power and strength of men, preparing himself toward Scotland; where, joining with the said sir Robert and all his power of Scotland in a plain, near unto St. John's Town,<sup>4</sup> he put him to flight, and so chased the Scots, that of them were slain to the

*A. D. 1302.*  
The pope  
setteth  
king  
against  
king.

[May 20,  
A. D. 1303.  
Rymer.]

Another  
Scottish  
rebellion  
suppress-  
ed.

[Aug. 23d,  
A. D.  
1305.]  
[Sept. 15.]

The pope  
dispensed  
with due  
and true  
obedience  
of subjects  
towards  
their  
prince.

*See*  
*Appendix.*  
The  
pope's  
inhibition  
neglected  
in Eng-  
land.

Another  
rebellion  
of the  
Scots.

(1) Corrected from the original, printed in Rymer.—Ed.

(2) Ex Rob. Avesbury.

(3) "Comming," or Comyn.—Ed.

(4) At Methven near Perth, June 24th, 1306.—Ed.

number of seven thousand. In the which victory, such bishops and abbots as were taken he sent to the pope; the temporal lords and other Scots he sent to London, &c. Sir Robert Bruce, after this discomfiture, when he had thus lost both the field and his chief friends, seeing himself not able to make his party good, fled into Norway, where he kept his abode during the time while king Edward lived. When this noble Edward had thus subdued the Scots, he yielded thanks to God for his victory, and so setting the land in a quiet and an order, he returned unto London; which was in the thirty-fifth and last year of his reign, A.D. 1307.

*Edward I*  
A.D.  
1307.  
Again  
subdued.

Now returning to that which I promised before, touching the variance and grievous dissension between Philip the French king and pope Boniface VIII. After the bishopric of Rome had been long void through the dissension of the cardinals, for the space of two years and three months; at length pope Celestine was chosen successor to pope Nicholas IV. Which Celestine, in his first consistory, began to reform the clergy of Rome, thinking to make it an example to all other churches; wherefore he procured to himself such hatred among his clergy, that this Boniface (then called Benedict) speaking through a reed by his chamber wall, nightly admonished him, as it had been a voice from heaven, that he should give over his papacy, as being a burden bigger than he could wield.

Pope Ni-  
cholas IV  
Popedom  
vacant  
two years.  
Pope  
Celesti-  
nus V.  
See  
Appendix

This pope Celestine, after he had sat six months, by the treachery and falsehood of this Boniface was induced to give up and resign his bishopric, partly for the voice spoken of before, partly for fear; being told by certain craftily suborned in his chamber, that if he did not resign he would lose his life; who then, after his resignation, going to live in some solitary desert, being a simple man, was vilely taken and thrust into perpetual prison by pope Boniface, craftily pretending that he did it not for any hatred to Celestine, but that seditious persons might not have him as their head to raise up some stir in the church; and so he was brought to his death. Wherefore this Boniface was worthily called the eighth Nero; of whom it was rightly said, he came in like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog.<sup>1</sup>

Crafty  
juggling  
among  
popes and  
cardinals

The  
eighth  
Nero.

This pope Boniface succeeding (A.D. 1294), or rather invading after Celestine, behaved himself so imperiously, that he put down princes, and excommunicated kings, such as did not take their confirmation at his hand. Divers of his cardinals he drove away for fear; some of them as schismatics he deposed and spoiled of all their substance. Philip, the French king, he excommunicated, for not suffering his money to go out of the realm; and therefore cursed both him and his to the fourth generation. Albert, the emperor, not once or twice, but thrice sought at his hands to be confirmed, and yet was rejected, neither could obtain, unless he would promise to drive the French king out of his realm. In the factious discord in Italy between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, which the part of a good bishop had been to extinguish, so little he helped to quench the smoke, that he of all others was the chiefest firebrand to increase the flame; insomuch that upon Ash Wednesday, when Porchetus,<sup>2</sup> an

Pope  
Boniface  
VIII.  
Mischief  
done by  
pope Bo-  
niface  
described.

Guelphs  
and Ghi-  
bellines,  
two fac-  
tions in  
Rome.

(1) Ex Massæo. [See Appendix.—Ed.]

(2) Vossius (de Script. Lat.) tells this story of Jacobus de Viragine, archbishop of Genoa, citing Blondus and Philippus Bergomensis for his authorities.—Ed.

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1301.

Jubilee first begun in Rome.

The pope claimeth and practiseth the power of both swords.

archbishop, came and kneeled down before him to receive his ashes, pope Boniface looking upon him, and perceiving that he was one of the Ghibellines' party, cast his handful of ashes in his eyes, saying, "Memento, homo, quod Gibellinus es," &c. That is, "Remember, man, that a Ghibelline thou art, and to ashes thou shalt go." This pope, moreover, ordained first the jubilee at Rome; in the solemnizing whereof, the first day he showed himself in his Pontificalibus, and gave free remission of sins to as many as came to Rome out of all parts of the world; the second day (being arrayed with imperial ensigns) he commanded a naked sword to be carried before him, and said with a loud voice; "Ecce potestatem utriusque gladii," that is, "Lo! here the power and authority of both the swords."

From that very year, as most stories do record, the Turks do begin the first count of their Turkish emperors, whereof the first was Ottoman, as you shall hear discoursed hereafter by God's grace in the history of the Turks.

Pope Boniface VIII. author of the Sixth Book of Decretals.

By this said pope Boniface, divers constitutions extravagant of his predecessors were collected together, with many of his own newly added thereto, and so made the book called "Sextus decretalium." &c. By him also first sprang up pardons and indulgences from Rome.

A grievous variance between Philip and Boniface.

These things thus premised of Boniface the pope, now will I come to the occasion of the strife between him and the French king.<sup>1</sup> Concerning which matter, first I find in the history of Nicholas Trivet, that, A.D. 1301, the bishop of Pamiers, being accused for a conspiracy against Philip the French king, was brought up to his court, and so committed to prison. The pope, hearing this, sendeth word to the king by his legate to set him at liberty. At the same time he sendeth the king a bull beginning "Ausculta fili,"<sup>2</sup> wherein he revoketh all the graces and privileges granted either by him or his predecessors before to the kingdom of France, and threateneth to thunder out the sentence of his curse against him, and, moreover, citeth all the prelates and divines of France, and the lawyers both civil and canon, to appear personally before him at Rome on a certain day, which was the first of November in the following year. Over and besides, Philip had offended the pope by giving and bestowing prebends and benefices and other ecclesiastical livings, contrary to the pope's profit; for the which cause the pope writeth also to the king by the aforesaid legate, in form and effect as followeth:—

Letter of pope Boniface to Philip, king of France.

Boniface, bishop, and servant to God's servants, to Philip, king of the French. Fear God, and observe his commandments. We will thee to understand, that thou art subject to us both in spiritual things and temporal, and that the giving of benefices or prebends belongeth not to thee: and if thou have the keeping of any being vacant, thou must reserve the fruits thereof for the successors; but if thou have given away any, we judge the gift to be void, and revoke, so far as thou hast proceeded. And whosoever believeth otherwise, we judge them heretics. Given at Lateran, the nones of December, the seventh year of our pontificate.<sup>3</sup> [December 5th, A.D. 1301.]

(1) The following account of the famous dispute between Philip le Bel and Boniface VIII. has been collated with and corrected from M. Dupuy's "Histoire du Differend d'entre le Pape Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel, Roy de France: ensemble le proces criminel fait à Bernard évesque de Pamiers, l'an. MCCXCV. Le tout justifié par les Actes et Memoires pris sur les Origineux qui sont au Trésor des Chartres du Roy. Paris, 1655." See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Dupuy, Preuves, p. 48.—Ed.

(3) Ex lib. Stephan. Aufrerii. [cited by Illyricus, col. 2101, edit. 1608. It is also in Dupuy, together with the reply following, Preuves, p. 44.—Ed.]



Unto this letter of the pope, king Philip IV. maketh answer again in manner and order as followeth :—

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1302.

King Philip's  
reply to  
pope Boniface.

“ Philip, by the grace of God king of France, to Boniface, bearing himself for chief pontiff, little health or none. Let thy extreme foolishness know, that in temporal things we are subject to no man ; that it belongeth to us by royal prerogative to give vacant churches and prebends, and to make the fruits thereof our own during the vacancy ; and that the gifts of prebends and benefices, made and to be made by us, were and shall be good, for the past and future ; and that we defend manfully the possessors of the said benefices against all men : and them that believe otherwise, we think fools and mad men. Given at Paris, the Wednesday after Candlemas, A.D. 1301. [February 7th, 1302.]

The French king, however, not daring to the contrary, looseth the bishop of Pamiers ; but when he had done that, he dischargeth both the bishop and the legate, commanding them to leave his realm. Moreover, to provide against the pope's further proceedings, the king summoneth a parliament of the prelates, barons, and commonalty of the realm, to assemble in Paris at the church of Notre Dame, on Tuesday, the tenth day of April A.D. 1302. In the which parliament, the king's chancellor, Peter Flotte, on the king's behalf declared sundry griefs, wherein the church and realm of France were burdened of the said Boniface, and required their counsel and aid for the remedying thereof. Whereupon, they all solemnly engaged to support the king in his just quarrel ; and moreover utterly forbade the prelates to attend the pope's council aforesaid, nor so much as leave the realm. The king, likewise, commanded by strait proclamation that no manner of person should export out of the realm of France either gold or silver, or any other manner of ware or merchandise, upon pain of forfeiting all their goods and their bodies at the king's pleasure ; providing withal, that the ways and passages should be diligently kept, that none might pass unsearched.<sup>1</sup>

After these things thus in parliament decreed and agreed, the prelates of the clergy consulting with themselves what was to be done in so doubtful a matter, and dreading the pope's displeasure for this which was done already, to clear themselves in the matter, contrived among themselves a letter to the pope, partly to certify him what there was done, and partly also to admonish him what he should do : the tenor of which letter contained these words following :<sup>2</sup>—

To their most holy father and most beloved lord, the lord Boniface, by divine providence the chief bishop of the holy Roman church and of the universal church, his humble and devoted the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors of convents, deans, provosts, chapters, convents, and colleges, of the cathedral and collegiate, regular and secular, churches of the whole realm of France, gathered together at Paris, do offer most devout kissings of your blessed feet.

Letter which the prelates of France, as well secular as religious, sent to Boniface, that he should cease his enterprise, wherein he was proceeding against the king.

We are compelled, not without sorrow of heart and bitter tears, to signify unto your holiness, that when the most serene prince, our most christian lord Philip, by the grace of God the illustrious king of France, had heard the things which were stated to him of late on your behalf by the worshipful man, the archdeacon of Narbonne, your notary and nuncio, and had perused certain letters from you presented to him by the same archdeacon, the tenor whereof was also communicated by him to a few of his barons who were in attendance ; both our lord the king and the said barons were moved with great astonishment and vehement perturbation. Insomuch that the said our lord the king, with the advice of the said barons, commanded to be summoned before him the other

See Appendix.

(1) See Appendix.

(2) Ibid.

*French History,*A.D.  
1302.

barons then absent, and us also, that is to say, all the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors of convents, deans, provosts, chapters, convents, and colleges, as well of cathedral as collegiate, regular and secular, churches, and also all the universities, and commonalties of the towns, of his realm; so that we prelates, barons, deans, provosts, and two of the most learned out of every cathedral and collegiate church, should appear personally, and the rest by their stewards, syndics, and proctors, with full and sufficient authority, at an appointed place and time. Further, when we and the other ecclesiastical persons aforesaid, and also the barons, stewards, and syndics, and the proctors of the commonalties of the towns, were thus summoned, and when, according to the form of the aforesaid summons, by the king's commandment we stood before the said king this Tuesday the 10th of this present month of April, at the church of Notre Dame in Paris, our lord the king caused to be propounded openly and plainly to all men, that it was signified to him from you among other things, by the aforesaid archdeacon and by letters, that his kingdom, which he and his ancestors hitherto have acknowledged they held of God only, now ought in temporalities to be subject to you and held of you; and that, not content with these so marvellous and strange words, unheard of among the inhabitants of the said realm since the beginning of the world, ye went about to put them in actual practice; and that ye had summoned to appear before you the prelates of the said realm, and the doctors of divinity, and such professors of both laws as were born within the said realm, for the correcting of such excesses, faults, arrogances, wrongs, and harms, as ye pretend to be done by our lord the king himself, and his officers and bailiffs, to the prelates, churches, and persons ecclesiastical, both regular and secular, abiding within the said realm and elsewhere, also to the peers, earls, barons, and other nobles, with the universities and commons, of the said realm; insomuch that the said kingdom being utterly drained of its precious jewels and choicest treasures, which are to be preferred to the shields of the mighty, viz. of the wisdom of its prelates and other wise men, through whose ripe faithful counsel and prudent foresight the realm should be ruled and governed, the faith established, the sacraments dispensed, and justice administered (and therefore in losing them the country loses its real riches), must be exposed to events of a dubious issue and to jeopardy of miserable decay and of being utterly destroyed.

In consideration, then, of these and divers other grievances which the said king complaineth have been and are continually practised by you and the Roman church against him, his realm, and the French church—as, in your arbitrary reservation and disposal of archbishoprics and bishoprics, and your bestowing the great benefices of the realm upon aliens and unknown persons, yea and often upon suspected persons who never reside at the benefices aforesaid, by reason whereof the decay of God's worship hath ensued, the pious designs of the founders are disappointed, the accustomed almsgiving is withdrawn from the poor of the realm, the realm itself is impoverished, the churches become dilapidated; while they remain destitute of service, the benefices themselves not supporting a curate owing to their revenues being wholly paid away to absentees, and the prelates not having wherewithal adequately to pay (or rather repay) members of the noble families whose ancestors founded the churches, or other persons of education, to serve the cures; for which causes devotion waxeth cold, and there is none in these days that would stretch out a liberal hand towards the churches, whereof out of published edicts example is afforded: item, in your levying on the churches new taxes and payments, and imposing immoderate burdens, and extorting new exactions, with divers other prejudicial and hurtful novelties whereby the general state of the church is altered, the higher prelates being unable to give coadjutors to their suffragans, and neither they themselves nor their suffragans being able to enter on the duties of their office without having first run with gifts to the apostolic see: item, in divers other matters, some of long standing but chiefly within your own time—he, not intending (as he said), nor being able, any longer to endure this so monstrous a disinheriting of him and his successors and of his whole realm, and so manifest a disparagement of his own and his kingdom's honour; and being convinced that in temporals he hath not his superior any more than his predecessors had, as was notorious to the whole world; and being assured by the unanimous sentence of the soundest judges, to wit, the doctors in divinity

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and masters of both laws born within his realm, and others who were accounted pre-eminent among their class for learning, that he did maintain in this matter a just cause, and being disposed to take wholesome measures for the preservation of the ancient liberty and of the honour and state of the realm; for the easing of the grievances aforesaid, for reformation of the realm and the French church; with our advice and that of his barons; to the glory of God, the increase of the catholic faith, the honour of the universal church, and promoting of God's worship; especially touching any grievances which might have been practised by his officers against the churches and ecclesiastics (for which he had prepared a remedy of wholesome correction before the coming of the aforesaid archdeacon, and should by this time have put it in execution, but that he might be thought to do it for fear, or at your commandment); and furthermore, offering to sacrifice in the quarrel not only his goods, but also his person and his children, should the case so require;—as our lord he commanded us, and as a friend he begged and earnestly besought us, one and all, both prelates, barons, and others, to support him with our counsels and timely aid, as we were bound to do by our duty of allegiance, especially seeing these were matters wherein the good of all in general and of each in particular was clearly at stake, and the common cause was promoted, and the interest of every one was touched; and he requested to be answered by us, each and all, on these points distinctly and definitively. Then the barons retiring aside with the syndics and proctors aforesaid, after deliberation coming back to our aforesaid lord the king, and greatly praising and heartily thanking him for his laudable purpose and good will, answered unanimously, that for these matters they were ready not only to sacrifice their goods, but offered themselves and their persons to the very death, not refusing any kind of torment, adding with a loud voice, that if our aforesaid lord the king would (as God forbid) suffer or connive at the aforesaid grievances, they themselves would by no means endure them longer. Then answer being next demanded of us, although we desired of our lord the king and of the chief of the aforesaid barons longer respite for deliberation, urging with many gentle words and earnest persuasions and manifold apologies our conviction, that your letters had not been sent to the king with any intention or wish to invade the liberty of the realm or make innovations prejudicial to the king's honour, entreating him moreover to keep the bond of unity which is known to have subsisted so long between the Roman church and himself and his predecessors, yet being denied longer respite, and it being openly announced that if any one should appear to be of a contrary mind he would be decidedly counted an enemy to the king and the realm—we then considering warily and seeing plainly that except our lord the king and the barons aforesaid should be content with our answer, besides other innumerable and infinite dangers and offences, their devotion to the Roman and French church and also the obedience of the laity would thenceforth be irrecoverably lost, not without great pain and hesitation we thought good to answer thus,—That we would help our lord the king with counsel and timely aid, for the preservation of his person and family, and of his earthly honour, and of the liberty and laws of the said realm, according as some of us who hold of him dukedoms, earldoms, baronies, fees and other noble portions of the said realm, are bound to do by the tenor of our oath, and as all the others are bound by their allegiance. Yet we made humble suit to the same our lord the king, that seeing we were bound to obey the pope's holiness, he would suffer us to go and visit your blessed feet, according to the tenor of your aforesaid summons.

Then on the king's and barons' behalf followed answer, that in no case would they suffer us to go out of the realm, and that by no means would they bear to have the kingdom so miserably and dangerously exposed, or rather utterly despoiled.

Then we—considering so great anger and perturbation, so jeopardous and so great that none could be greater, both of the king, the barons, and other lay people of the realm; and now knowing assuredly that by the wicked operation of the old Enemy, the hater of peace, who, ever since the Fall, hath been going about sowing tares to break the unity of the church by disturbing its peace, and to infect the sweetness of good works with the poison of bitter envy, and by all means to ruin and confound the human race; and that now, alas! a door was opened for the lamentable dissolution of the lovely band of that amity and

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singular friendship which have hitherto flourished between the Roman church and our lord the king and his predecessors in the realm, to the glory of God, the advancement of the christian faith, and the glorious exaltation of the church, the king, and the realm; seeing also that crying offences are rising up on every side, and that the churches and ecclesiastics are threatened with spoliation and even death, and that the laity do abhor and shun the company of clerks, and utterly exclude them from their councils and doings, as if conscious of a conspiracy against them, to the great peril of souls, with other sundry and divers perils, which neither tongue is able to tell nor writing to declare,—thought good in this crisis of extreme necessity promptly to run with weeping voice and lamentable sighs to the circumspect wisdom of your holiness, beseeching your fatherly mildness, and humbly praying you to condescend to provide some wholesome remedy in the premises, whereby the profitable agreement and mutual love which have continued so long between the church, the king, and the realm, might be maintained in their integrity, and the state of the French church might continue in godly peace and quiet, and that you would vouchsafe to provide, that we and our states may be secured by the recall of the aforesaid summons, and that by the study of your apostolic wisdom and fatherly piety, the aforesaid dangers and offences may be obviated. The Most High long preserve your holiness to his holy church.

See  
Appendix.

These things discoursed and done, then followed the year of our Lord 1303. In that year we find in the French king's records—

A Declaration of Master William de Nogaret, made against Pope Boniface VIII., with his Appellation also made at Paris, before the King and his Council in the Palace of the Louvre.<sup>1</sup>

The ap-  
peal of  
Nogaret  
made  
against  
pope Bo-  
niface  
VIII.

In the name of the Lord, Amen. In the year of the same Lord 1303, the first indiction, the 12th day of March, and the ninth year of the popedom of the most holy father the lord Boniface VIII., by God's providence pope, in the presence of us public notaries and witnesses subscribed, the noble William de Nogaret, knight, worshipful professor of laws, standing before the most excellent prince the lord Philip, by the grace of God most noble king of France, spake *vis à voce*, and delivered in in writing, the things following:—

An in-  
vective  
against  
the  
placing of  
Boniface  
VIII. in  
the papal  
see.

“There were false prophets among the people, as there shall be also among you false teachers. &c.” (2 Pet. ii.) St. Peter, the glorious prince of the apostles, here foretold, that, like as there were false prophets in former times, so there should arise false teachers, bringing in sects of perdition, by whom the way of truth should be defaced, and who should covetously make merchandise of us with feigned words; and he further added, that such teachers did follow the way of Balaam of Bosor, who loved the wages of wickedness, but had his bridled ass to correct his madness; which, speaking in a man's voice, did utter the foolishness of the prophet. All which things as they were foretold by the great patriarch himself, so your eyes see them fulfilled this day to the letter. For there sitteth in St. Peter's chair the master of lies, causing himself to be called ‘Boniface,’ that is a well doer, whereas he is notable for all kind of evil doing, and thus he hath assumed to himself a false name; and whereas he is not the true ruler, he calleth himself the lord judge and master of all men. And having come in contrary to the order appointed by the holy fathers, and also contrary to the rules of reason, and so not entering in at the door, into the Lord's sheepfold, he is not the shepherd or his hireling, but rather a thief and a robber. For while the true husband of the Roman church was yet living<sup>2</sup> (being one who delighted in simplicity), this man deceived him, and induced him with feigned flatteries, and gifts, and bribes, to put away his spouse, contrary to the truth, who cried, ‘Those whom God hath coupled let no man separate;’ and at length laying violent hands upon him, having falsely persuaded him that what this deceiver said came from the Holy Spirit, he dared to take to himself with wicked embraces that Holy Church which is mistress of all the churches, calling himself her husband, whereas he cannot be; for Celestine, the true Roman bishop, agreed not to the said divorce, being deceived by such deep subtlety; but nothing is so incompatible with agreement as error and

(1) Ex registro. [Dupuy, Preuves, p. 56.—Ed.]

(2) Meaning Celestine.—Ed.



deceit, as even human laws bear witness. I say nothing of his violence. But because the Spirit inspireth where he will, and he that is led of the Spirit is not under the law, the holy universal church of God not knowing the craft of this deceiver, uncertain and doubting whether it proceeded from the Holy Ghost that Celestine should part with his government, and the people entreating it for fear of a schism, suffered the aforesaid deceiver until, according to the doctrine of our Lord, by his fruits it might be known whether the man came to the said authority by the Holy Ghost or otherwise: but his fruits, as is plainly hereunder declared, are now manifest to all men, by which it is apparent to the world that he came not in by God but otherwise, and so not by the door, into the sheepfold. His fruits are most evil, the end whereof is death; and therefore it is necessary that so evil a tree, according to the Lord's sentence, should be cut down and cast into the fire. Nor can that avail for his excuse, which is said by some men, that the cardinals did agree upon him again after the death of the said pope Celestine, seeing that he could not be the husband of her, whom it is manifest he had defiled by adultery, whilst her first husband was yet living and worthy to have the vows of marriage kept unto him. Therefore, because that which is done against the Lord turneth to the injury of all men, and in so great a crime (by reason of the consequences) any one of the people, a woman, and even an infamous person, is admitted to bear testimony—therefore I, like the bridled ass, using the voice of a mere man, sufficient to bear so great a charge only in virtue of the Lord's power and not my own, take in hand to rebuke the madness of the said false prophet Balaam, who, at the instance of king Balak, that is, of the prince of the devils whom he serveth, is ready to curse the people blessed of the Lord; and I beseech you, most excellent prince and lord Philip, by the grace of God king of France, that like as the angel of God, in time past, met in the way with a drawn sword the prophet Balaam going to curse God's people, so you, who are anointed to execute justice, and therefore (like the angel) a minister of the Lord, would meet with the drawn sword of your power and office this said wicked man, who is far worse than Balaam, that he accomplish not that evil which he intendeth to the people.

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The pope well compared to Balaam, who was wont to curse God's people for reward of money.

1. I propound first, that the aforesaid man, who nameth himself Boniface, is no pope, but wrongfully keepeth the seat which he indeed hath, to the great damage of all the souls of God's holy church. I say also, that his entering was in many ways faulty, and that he entered not in at the door, but otherwise, and therefore is to be judged a thief and a robber.

Articles propounded against pope Boniface.

2. I propound also, that the said Boniface is a manifest heretic, and utterly cut off from the body of the holy church, because of many kinds of heresy, which shall be declared in convenient place and time.

3. I propound also that the said Boniface is a horrible simoniac, and such an one as hath not been since the beginning of the world; and the mischief of this sin of his is so notorious to all the world, that it is manifest to all that will impartially judge, for he blasphemously declared in public, that he was incapable of the sin of simony.

4. I propound also, that the said Boniface, being implicated in manifest and heinous sins without number, is so hardened in them, that he is utterly incorrigible, and lieth steeped in a depth of wickedness, insomuch that he cannot be suffered any longer without ruin to the state of the church. His mouth is full of cursing, his feet and steps are swift to shed blood. He utterly teareth in pieces the churches which he ought to cherish, wickedly wasting the goods of the poor, and making much of wicked men that give him rewards; persecuting the righteous, and lording it over the people, not ministering unto them; laying a grievous burthen and an intolerable yoke on the churches, on the people of God, and on the nobles of the people, despising the humble and persecuting the lowly among the people; not gathering after Christ, but scattering, bringing in new and damnable heresies never before heard of; speaking evil of the way of truth, and with robbery making himself equal to the Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever. And he, being most covetous, thirsteth for gold, coveteth gold, and by subtle device getteth gold of every sort of people; and with feigned words, sometimes by flattering, sometimes by threatening, sometimes by false teaching, utterly disregarding the honour of God, and only to get money withal, he maketh merchandise of us all, envying

The nature of this pope, and all popes by his image painted out.

The pope thinketh himself equal with Christ.



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The pope  
the abo-  
mination  
of desola-  
tion.

all, loving none but himself, nourishing wars, hating and disturbing the peace of his subjects. He is hacknied in all atrocious sins, contending and striving against all the ways and doctrines of the Lord; he is truly that abomination of the temple, which Daniel, the Lord's prophet, described. Therefore I answer, that laws, weapons, and all the elements, ought to rise against him who thus overthroweth the state of the church; for whose sins God plagueth the whole world: and, finally so insatiable is he, nothing remaineth to satisfy him withal, but only the insatiable mouth of hell, and the fire that cannot be quenched, but continueth for ever.

Therefore, seeing that this wicked man, who offendeth both God and all men, ought to be condemned by a general council and sentence of all men, I ask, with all possible earnestness, and beseech you, my lord and king aforesaid, that ye would give notice to the prelates, doctors, princes, and people, our brethren in Christ, and especially to the cardinals and all prelates, that they all convene a council, in which the aforesaid wicked man having been condemned, the church may by the worshipful cardinals be provided with a shepherd, and before such council I offer myself ready lawfully to pursue the points aforesaid. And whereas the said man, being in the highest dignity, cannot in the mean time be suspended by a superior, and therefore ought to be held as suspended *ipso facto* for the causes aforesaid, the moment his state is called into judgment in the manner aforesaid; therefore I beseech and require the said cardinals by you, and I presently require them of the church of God, that the person of this wicked man being put under arrest, the church of Rome may be provided with a vicar who may minister those things that may appertain, until the church of God be provided with a pontiff, and that the said wicked man may not let and hinder the prosecuting hereof.

But I require these things of you, my lord king aforesaid, affirming you to be bound to comply for many causes: first, for the faith's sake; secondly, for the dignity of your kingly office, to which it belongeth to root out such pestilent men; thirdly, for your oath's sake, which you made for the defence of the churches of your realm, but which the aforesaid ravener utterly teareth in pieces; fourthly, because you be the patron of the churches, and therefore are bound not only to the defence of them, but to the getting back again of their property, which this man hath wasted; fifthly, because, following the footsteps of your predecessors, you ought to deliver our mother, the Roman church, from so wicked a band wherein by oppression she is tied and bound. I require that a public instrument be made of these requests by these notaries here present, under the witness of the worshipful men that be here present.

These things were done and spoken, as is aforesaid, at Paris, in the king's palace of the Louvre, in the year, indiction, month, day, and pontificate aforesaid, in the presence of the reverend fathers in Christ, the archbishops of Sens and Narbonne, and the bishops of Meaux, Nevers, and Auxerre, and the noble earls, Charles of Valois and Louis of Evreux, Robert, duke of Burgundy, John de Chalons, lord D'Arlay, John de Dampierre, lord de St. Diziers, Gaucher de Chatillon, constable of France and earl of Porcean, and many others specially called and requested to be witnesses thereto.

After this protestation of Master de Nogaret, immediately ensued the appeal of certain nobles, pronounced and published against the said Boniface, in form as followeth:—

The ap-  
pellation  
of certain  
French  
nobles  
against  
pope Bo-  
niface  
VIII.

In the name of the Lord, Amen. In the year of the same Lord 1303, the first indiction, the 13th day of June, and the ninth year of the popedom of Boniface VIII. By the tenor of this public instrument, know all men, that in the presence of the most serene prince, lord Philip, by the grace of God king of France, and of the famous and reverend fathers in Christ, the archbishops and bishops, religious men, abbots, and priors, and of the noble earls and barons, and divers other persons, ecclesiastical and temporal, hereunto subscribed, and in the presence of us public notaries hereto subscribed, especially called and required for this purpose, as is contained in the subscriptions hereto, the famous and noble, the lord Louis, son of France<sup>2</sup> and earl of Evreux, and Guy earl of St. Pol, and John earl of Dreux, and William de Plésian, lord of

(1) Dupuy, *Preuves*, p. 101.—ED. (2) See *Biblioth. des Sciences*, v. "Enfans de France."—ED

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Vezenobre, knight,—moved, as they said, with a fervent faith, with affection of sincere love and zeal of charity to be showed to the holy Romish church, and having pity from their heart on their mother, the universal church, which, as they said, was dangerously oppressed under the rule of the said lord Boniface, and suffered outrageous defacing and loss; and pitying the right faith, in which standeth the salvation of souls, and which, alas! for pity, in their times miserably pined away and perished through all Christendom for the lack of wholesome government of the church; and earnestly taking pains, as they said, for the repairing and enhancing of the catholic faith: especially, seeing it was necessary for the same church, for the foundation of the faith, and the health of souls, that none should rule the fold of the Lord's flock, but the true and lawful shepherd, and also that, because the same church was the spouse of Christ that hath no spot or wrinkle, all error, offence, wickedness, and wrong should be put away from her, and that salvation, peace, and quietness, through God's mercy, might be procured to the whole world, which, they say, lieth in wars and darkness by the wicked deeds, cursed works, and hurtful examples of the said Boniface,—uttered and charged against the said Boniface (and the said William formally propounded and objected against him) heresy, and other divers horrible and accursed faults, wherein they affirm him to be entangled and commonly and notoriously defamed, the said king himself being present with the archbishops, bishops, and other dignitaries and churchmen assembled, to treat of their own matters and the matters of their churches, besides the barons, earls, and other noblemen, whose names are hereto subscribed, they swearing on the holy gospels of God, which they corporally touched, that they believed and could prove all and every the premises to be true.

And the said William de Plésian swore further, that he believed he could prove the premises, and that he would pursue the matter to the uttermost against the said Boniface, in a general council or elsewhere, whenever and before whomsoever of right it ought to be done: requiring earnestly the said king, that, as a champion of the faith and defender of the church, for declaring of the truth hereof, to the praise of God's name, to the increase and promoting of the catholic faith, to the honour and wealth of the universal church and of all christian people, he would give his effectual help towards the assembling of the said general council, because in all such cases his royal house ever was a zealous maintainer of the truth, and that he would earnestly require the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates before-named, to cooperate. The earls and knights themselves also earnestly and often besought the said prelates, as true sons and pillars of the church, that they would effectually help forward the calling and assembling of the said council by all lawful means, according to the ordinances of the holy fathers and decrees of the canons. But when the prelates heard and fully understood the complaints aforesaid, considering that such a matter was not only hard, but most hard, and needed mature deliberation, they departed out of the place.

But on the morrow, being Friday, the fourteenth day of the same month of June, in the presence of the aforesaid lord the king, and also of the lord archbishops, and of us public notaries hereto subscribed, being especially called and required for this purpose, the aforesaid William de Plésian, knight, said, propounded, affirmed, objected, and read, as was contained more fully in a certain paper which he held in his hand, whose tenor was after this sort:—

I, William de Plésian, knight, say, propound, and affirm, that Boniface, who now ruleth the apostolic see, is a rank heretic in regard of the heresies, outrageous deeds, and wicked doctrines, hereafter to be declared; which things I believe to be true, and such as I am able to prove (or at least so much of them as shall suffice to prove him a rank heretic) at a convenient place and time, and before a lawful tribunal. I swear, then, on the gospels of God, corporally touched by me, that—

Protest of  
William  
de Plési-  
an,  
knight,  
against  
pope  
Boniface  
VIII.

1. He believeth not the immortality and incorruptibility of reasonable souls, but thinketh, that there is no everlasting life, and that men cannot at length attain joy, but that the whole lot and portion of comfort and gladness is in this world: and consequently he affirmeth, that it is no sin to pamper the body

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Pope Boniface had rather be a dog than a Frenchman.

with all sorts of dainties. And out of the abundance of this leaven, he is not ashamed openly to say and confess, that he had rather be a dog or an ass, or any other brute beast, than a Frenchman; which thing he would not have said, if he believed a Frenchman had a soul that could enjoy everlasting life. This thing he hath taught to many, who have acknowledged it at the point of death; and he is commonly thus reported of in these things.

2. Also, he believeth not faithfully, that when the words ordained of Christ, have been spoken over the host, after the fashion of the church, by a faithful priest lawfully ordained, the very body of Christ is there. Hence it cometh to pass, that he giveth no reverence to it, no not a little, when it is lifted up by the priest; yea, he riseth not to it, but turneth his back to it, and causeth himself to be more honoured, and his seat whereon he sitteth to be more embellished, than the altar where the host is consecrated; and he is commonly reported to do this.

3. Also, he is reported to say, that whoredom is no sin, no more than rubbing of the hands together; and this is a matter of common talk and rumour.

4. Also, he hath said often, that to thrust down the French king and people, if it could not be otherwise done, he would sacrifice himself, the whole world, and the whole church. And when he had said so, some that stood by said, "God forbid;" he answered, "God grant." And when good men that heard his aforesaid words replied against him, that he should not say so, because the church of God and all Christian men would suffer great offence thereby, he answered, "I care not what offences come, so that the Frenchmen and their pride be destroyed; for 'it must needs be that offences come.'"

*See Appendix.*

5. Item, when a certain book made by Master Arnold of Villa Nova, physician, containing and savouring of heresy, had been reprobated, condemned, and burned by the bishop of Paris, and by the divines at Paris, and likewise by Boniface himself openly and in the full consistory of cardinals, yet he recalled it and re-allowed it, being written again, and containing the same faults.

6. Item, that he might make the most damnable remembrance of himself perpetual, he caused silver images of himself to be set up in the churches, by this means leading men to idolatry.

7. Item, he hath a private devil, whose counsel he useth in all things, and through all things. Whence he said once, that if all men were on one side, and he on the other, they could not deceive him neither in law nor in fact: which thing could not be, except he had used a devilish art; and of this he is openly reported.

8. Item, he is a wizard, asking counsel of soothsayers both men and women; and such he is commonly judged to be.

9. Item, he said openly, that the pope of Rome could not commit simony, which it is heretical to say. This is a sin reprobated as well in the Old Testament as in the New, and in the holy general councils: wherefore he is wont to employ as his tool a certain usurer, named Simon, to make merchandise for him of the higher prelacies, dignities, and benefices of the church (to the which holy orders be specially and necessarily joined), and of absolutions and dispensations, like as usurers and merchants use to buy and sell worldly things in the market; and of this common rumour runneth against him.

10. Item, that peace which Christ bequeathed to his children as his special legacy, saying, "Peace I leave with you," he hindereth with all his might among christian men, and striveth to sow discord and wars. Wherefore once, when it was said before him that certain parties wished to come to a friendly agreement after a good sort, he prevented it, prohibiting the one party from granting peace, and when the other party did humbly beseech him that he would give license to the first to agree, he said he would not, and that if the Son of God or the apostle Peter were to come down to the earth and command him, he would say, "I will not obey thee."

11. Item, because the French nation (being manifestly a most christian nation) followeth not his errors in the faith, he reckoneth and openly calleth them, one and all, Patarenes; using therein the manner of rank heretics, who say that themselves alone are the faithful church, but call the true followers of the orthodox faith Patarenes, because they keep aloof from their errors.

12. Item, he is addicted to the sin of Sodomy, and of this fault he is most commonly and openly reported.

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History.*

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1303.

13. Item, he hath caused and commanded many murders of clerks to be done in his presence, rejoicing at their death: and if they were not deadly wounded at the first by his servants, he ordered them to be smitten again, crying "Smite!" "smite!" by which means many have been slain.

14. Item, when he had condemned a certain nobleman to prison, he forbade the sacrament to be given him at the point of death, he desiring it and being penitent, saying, "that the sacrament of penance did not appear to him necessary to salvation."

15. Item, he compelled certain priests to show unto him the confessions of men, and he afterwards published them openly, contrary to the will of them that were confessed, to their shame and confusion, that he might compel them to redeem their sins; insomuch that once he deposed a certain bishop of Spain, for a certain privy horrible fault that he confessed under 'Benedicite' to a certain cardinal, which confession he compelled the cardinal against his will to reveal, and then published it; and yet afterwards he restored the same bishop again to his place for a sum of money. Wherefore, he is thought to play the heretic in regard to the sacrament of penance.

16. Item, he fasteth not on the fasting-days, nor Lent, but without cause eateth flesh indifferently, and without cause suffereth his household and friends to eat, saying, "It is no sin:" doing in this thing against the general state of the holy church, and seeking craftily to overthrow it.

17. Item, he oppresseth and hath oppressed the order of the cardinals, and the orders of black and white monks, of Grey friars and Preachers, and hath said oft, "that the world was destroyed by them, and that they were false hypocrites, and that good could never chance unto any that would be confessed to them, or who would be familiar with them, or would harbour them in their house:" and he never said good word of any prelate, religious man, or clerk, but ever rebuketh and slandereth them, taking away their good name; and, that he may compel them to redeem their faults, he is glad of accusations against them: and this is the common talk and report of him.

18. Item, of old time, he going about to destroy the faith, conceived a hate against the French king, even to the abhorring of the faith, because of the light of faith which is and ever was there, and because of the great witness and example of Christianity which is and ever hath been there. And he can be proved to have said before he had this see, that if he were pope, he would overthrow Christianity itself, rather than not overthrow and destroy the nation, or (as he calleth it) the pride, of the French.

19. Also, it is reported that when the ambassadors of the king of England, in the name of the said king, did require and entreat for the tenth of the realm of England to be given him; he answered, "That he would not give them the tenth but on this condition, that he would make war with them against the French king." And besides this, he is reported to have given great sums of money to certain persons, to cause that peace should not be betwixt the said kings. He himself, also, with all his might hath letted it, by messengers, letters, and other ways that he could, yea, by giving bribes.

20. Item, he is reported also to have promised Frederic, the present king of Sicily, that if he would betray king Charles, and break the peace which he made and swore that he would keep with him, and would stir against him, and kill the Frenchmen, that then he would give him aid, help, and counsel for that end; and for so doing he would give and grant him the said kingdom.

21. He confirmed also the king of Almain to be emperor, and said openly, that he did it to destroy the nation, or (as he calleth it) pride, of the Frenchmen, who said, that they were subject to none in temporal things; wherein, saith he, they lied on their own heads: declaring, moreover, that whosoever would say (yea, though it were an angel from heaven) that they were not subject to the said king of Almain, he were accursed; and yet he himself hath often before said (though, in repeating it, I do not pretend that he said what was true), that the aforesaid emperor betrayed his master and had treacherously slain him, and that he was not worthy of the name of king, nor had been duly elected.

22. Further, he dissolved the agreements of peace between the said king of Almain and the king of France, by which each was to preserve his own right; and he is said to have enjoined them not to keep the oaths which had been solemnly sworn by the proctors of the king of Almain; thus preventing the blessings of peace, and sowing the tares of discord between brethren.

Pope  
Boniface  
an enemy  
to the  
French-  
men.

Pope  
Boniface  
an enemy  
to peace.

*French  
History.*

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23. Item, it is openly reported, that the Holy Land was lost, and came to the enemies of God and the faith, through his fault; and that he suffered this, and denied to give aid to the Christians who defended it, for the nonst;<sup>1</sup> spending the treasures and money of the church, which, as the patrimony of Christ, should have been bestowed for that use, in persecuting faithful Christians and friends of the church; and therewith he would enrich his friends.

24. Item, he is openly reported to use simony, not only in bestowing of benefices, but in giving of orders, and making dispensations. He hath set to sale all benefices of the church, and bestoweth them commonly on him that would offer most; and he maketh the church and her prelates his servants and vassals, not for advancement of the faith, nor to thrust down infidels, but to oppress the faithful, and to enrich his kindred out of the church goods and with the patrimony of Him that was crucified; and presumeth to make them marquises, earls, and barons, and is not afraid to build them strong holds, rooting out and oppressing many noblemen of Rome, and others.

25. Item, it is commonly reported, that he hath, contrary to the Lord's precept, dissolved many marriages lawfully made, to the contempt, hurt, and slander of many: and he did promote his nephew to a cardinalship, being married, unlearned, and altogether unworthy, and notorious for his dissolute life; and compelled his wife to make a vow of chastity, and is reported after that to have had two bastards by her himself; and so goeth the common rumour of him.

Pope  
Boniface  
a mur-  
der of his  
predecessor

26. Item, it is commonly reported, that he handled ungently his predecessor Celestine of holy memory, leading an holy life (peradventure knowing in his conscience that he could not forsake his popedom, and therefore that he himself could otherwise have no lawful entrance to the see), and imprisoned him, and there quickly and privily caused him to die: and of this the common rumour and report is through all the world. Moreover, he caused many great and learned men living as regulars (who discussed the point, whether Celestine could renounce the popedom or not) to be set in prison, and there to die.

27. Item, he is reported to have recalled religious persons, who were living as regulars, without a reasonable cause to the world, to the offence of many.

28. Item, he is reported to have said, that he would within short time make all the Frenchmen either martyrs, or apostates.

29. Item, it is commonly reported, that he seeketh not the health of the souls, but the destruction of them.

These things being propounded and read, the same William protested, said, declared, appealed, and added these words, reading them in writing.<sup>2</sup>

The pro-  
testation  
of Wil-  
liam of  
Plésiano.

I, William de Plésian, knight, protest that I do not propound the aforesaid things for any special hate of Boniface himself (for I hate not him, but his aforesaid evil deeds), nor to injure or slander him or any one else, but of zeal for the faith, and for the devotion that I have to the holy church of God and the holy Roman see; for the same causes, and no other, I speak it, when I say, I swear by the holy gospel of God, which I touch with my hand, that I believe him to be a perfect heretic; and that I also believe that from the premises, and other things, so much may be proved against him as shall be sufficient, according to the statutes of the holy fathers, to prove him a heretic. I swear also, that I will pursue the aforesaid things against him to the uttermost of my power, in a general council to be assembled at a place that shall be safe and sure for me, to the honour of God and increase of the christian faith, saving in all things the right honour and state of the holy apostolic see. Wherefore, I earnestly and respectfully request you, my lord the king, to whom belongeth the defence of holy mother church and of the catholic faith, whereof ye shall render an account in the last judgment, and you, my lords the prelates, who be the pillars of the faith, and who ought to be judges of the aforesaid things, together with the other reverend fathers the catholic prelates of the holy church, who would attend a general council, that ye would procure and take diligent pains that a general council may be gathered in a fit and safe place and convenient time, before which the aforesaid things may be propounded, examined, and proved against the said Boniface, as is premised; and I likewise earnestly

Pope  
Boniface  
proved a  
heretic.

(1) "For the nonst," for the purpose; designedly; "Opéra datâ," Dupuy.—ED.

(2) Dupuy, Preuves, p. 106.—ED.



request you and my lord the king, that ye would require, and effectually induce the prelates, present or absent, in what country soever they be, to whom it pertaineth manfully to labour and to require others faithfully to do the same, that the aforesaid council may be gathered for the aforesaid matters in such sort as may be agreed. And because, so long as the matter is pending, I suspect Boniface himself, lest he, being angry and moved for the aforesaid things, should in any way proceed, or attempt to proceed, against me and my partakers, proctors, and helpers, friends and familiars, and my goods and theirs; therefore, by these writings before you, my lord the king and my lords the prelates, and you the public notaries, I here in person refer and appeal to the said holy general council to be assembled, and to the apostolic catholic pope that is to be and to the holy apostolic see, and to him and them to whom of right I may or ought to appeal; and I earnestly request once, twice, and thrice, that letters dimissory<sup>1</sup> and testimonial may be granted me from you; putting myself, my followers, favourers, familiars, friends, proctors, and all that shall hereafter adhere to me, and my goods and theirs, under the protection and keeping of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the said holy general council to be assembled, and of the apostolic catholic pope that is to be, and of the holy Roman see; sticking nevertheless, and willing to stick, to the appeal and appeals, process and processes, made hereupon by the noble man Master William de Nogaret, knight, so far as they shall be found to have been made lawfully, and yet not forsaking this present appeal.

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When these things were thus read and done, the king answered and required the prelates, making request, provocation, and appellation, as is contained in the paper underwritten, which was read there and then in the presence and audience of him, the prelates, and others underwritten, the tenor whereof is as followeth :<sup>2</sup>—

We, Philip, by the grace of God king of France, hearing and understanding the objections propounded by William de Plesiano, knight, and previously by our beloved and faithful William de Nogaret, knight, against Boniface, now having the regiment of the Roman church: although we would gladly cover with our cloak the shame of an ordinary father; yet for our love of the catholic faith and the great devotion that we bear to the holy Roman and universal church, mother of us and of all the faithful, and the spouse of Christ, following the footsteps of our ancestors who hesitated not to shed their blood for the increase and defence of the church's liberty and the faith, and coveting to provide for the purity of the faith and state of the church, as also to prevent the mischief of a general slander; being not able to connive at the premises any longer, seeing the estimate and opinion of him in these matters is vehemently and plainly increased by many and continual clamours repeatedly inculcated upon us by men of credit and great authority; fearing moreover lest in the evident decay of the faith, some others, but especially we the kings and princes of the earth, who acknowledge that we received our power from the Lord expressly for the promotion and increase of it, may justly be charged with negligence; we agree to your requests in this behalf, and we be ready and offer ourselves gladly, as much as in us lieth, to bestow our labour and diligent pains for the calling of the said council, for the glory of God (saving in all things the honour and reverence due to the holy Roman church), in order that the truth may appear in the premises and all error be avoided; that the state of the universal church and of Christianity, and the interests of the faith and of the holy land may be consulted, and that the slanders and jeopardies hanging over us may be obviated: and we earnestly require and beseech, in the merciful bowels of Jesus Christ, you the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates here present, as sons of the church and pillars of the faith, who are called of the Lord to a share of the burthen of promoting and preserving that faith, that with all diligence ye would give heed as becometh you, and effectually labour by all fit ways and means, to the calling and assembling of this council, at which we intend to be personally present. And lest the said Boniface, who hath boldly and wrongfully threatened to proceed against us, should, in his anxiety to prevent any of his works of dark-

The king's answer, or the appeal of Philip, the French king, from the pope.

(1) "Apostolos."—Ed.

(2) Dupuy, Preuves, p. 107.—Ed.

*French  
History.*

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ness (if any such there be) from coming to light, by directly or indirectly hindering the calling and gathering of this council, actually proceed against us or our state, churches, prelates, barons, and other our faithful vassals and subjects, or against our or their goods, or our realm, or the state of the realm, abusing the spiritual sword, by excommunicating and suspending, or by any other means; therefore, for ourselves and our well wishers, and any who may hereafter adhere to us, we refer and appeal in writing to the aforesaid general council, which we desire instantly to be called, and to the lawful pope that shall be, and to any others to whom we should appeal; and yet not departing from the appeal made by William de Nogaret, to which we adhered then and also yet adhere, requiring earnestly a witness of our appeal from you, the prelates and notaries, expressly engaging to renew such reference and appeal, when and before whom it shall appear to us meet.

*See  
Appendix.*

Then the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, within written, answered the premises (as it is found in the acts), and made provocation and appellation, agreement and protestation, as is contained more fully in a certain paper there openly and plainly read, whose tenor followeth, with these words :<sup>1</sup>—

The protestation  
of the  
prelates.

We, the archbishops of Nicosia in Cyprus, Rheims, Sens, Narbonne, and Tours; and the bishops of Laon, Beauvais, Chalons sur Marne, Auxerre, Meaux, Nevers, Chartres, Orleans, Amiens, Terouenne, Senlis, Angers, Avranches, Coutances, Evreux, Lisieux, Séez, Claremont, Limoges, Le Puy en Velay, and Maçon; and we, the abbots of Clugny, Premontré, Marmoutier, Cîteaux, St. Denis in France, Compiègne, St. Victor, St. Geneviève at Paris, St. Martin de Laon, Figeac, and Beaulieu in Limousin; friar Hugh, visitor of the houses of the order of Knights Templars; and we, the priors of St. John of Jerusalem in France, and of St. Martin des Champs at Paris;—having heard those things which were said, propounded, and objected yesterday and to-day by you the noble earls, and William aforesaid, against the lord pope Boniface VIII.; being moved with your sayings, propositions, assertions, oaths, and requests, and by other lawful causes, yea compelled by a sort of necessity, considering that the matter of our faith, which is the christian faith, is touched in the premises: we that be called to a part of this care for the defence and maintenance of the faith, and the guidance of the souls of the realm, although unworthy, yet coveting to withstand the jeopardies that hang over us by reason of the premises and other causes, and thinking the calling and assembling of the said council profitable and necessary, that the innocence of the lord Boniface himself may clearly appear, as in our consciences we desire it may; or that it may be discussed, settled, and done, by the council, touching such things as are laid against him, according to the decrees of the holy canons,—answer you our lord the king, and you our lords the earls and William, that (saving in all things the honour and reverence due to the holy church) we agree to your requests in this behalf, for the calling of the said council, and are ready to give help and diligent labour to the calling and assembling of the said council, according to the decrees of the holy fathers, and the canonical orders, not intending by any means to make parties of this matter, nor to adhere to any that make parties.

The  
bishops of  
France  
appeal  
from pope  
Boniface  
to a general  
council.

Yet, lest the said Boniface, being moved or provoked by these things (as we fear he may be, from likely conjectures and threatenings thrown out by him of proceeding against us for the aforesaid things), should in any way proceed, or cause proceedings to be taken, against us, our churches, our clergy, and our subjects, on his own or any other authority, by excommunication, suspension, interdict, deposing, depriving, or under any other means, and under whatever colour, to the preventing or embarrassing the said council; and that we may sit in the said council to judge, and may do all other things that belong to the office of prelates; and that our state and that of all who adhere or shall adhere to us may remain in all respects safe; for ourselves, our churches, our clergy, our subjects, and those who adhere, or may adhere, to us in this behalf, we refer and appeal in writing to the aforesaid council that is to be assembled, and to the true and lawful pope that is to be, and to him or them to whom of right we

(1) Dupuy, Preuves, p. 108.—Ed.

should appeal, and earnestly require letters of protection from you, and we commit ourselves, our churches, our clergy, our subjects, friends, and adherents, and our state, rights, and goods, and theirs, to the godly protection of the aforesaid council, and of the true and lawful pope that is to be; and we pledge ourselves to renew this appeal, where, when, and before whom it shall seem to us meet.

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*See Appendix*

Done at Paris, at the Louvre, in the chamber of our said lord the king, the year, indiction, month, the Thursday and Friday, and year of the pontificate, aforesaid; there being present the noble earls of Anjou, Boulogne, Dammartin, and other earls above named; Matthew de Trie, Peter lord de Chambly, Peter lord de Wirmes, and Hugh de Boville, knts.; likewise Messieurs Stephen, archdeacon of Bruges, Nicholas archdeacon of Rheims, William treasurer of Angers, Peter de Belle Perche, Reginald Barbou, and John de Montaigne, and some others both clerks and laymen, specially called and requested to be witnesses hereto.

These things thus discoursed and done, the king summoneth another parliament, sending down his letters to his sheriffs and other officers, to summon the prelates and barons of the realm unto the said court of parliament, according to the tenor of the king's letters here following :<sup>1</sup>—

Philip, by the grace of God king of France, &c. Whereas we would take counsel with the prelates, barons, and other our faithful subjects, about weighty matters and hard, and such as belong greatly to our right, and touching our honour and state, and the liberties and laws of this our realm, churches, and ecclesiastical persons, and would also go forward and proceed in the aforesaid matters according to their counsel: we command you, that ye diligently in our behalf require and straitly charge all the prelates in your bailiwick, and also all and singular abbots and priors of the same your aforesaid bailiwick (to certain of whom we have directed down our special letters for the same cause), that, as they favour our honour, and the good estate both of the realm, of themselves, and of the church, they repair to us in their own persons, all lets and delays set aside, and all other business left off: showing to them, moreover, that we can judge none of them to be either to us faithful subjects or friends to the realm, who shall fail herein, or withdraw themselves in the aforesaid business, counsels, and helps in time. Wherein if peradventure any shall slack, or refuse to resort and come toward us within eight days from the time of this charge given by you, or your commandment; then we require you to seize all his temporal goods into your hand, and so seized to hold them until you receive other commandment from us.—Given at Paris, the Monday before the Nativity of St. John Baptist, A.D. 1303.

Another parliament summoned by king Philip at Paris.

Accordingly,<sup>2</sup> on the Monday following, being the feast of St. John the Baptist,<sup>3</sup> a parliament of all the estates of the realm of France assembled in the king's garden at Paris, at which a vast multitude of his faithful subjects were present; when the articles, denunciations, protestations, and appeals, contained in the foregoing writings, were publicly read, and unanimously assented to; to the like effect whereof instruments, signed and sealed, to the number of seven hundred and more, were afterwards sent to the king from all parts of France, agreeing to all things in the aforesaid parliament concluded.

After these things, the day before the nativity of our Lady, an army of harnessed soldiers well appointed, sent partly by the French king partly by the cardinals of Colonna, whom the pope before had deposed, came suddenly to the gates of Anagni, whither the pope had taken refuge, because he was born in that town. The captains of this army

Pope Boniface besieged.

(1) See Appendix.

(2) Ibid.

(3) According to Nicholas's Tables.—ED.

*French  
History.*

A. D.  
1303.

Pope  
Boniface  
brought  
to a strait.

Three  
condi-  
tions put  
to him.

Here may  
all kings  
by the  
French  
king  
learn, how  
to handle  
the pope.

were one Schiarra, brother to the aforesaid cardinals, and the before-mentioned William de Nogaret, high-steward to the French king; who, finding the gates open, entered the town, and assaulted the pope's palace, the palace of his nephew, a marquis, and those of three cardinals. And first, setting upon the palaces of the three cardinals, who were then chief about the pope, they rifled and spoiled all their goods. The cardinals, by a back door, hardly avoided their hands but the pope's and the marquis's palaces, through the valour of their household servants, were somewhat better defended. The townsmen, seeing all their intent and strength to be bent against the pope, caused the common bell to be rung, and so, assembling themselves in a common council, ordained Adolphus, one of the chiefest lords in the Campagna di Roma, for their captain in this emergency, who, unknown to them, was a great adversary to the pope. This Adolphus bringing with him Reginald de Supine, another great lord in the Campagna and a great enemy to the pope, and the two sons of John de Chitan, a nobleman whom the pope had then in prison; at length joined he with the French company against the pope, and so beset his and the marquis's palaces on every side. At length the pope, perceiving himself not able to make his party good, desired truce with Schiarra and his company, which was granted from one o'clock till nine. During this time of truce, the pope privily sendeth to the townsmen of Anagni, desiring them to save his life; which if they would do, he promised so to enrich them, that they should all have cause never to forget or repent their benefit bestowed. To this they made answer, excusing themselves, that it lay not in their ability to do him any good, for that the whole power of the town was with the captain. Then the pope, all destitute and desolate, sendeth unto Schiarra, beseeching him to signify the points, wherein he and his brethren had been wronged, and he would make him amends to the uttermost. Schiarra to this maketh a plain answer, signifying to him again, that he should in nowise escape with his life, except upon these three conditions:—First, fully to restore again, both to their temporal and spiritual rights and privileges, the two cardinals, Peter and James de Colonna, his brethren, whom he had before deprived, with all others of their stock and kindred; secondly, that, after their restitution, he should renounce his papacy; thirdly, that his body should remain in his power and custody. These articles seemed to the pope so hard, that in no case he would agree to them; wherefore, the time of truce expired, Schiarra with his army again assaulted both the pope and his nephew, who manfully resisted. At length, the soldiers fired the gates of the church, which was hard by the pope's palace; whereby the army, having a full entrance, fell to rifle and spoil the church. At length the marquis, despairing of being able to hold out, on condition of saving his life and that of his son yieldeth him to the hands of Schiarra and the other captain; which when the pope heard, he wept bitterly. After this, through windows and doors with much ado they brast in at length to the pope, whom they treated with words and threats accordingly. But he held his peace. Upon this, he was put to his choice, whether he would presently surrender his life, or give over his papacy. But this he stiffly denied to do, choosing rather to die for it, saying to

them in his vulgar tongue, "Ecco il collo, Ecco il capo;" that is, "Lo! here my neck, lo! here my head;" protesting that he would never while he lived renounce his popedom. Then Schiarra went about and was ready to slay him, but by certain that were about him he was stayed; whereby it happened that the pope received no bodily harm, although divers of his servants were slain. The soldiers, who ranged in the mean time through all corners of the pope's house, did lade themselves with such treasure of gold, silver, plate, vestments, and ornaments, that the words of my author (whom I follow) do thus express it;<sup>1</sup> "It is verily believed, that all the kings of the earth together were not able to disburse so much out of their treasure in a whole year, as then was taken and carried out of the pope's palace, and out of the palaces of the three cardinals and of the marquis." Thus Boniface, bereaved of all his goods, remained in their custody three days, during the which space they set him on a wild unbroken horse, his face turned to the tail, causing the horse to run and course, while the pope was almost breathless. Moreover, they kept him so without meat, that he was thereby near famished to death. On the third day, the Anagnians secretly mustering themselves together, to the number of ten thousand, brast into the palace where the pope was kept, and slaying the keepers delivered the pope by strong hand, who then, being brought into the middle of the town, gave thanks with weeping tears to God and the people for his life saved; promising, moreover, forasmuch as he was out of all his goods, and had had neither bread nor drink to put in his mouth all the mean time, God's blessing and his to any good woman that now would relieve him with any thing either to eat or drink, and absolution from all their sins to any who would bring him ever so little for his support. And here now to see what poverty and affliction can work in a man: the pope before, in all his pomp and most ruffling wealth, was never so proud, but now he was as humble and lowly, so that every poor simple man, as mine author testifieth, might have a bold and free access to his person, and talk with him as with any other poor man. To make the story short, the pope in that great distress of famine was not so greedy of their victuals, as they were greedy of his blessing. Whereupon, the women came so thick, some with bread, some with wine, some with water, some with meat, some with one thing, some with another, that the pope's chamber was too little to receive the offering; insomuch that when there lacked cups to receive the wine, they poured it down on the chamber floor, not regarding the loss of wine, to win the pope's holy blessing. Thus pope Boniface being refreshed by the town of Anagni, took his journey from thence accompanied with a great multitude of harnessed soldiers to Rome, where he shortly upon the same, partly for the fear he was in, partly for starvation while under custody, partly for sorrow of so inestimable a treasure lost, died. After whom succeeded Benedict XI., of whom these verses are written:

"A re nomen habens, benedic, benefac, Benedicte :  
Aut rem pervertens, maledic, malefac, Maledicte."

And thus have ye the whole story of pope Boniface VIII., author of the Sixth Book of the Decretals, which story I thought the more

*French History.*

A. D.  
1303.

Boniface chooseth rather to die, than to give over his popedom. The excessive treasures of the pope's house noted.

A pretty handling of the pope.

The pope delivered out of prison.

What poverty and affliction can do in plucking down the pride of man.

Pope Benedict XI.

(1) "Et revera creditur, quod omnes reges mundi non possent tantum de thesauro reddere infra unum annum, quantum fuit de papali palatio asportatum, et de palatiis trium cardinalium, et marchionis."—Ex Robert Avesb. [found also in Th. Walsingham's history, from which this whole paragraph has been revised and corrected.—Ed.]



*Edward I.* diligently to set forth, that all the Latin church might see what an author he was, whose laws and decretals so devoutly they follow.

A. D.  
1305.

The king  
troubled  
with two  
arch-  
bishops  
of Canter-  
bury

Now, after the long debating of this matter between the French king and pope Boniface, let us proceed in our English story.<sup>1</sup>

With Robert Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, above-mentioned, the king had like variance as with his predecessor, and accused him to the pope for breaking of peace, and taking part with them that rebelled against the king about usages and liberties of the realm.

Wherefore, the king, being cited up to the court of Rome and there suspended by means of the said archbishop, directed his letters again to the pope, the contents whereof here follow in substance, taken out of the parliament rolls, where I find divers letters of the king to pope Clement against the said Robert, archbishop of Canterbury. And as this king was troubled in his time with both the archbishops, John Peckham and also Robert Winchelsey; so it happened to all other kings for the most part from the time of Lanfranc (that is, from pope Hildebrand), that every king in his time had some business or other with that see. As William Rufus and Henry I. were troubled with Anselm; Henry II. with Thomas Becket; king Richard and all England with William, bishop of Ely, the pope's legate; king John with Stephen Langton; king Henry III. with Edmund the archbishop called St. Edmund;<sup>2</sup> likewise this king Edward I. with John Peckham and Robert Winchelsey aforesaid; and so other kings after him with some prelate or other: whereby ye have to understand, how and about what time the church of Rome, which beforetime was subject to kings and princes, began first to take head above and against kings and rulers, and so hath kept it ever since.

Kings of  
England  
common-  
ly trou-  
bled with  
archbps.  
of Canter-  
bury.

The  
church of  
Rome and  
Rome  
prelates  
set  
against  
kings and  
rulers.

Inquisi-  
tion made  
against ill  
rulers and  
false offi-  
cers,  
[Apl. 6th,  
A. D. 1305.  
Rymer.]

Trailba-  
stoun.

Among other things in this king to be noted, this is not to be passed over; that where complaint was made to him of his officers, as justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, eschetors, and such other, who, abusing their offices, extorted and oppressed the king's liege people otherwise than was according to right and conscience; the said king, not suffering such disorder to be unpunished, did appoint certain justices or inquisitors, to the number of twelve, which inquisition was called 'Traibaston,' or 'Trailbastoun;' by mean of which inquisition divers false officers were accused, and such as were offenders were either removed from their place, or forced to buy again their office at the king's hand; to their no small loss, and great gain to the king, and much profit to the commonwealth.

A false  
miracle  
well spied  
out by  
the king.

In the chronicle of Robert Avesbury<sup>3</sup> it is recorded of the said king, that he being at Amesbury to see his mother, who was then in that monastery professed, there was a certain man who feigned himself blind a long time brought to the presence of the said Elenor the king's mother, saying how that he had his sight again restored at the tomb of king Henry, her late husband, insomuch that she was easily persuaded that the miracle was very true. But king Edward, her son, knowing the man a long time to be a vile dissembler and a wicked person, used to lying and crafty deceiving, dissuaded his mother not to give credit to the vile vagabond, declaring that he knew so well the justice of his father, that if he were alive, he would twice rather pluck out both his eyes, than once restore him one. Notwithstanding, the queen his mother, remaining still in her former fond persuasion,

(1) See *suprà*, p. 578, note.—Ed.

(2) *Polychron. lib. vii.*

(3) *Ex Chron. Rob. Avesb.*

would hear or believe nothing to the contrary, but was so in anger with her son, that she bid him depart her chamber; and so he did. By the example whereof may easily be conceived, how and after what sort these blind miracles in those days and since have come up among the blind and superstitious people; for had not the king here been wiser than the mother, no doubt but this would have been rung a miracle, and percase king Henry been made a saint.

*Edward I.*  
A. D.  
1306.

But as this was a feigned miracle and false no doubt, so in the same author we read of another manner of miracle, sounding more near the truth, and so much the more likely, for that it served to the conversion unto christian faith, to which use properly all true miracles do appertain. The miracle was this: In the last year of this king's reign, Cassanus, king of the Tartars (of whom come those whom we now call Turks) fighting against the Soldan, king of the Saracens, in the plain of Damascus, slew of them a hundred thousand; and again at Babylon, fighting with the said Soldan, he slew him in the field, and two hundred thousand of his Saracens, calling upon the help of Christ, and thereupon became Christian. This Cassanus, I say, had a brother a pagan, who being in love with the daughter of the king of Armenia, a christian woman, desired of her father to marry with her. Whereunto the king her father would not agree, unless he promised to be a Christian. Notwithstanding, the other being stronger in power, and threatening to get her by war, the king at length was forced to agree. In conclusion, it happened that the child being born betwixt them was overgrown and all rough with hair, like to the skin of a bear. Which child being brought to the father, he commanded it to be thrown into the fire and burned; but the mother desiring first to have it baptized, caused all things thereunto to be prepared. The infant being three times in water plunged, after the sacrament of holy baptism received incontinent was altered and turned from all his hairy roughness, and appeared as fair and smooth-skinned as any other; the which thing after the father saw and beheld, he was christened himself, and all his house.<sup>1</sup>

A true  
miracle.

Victory  
against  
the Sara-  
cens

In the reign of this king Edward lived Henry de Gandavo, Arnold de Villa Nova, Dante, and other more: also Scotus, called Duns, who, in his fourth book of Sentences, dist. 18, complaineth of the abuse of excommunication and of the pope's keys: "Whereas before, excommunication was not used but upon great and just causes, and therefore was feared; now," saith he, "it is brought forth for every trifling matter, as for not paying the priest's wages, &c. and therefore," saith he, "it groweth into contempt."<sup>2</sup>

After pope Benedict XI. above mentioned succeeded pope Clement V., who in March A. D. 1309 translated the pope's court to Avignon in France, where it remained the term of seventy years after. At the coronation of this Clement were present Philip king of France, Charles his son, and John duke of Bretagne, with a great number of other men of state and nobility; at which coronation, they being in the middle of the pomp or procession, a great wall broke down and fell upon them, by the fall whereof duke John and twelve others were slain, king Philip was hurt and wounded, and the pope being struck from his horse, lost out from the mitre upon his head a carbuncle, esteemed to the value of six thousand florins.<sup>3</sup> By this Clement it was ordained that the emperor, though he might be

The  
pope's  
court  
translated  
to France.

Slaughter  
of nobles  
at the  
pope's  
corona-  
tion.

Emperor  
no emper-  
or, unless  
confirmed  
by the  
pope.

(1) See Walsingham, A. D. 1301, 1307.

(2) Platina de Vit. Pont.

(3) Ilyricus, col. 1665.

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1306.

The Templars put down.

The feast of Corpus Christi.

Septimus Decretalium, called

"The Clementines."

Henry VII. emperor

poisoned in the host,

Aug. 24, A. D. 1313.

Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople, excommunicated

with all his adherents by pope Clement,

for not suffering the Grecians to appeal to Rome,

A. D. 1306.

Note the practice of the Romish prelates.

See Appendix.

When and how long the Greek church was subject to Rome.

See Appendix.

called king of the Romans, might not enjoy the title and right of the emperor, before he was by him confirmed; and that the emperor's seat being vacant, the pope should reign as emperor, till a new emperor was chosen. By him the order of the Templars, who at that time were too abominable to be borne, was put down at the council of Vienne (A. D. 1312), as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared. He also ordained and confirmed the feast of Corpus Christi,<sup>1</sup> assigning indulgences to such as heard the service thereof; and as pope Boniface before heaped up the book of Decretals, called 'Sextus Decretalium,' so this Clement compiled the seventh book of the Decretals, called from the same Clement 'The Clementines.' In the time of this pope, the emperor Henry VII. was poisoned in receiving the sacrament by a false dissembling monk called Bernard, that feigned himself to be his familiar friend; which was thought to be done not without the consent of the pope's legate. The emperor, perceiving himself poisoned, warned him to flee and escape, for else the Germans would certainly slay him; who although he escaped himself, yet divers of his order after that with fire and sword were slain.

As this pope Clement V. had now well provided, as ye have heard, against the empire of Rome to bring it under his girdle, insomuch that without the pope's benediction no emperor might take the state upon him, he now proceeded further to intermeddle with the empire of Constantinople. He began by exercising his tyranny and power of excommunication against Andronicus Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople, A. D. 1306, declaring him to be a schismatic and heretic, because he neither would nor durst suffer the Grecians to make their appeal from the Greek church to the pope, neither would acknowledge him for his superior. By this it may appear, that the Greek church did not admit the pope's superiority as yet, nor at any time before; save only about the time of pope Innocent III., A. D. 1202, at which time the Frenchmen with their captain Baldwin, earl of Flanders, joining together with the Venetians, were set against the Grecians to restore Alexis to his right of the empire of Constantinople, upon condition, as writeth Platina,<sup>2</sup> to subdue the Greek church under the church of Rome. This Alexis being restored and shortly after slain, the empire came to the Frenchmen, A. D. 1204, with whom it remained the space of seventy years, till the coming of Michael Paleologus, who (in the days of pope Gregory X.) restored the empire from the Frenchmen unto its pristine state again, A. D. 1273. During all this time of the French emperors the Greek church was subject to Rome, as by the Decretals of pope Gregory IX. may appear. Then followed after this, that the aforesaid Michael, emperor of Constantinople, being called up to a council at Lyons by pope Gregory X. about the controversy of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost (as is above specified) and obedience to the church of Rome; because the said Michael the emperor did there submit himself and the Grecians to the subjection of Rome, as testifieth Baptist Egnat, he thereby procured to himself such grudge and hatred among the Greek monks and priests, that after his death they denied him the due honour and place of burial.<sup>3</sup> The son of this Michael was Andronicus Paleologus above mentioned, who, as ye have heard before, because he was constrained by the Grecians not to admit any appeal to the Bishop of Rome, was accused by the pope's censures

(1) See Appendix.

(2) Platina, Vit. Innocentii.

(3) Ex Baptist. Egnatio. Rom. Princ. lib. 7.

as a heretic. Whereby it appeareth, that the Grecians, recovering their state again, refused all subjection at this time to the church of Rome, which was A.D. 1306. After this Clement V. followed pope John XXII., with whom Louis IV., emperor, had much trouble {A.D. 1328}. After whom next in course succeeded pope Benedict XII., which Benedict on a time, being desired to make certain new cardinals, to this answered again, that he would gladly so do, if he also could make a new world; "For this world," said he, "is for these cardinals that be made already."<sup>1</sup> And thus much of the popes: now to return a little back to the king's story again.

Edward I.

A.D.  
1307.The  
Greek  
church  
denieth  
subjec-  
tion to the  
church of  
Rome.

In the year of our Lord 1307,<sup>2</sup> which was the thirty-fifth of the reign of this king, on the octaves of St. Hilary [Jan. 20th], the king kept a parliament at Carlisle, where great complaints were brought in by the nobles and ancients of the realm, concerning the manifold and intolerable oppressions of churches and monasteries, and exactions of money, by the pope's legate William Testa (otherwise termed 'Mala Testa') lately brought into the realm of England. The coming of which William Testa was upon this occasion, as followeth: pope Clement, (who, as ye heard before, had translated his court from Rome into France, where he had been archbishop before), because he contemned to come and remain at his own see, the princes of Rome thought him therefore unworthy to enjoy Peter's patrimony; and so by that means falling into bareness and poverty, he lived only on the money of such bishops as came to him to be confirmed, and with such other shifts and gifts; so that by this means, partly of bishops and other religious men and persons, partly under the name of courtesy and benevolence, partly under the pretence of borrowing, he had within the first year nine thousand and five hundred marks of silver; all his other charges and expenses, which he largely that year bestowed, being clearly borne."<sup>3</sup> Besides this, he sent moreover the aforesaid legate, William Testa, into England with his bulls, in the which he reserved the first fruits of the first year of all churches being vacant at any time or by any man, within the realms of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and also the fruits of abbeys and priories within the said realms, &c. Whereupon, the king with his nobles, seeing the inconvenience and harm thereof ensuing to the whole realm, in the aforesaid parliament, holden at Carlisle, withstood the said legate, charging and commanding him by the assent of the earls and barons, that henceforth he should abstain from all such exactions; and, as concerning his lord the pope, he would direct certain his messengers unto him, purposely for the same matter appointed: by the which ambassadors the king wrote unto the aforesaid pope, declaring and admonishing the pope, as right and reason was, that he should not exact the first fruits of the churches and abbeys, by his predecessors and noblemen of the land founded for the honour and maintenance of God's service, for alms and hospitality; which otherwise, in so doing, should all be overthrown. And so by this means, the pope at that time changed his purpose concerning abbeys. But after that the fruit of English churches was granted to the king for two years: in which space he obtained the fruits of the aforesaid churches.

The  
pope's  
exactions  
complained  
of in  
parliament.The  
pope's  
getting in  
one year.The  
pope's  
legate  
sent into  
England.First  
fruits first  
brought  
in by the  
pope.King  
Edward  
with-  
standeth  
the pope  
and his  
legate.First  
fruits of  
abbeys  
denied to  
the pope.First  
fruits for  
two years  
granted  
to the  
king.

(1) Ex scripto Engethusensis. (2) Ex Nic. Trivet. (3) Ex Hist. quæ incipit ab Henrico Tertio.

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1307.

During the which parliament before specified, as men were talking many things of the pope's oppressions, which he began in the English church, in the full of the parliament suddenly fell down among them, as sent from heaven, a certain paper, with this superscription:—

### An Epistle of Fitz-Cassiodore to the Church of England, concerning the Abuses of the Romish Church.

As the  
Jews did  
in times  
past, un-  
der the  
tyranny of  
the Egyp-  
tians.

To the noble church of England, serving in clay and brick, Peter, son of Cassiodore, a catholic soldier and devoted champion of Christ, sendeth greeting and his wishes, that she may cast off the yoke of bondage, and receive the prize of liberty.

"To what shall I compare thee, or to what shall I liken thee, O daughter of Jerusalem? to what shall I equal thee, O virgin daughter of Sion? For thy breach is great like the sea; thou sittest alone and without comfort, and faint with grief, all the day long; thou art given up into the hands of one, from whom thou canst not rise without the help of one to lift thee up." (Lamentations i. 13, 14; ii. 13.) For the Scribes and Pharisees who sit in the chair of Moses, I mean the Roman princes, are become thy chiefest enemies; who, while they make broad their phylacteries, at the same time (seeking to enrich themselves with the marrow of thy bones) "lay heavy burdens and grievous to be borne" on the shoulders of thee and thy ministers, and unjustly put thee under tribute, who from of old wert free. But there is no matter for wonder herein, for thy mother, "the queen of the nations," after the custom of widows marrying her inferior, hath made him thy father, that is to say, hath preferred above all others the pontiff of the city of Rome; who is far from showing the relationship by any thing paternal in his conduct towards thee. He ostentatiously enlargeth, indeed, his fringes and vaunteth over thee, and maketh thee to feel by experience that he is thy mother's husband: for full oft he remembereth with himself that favourite text in the prophet, which he hath so deeply digested, "Take thee a great book, and write in it with a man's pen; 'Seize the spoils, and quickly fall upon the prey.'" (Is. viii. 1.) Was it, however, to sanction such conduct as this that the apostle wrote (Heb. v. 1, 2), "Every high priest taken from among men is appointed for men in things pertaining to God, that he may"—mark, not that he may impose yearly taxes and harass people to death, but—"that he may offer gifts and sacrifices for sins, and shew compassion toward the ignorant and them that are out of the way." Accordingly we read of Peter the fisherman (whose successor he vaunteth himself to be), that after the resurrection of Christ he returned with the other apostles to the trade of fishing; and that when he could catch nothing on the left side of the ship, at the bidding of Christ he turned to the right side, and drew the net to land full of great fishes. Which teacheth, that the ministry of the church, whereby the devil is to be conquered and abundance of souls brought to Christ, to be useful for these ends must be rightly exercised; whereas the toiling on the left side of the ship importeth mis-management, which turneth out far otherwise; for faith must be shaken and despondency prevail, where that which is anxiously sought after is no where found. And who is so foolish as to believe, that he can at the same time serve both God and mammon; or that he can please his fancy and follow the suggestions of flesh and blood, and yet offer acceptable services to Christ? And doubtless that shepherd, who watcheth not for the edification of his flock, doth but prepare another way for that "roaring lion who goeth about seeking whom he may devour."

And now, O daughter, pry thee behold the unheard of practices of your so-called father. He removeth good shepherds from the sheepfolds, and placeth in their stead his own nephews, cousins, and parents, men quite illiterate, and as incapabable as deaf and dumb persons of understanding and succouring the bleating sheep, and caring nothing how they are worried by the wolves, but, like hirelings, only minding to shear their fleeces; reaping where other men had sown, and wielding the crook, not "ut prosint," but "ut præsint," i.e. not to

(1) Ex vetusto chronico Albanensi [printed in Goldasti "de Monarchiâ" (tom. i. p. 11), dated 1250; whence the above translation is made. Collier thinks Fitz-Cassiodore is an assumed name. "Petrus Cassiodorus, Italus, quod Papam Antichristum esse scripisset, cum Petro Johanne Biterrensi [of Beziers] Franciscano, refossus et combustus est circa A.D. 1300." Hoffman. On Peter John see *suprà*, p. 521.—Ed.



feed, but to rule; whose hands are always busy inside the baskets, but their backs decline the burdens. The consequences of all this are evident—the priesthood hath lost men's respect, God is robbed of his honour, and the poor of their alms. And thus the pious devotion of kings, princes, and Christians, who endowed the church, is frustrated of its object. Must it not appear marvellous in the eyes of all men, that whereas Christ ordered the royal tribute to be paid for himself and St. Peter, and refused to interfere in a dispute about property, and declared his kingdom not to be of this world—that, nevertheless, a man who pretendeth to be the vicar of Christ should, contrary to his will, strive to bring under his girdle the kingdoms of the world and the princes thereof, with no right thereto but his assumed style, nor any title but the stroke of his own pen!

And as for you, his daughter, what usage doth he put upon you! Doth he not pull you about as he pleaseth? Nor doth feel content with a tithe of your revenues, unless he get also the first fruits of the benefices of thy ministers. And what for? to raise a new patrimony for himself and his kindred, therein defeating the pious intentions of the founders. Other abominable taxes he imposeth, to pay his legates whom he sendeth over into England; not only pillaging you and yours of your food and raiment, but actually like dogs tearing your flesh off your bones. May not such an oppressor be compared to king Nabuchodonosor, who laid waste the temple of the Lord and plundered it of its gold and silver vessels? For whatever he did therein, the same doth this man. He also rifled the ministers of the house of the Lord, and left it destitute of its due support: this man doth the same. Doubtless it is better for those who are slain outright with the sword, than for those who are famished to death by inches; for the former die instantly, but the latter pine away with protracted pain, as the earth ceaseth to yield them nourishment. Truly, O daughter, “all they that pass by” may well compassionate thee, for “what sorrow is like to thy sorrow?” (Lam. i. 12.) For “thy visage is blacker than coals” through much sorrow and weeping, “so that thou art no more known in the streets” (Lam. iv. 8): thy aforesaid governor “hath placed thee in darkness, and made thee drunken with wormwood and gall.” (Lam. iii. 2, 5, 6, 15.) “Hear, then, the affliction of thy people, O Lord, and their groaning: behold, O Lord, and come down” (Exod. iii. 7, 8), for the heart of this man is harder than Pharaoh's. He will not let thy people go, except under the strength of thy hand. For he not only cruelly harasseth them while upon earth, but he pursueth them after death: for all the property of Christians (be they who they may) which cometh within the description of ‘intestate,’ after their decease he encroacheth to himself.

And by the way, the English nobility would do well to consider, how in times past the French, directing their longing eyes toward this realm, have had schemes for bringing it under their own dominion: and it is to be feared, lest what has hitherto been lacking in themselves should be supplied by the crafty dealings of this new enemy; for when the public treasury is exhausted and the native clergy impoverished, the kingdom must be in so much the worse condition for repelling a foreign invasion. Wherefore, that neither thou, O daughter, nor you her ministers, be led into a still more miserable bondage, it is expedient for your own sake and theirs, that thy most christian king and the great men of the realm, who have already beautified thee with the richest benefices, and who in that case would have to defend you and the said benefices, should resist the devices, conspiracies, arrogancy, and pride of the said man, who, with no thought of serving God, but only to enrich his relations and like an eagle to set his own nest on high, goeth about through these and other impositions to drain England of all her money, by a sort of usurpation; and let them beware lest false simplicity in the matter bring on the ruin of the realm as well as thy own, when it would be too late to think of applying a remedy.

May the Lord of all virtue take the veil from that man's heart, and bestow on him a contrite and humble spirit, and cause him to discern the ways of the true God, and by them be extricated from his own errors and compelled to abandon his aforesaid sinister doings. Moreover, may the vineyard which the right hand of God planted, be filled with cultivators of the pure faith. And to encourage you to resist these attempts at usurpation, attend to the words of God in the prophecy of Jeremiah; “Thou pastor, which hast scattered my people and hast cast them out of their habitations, behold I will visit upon thee the evil of thy doings, nor shall there be a man of thy seed to sit on the throne of

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David and to rule in Judah any more. Let thy nest be deserted and be over-turned like Sodom and Gomorrah." (Jer. xxii. 30; xxiii. 1, 2, 14.) But if by these words he will not be deterred from these his enterprises, and will not be brought to make restitution of that which he hath taken, then let them regard him as a man hardened in impenitence, and sing against him the 109th Psalm; "Hold not thy peace, O God of my praise," &c. For truly as favour, grace, and benevolence, remitteth and neglecteth many offences; so again the gentle benignity of man, being too much oppressed and grieved, seeking to be delivered and freed from the same, striveth and searcheth to have the truth known, and casteth off that yoke, by all means possible, that grieveth him, &c.

What effect this letter wrought in them to whom it was directed, is not in story expressed. This by the sequel may be conjectured, that no reason or persuasion could prevail; but that the pope retained here still his exactions, whatever was said or written to the contrary.

A parliament in France, wherein is discussed how far the jurisdiction ecclesiastical extendeth.  
*See Appendix.*

And thus much being written hitherto of these acts and doings here in England, now to slip a little into matters happening nearly at the same time<sup>1</sup> in France, under the reign of Philip de Valois. Forasmuch as about this time (A.D. 1329) was commenced a parliament by the said king of France against the pope, touching the jurisdiction, both temporal, pertaining to princes, and ecclesiastical, belonging to the church; I thought it not unprofitable for the reader to hear and learn the full discourse and tradition thereof, according as we have caused it to be extracted faithfully out of the true copy and records of Peter Bertrand, bishop of Autun,<sup>2</sup> and chief doer and prolocutor in the said parliament upon the pope's side against the king and state temporal.

Forasmuch as the high prelate of Rome, otherwise called Antichrist, being then in his chief ruff, extolling himself above all princes and potentates of the world, as in other countries, so also in France, extended his usurped jurisdiction above the princely authority of the king, claiming to himself full government of both the states, as well secular as also ecclesiastical; the king, therefore, not suffering the excessive proceedings of pope John XXII. above specified, directeth his letters mandatory to the prelates and barons of the realm of France, to convene and assemble themselves together at Paris, about the beginning of December, the year above prefixed; the tenor of which letters of the king, as directed to the prelates, followeth in this form and manner.

The summons of Parliament by Philip, the French King.

Letter to the bishops and prelates.

Philip, by the grace of God king of the French, to our beloved and trusty the bishop of Autun, health and affection. Possessing, as you do, a fuller knowledge of divinity and the holy Scriptures, and more of that experience which is the mistress of other excellences, than our subjects generally, the more sensible are you how the clergy and laity of this realm, one and all, are bound as members of the same body to sympathize together, and mutually combine for the maintenance of unity and peace, and for avoiding the contrary as much as possible, every state contenting itself with its proper rights. Being advertised, then, that you and your officials complain of our bailiffs and officials, and of some of the barons of our realm of France, injuring you and yours, and in like manner that they complain of you and your officials, and the officers

(1) Our author here breaks into the chronological arrangement of his history, as he confesses at p. 640, but there reverts to it again.—ED.

(2) The work referred to is printed in the Biblioth. Patrum de la Bigne (Paris, 1624, tom. iii. col. 863), the Maxima Biblioth. Patrum (Lugd. 1677, tom. xxvi. p. 107), and Goldasti de Mon. tom. ii. p. 1361. Foxe's account has been collated with the original, and numerous errors corrected. Gallia Christiana, and Fleury's history, have also been consulted with great advantage as to the dates. See Appendix.—ED.

of your court, injuring us and them, and ours and theirs, as well in time past as now, by occasion whereof the bond of that true unity which ought to subsist between you and them (as was said) hath been somewhat loosened; and being anxious to maintain a good understanding between the clergy and laity, and, by God's help, to provide some remedy herein; we require and charge you by these presents, to appear before us at Paris by the Octaves of the Feast of St. Andrew [Dec. 7th] next ensuing, advised on the subject of the injuries which you allege to have been done you by the parties aforesaid. But we are by other letters of ours charging in like manner our bailiffs and officials and our barons aforesaid, to appear personally before us at Paris on the day aforesaid, advised on the subject of the injuries which they allege to have been done them and theirs by you and your officials; that a wholesome remedy therein may by us and our council be provided, whereby the bonds of love and attachment and sincere charity may for the future be preserved unbroken, as they ought to be, between you and them. Given at Paris, the first day of September, A.D. 1329.

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1329.*See Appendix.*

At the day in the letters above specified the prelates assembled themselves before the king at his palace in Paris, that is to say, the lord archbishops of Bourges, Auch, Tours, Rouen, and Sens; and the lord bishops of Beauvais, Chalons sur Marne, Laon, Paris, Noyons, Chartres, Coutances, Angers, Poitiers, Meaux, Cambray, St. Fleur, St. Brieu, Chalons sur Seine, and Autun. After due reverence done<sup>1</sup> by the said prelates unto the king's majesty there sitting in his own person, with certain barons and his council about him, a certain noble and wise person, lord Peter de Cugnières, being one of the king's council, rose up, and openly in the parliament house spake in the king's behalf on this wise, taking for his theme, "Render unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and unto God that which is God's" (Matth. xxii.), which he very skilfully prosecuted and applied, dividing it into two parts:—First, that obedience and reverence is due unto the king; Secondly, that there ought to be a difference between the jurisdiction of the clergy and laity, so that spiritual matters should be defined and ordered by the prelates and spiritual men, and temporal causes ruled and determined by the king, his barons and temporal men. All this he proved by many reasons both of fact and law, as more fully appeareth beneath in the answers of the archbishop of Sens elect and the bishop of Autun. Finally he concluded, that the clergy ought only to deal and have to do with spiritual matters; in defence whereof, the king's highness would stand their good lord and maintainer. His oration being ended, he repeated certain words in the French tongue, which imported that it was the king's intention to renew the temporal jurisdiction; and therewith he exhibited certain articles underwritten in French, whereof also he gave a copy to the prelates (translated into Latin), the contents whereof he affirmed not to appertain to the jurisdiction of the spirituality, but only to the temporality, complaining that the clergy had wrongfully proceeded in the same. But notwithstanding, having made his proposition, he said, that the prelates were at liberty to deliberate and confidentially consult the king thereupon. The copy of the articles and the grievances of the kingdom of France, wrought by the clergy and exhibited to the king, with the answers ensuing upon the same, hereunder follow.

The parliament convened.  
*See Appendix.*

Lord Peter speaks in the parliament.

The oration divided into two parts: obedience to the king; difference between the jurisdiction of the states temporal and ecclesiastical.

1. The cognizance of causes affecting real property, whether in possession or in right, by common law appertaineth to the temporal jurisdiction. But the

Articles in the parliament propounded.

(1) The first day, probably, was occupied in ceremonial. See *infra*, p. 619, note.—Ed.

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Prelates intermeddle in temporal men's matters.

prelates, with their officials, infringe the temporal jurisdiction, by taking upon them the determination of such causes real; especially in cases of actual possession and all cases of interdict.

2. Item, When a layman is disturbed or thwarted by a clerk in the possession of his land, and entereth a process before the secular power "in casu novitatis"<sup>1</sup> or otherwise, the prelates' officials at the instance of the clerk stop the temporal jurisdiction, warning both the secular judge and the party not to proceed any further in the cause, under pain of excommunication and forfeiture of a certain sum.

3. Item, Although the cognizance of laymen's matters, except in spiritual causes, belongeth to the secular judge, yet will the bishops' officials, at the instance of any party, call such before them; and if the laymen should demur to their jurisdiction, or the secular judges should require the cause to be remitted to them as the right judges, the officials refuse to do this, and even by excommunication compel the parties to proceed before them.

4. Item, If a clerk allege that he is injured in his immoveable property<sup>2</sup> by a layman, the prelates' officials will, at the instance of the clerk, proceed against the layman. And if the layman allege that the cause is one of real property (it being so indeed), and that for that cause it ought to be remitted to the secular judge, this notwithstanding, the officials aforesaid prohibit them, under pain of excommunication or some great forfeit, from proceeding before the secular judge.

5. Item, The bishops' officials endeavour to obtain the cognizance of contracts made in the secular courts either in writing or only by word of mouth; and by their monitions and censures endeavour to make it excommunication for any to enter into such contracts.

6. Item, The prelates decree provincial ordinances or by-laws and synodal statutes, enacting therein many things to the great prejudice of the temporal jurisdiction, whereof they ought to have no cognizance at all, neither to intermeddle therewith.

7. Item, The aforesaid officials appoint sworn notaries to draw the form of contracts made in places under the jurisdiction temporal, concerning the sale of immoveable property<sup>2</sup> or otherwise; encroaching thereby upon the other jurisdiction, when verily they have nothing to do with any contracts and obligations, but with such as are made and agreed upon within the compass of their own see and jurisdiction.

Ex officio.

Imprisonment pertaineth not to the clergy.

8. Item, The said officials, by their mere office, frequently call laymen before them to answer to certain matters which they lay to their charge, the cognizance whereof, they say, doth appertain unto them; and when the said persons do appear before them, and deny the crimes objected against them, the officials detain them and put them in prison; nor will they release them, although in such cases release on bail is allowed by the law, and imprisonment appertaineth only to the temporal power, and not to them.

9. Item, In the cases aforesaid, although in the inquiry and process instituted by the said officials the parties be found innocent of that which is laid to their charge and be acquitted, yet these said officials will in no wise discharge them, before they have paid for the writings and process in that behalf a good sum of money; when by law they ought in such cases to recover their costs.

10. Item, It must not be forgotten to mention the sentence of excommunication, which is summarily decreed by virtue of only one citation, so often as a man faileth to make his appearance.

11. Item, Mention is to be made of a certain kind of obligations, termed 'De nisi;' whereby a man is instantly excommunicated, if he make not payment at the day prefixed, although he be not able so to do.

12. Item, Whosoever by virtue of excommunication in the bishops' court is so excommunicated, and does not then pay the sum mentioned in the excommunication, the sum is forthwith doubled; and the secular power is charged by the bishops or their officials, that they, under pain of being excommunicated themselves, compel the excommunicated, by attaching their goods, to pay the said sum; which monition if the secular power refuse to put in execution, they themselves are then excommunicated, and cannot be absolved till they disburse that money which the principal excommunicated person should have paid.

(1) "Novitas," a law term, signifying "encroachment," or "trespass."—ED.

(2) "In rebus hereditariis suis." See Ducange.—ED.



13. Item, If the bailiffs, headboroughs, or other the king's officers and judges of the temporality, should be disposed to execute the said monitions, but should find those that be excommunicated destitute of effects; the said officers are bound, at their own proper costs and charges, to resort to the bishop's court, and there to take a corporal oath, that they found no effects with the parties excommunicated. This if they fail to do, those officers are sure to be excommunicated, and thereby forced to disburse the debt of the excommunicated persons.

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14. Item, If two laymen be in suit together before a temporal judge about an action either real or personal, and one of them after fair contestation of law seek to evade the issue, and do appeal to an ecclesiastical judge, such judge will often presume to take cognizance of such actions real and personal, warning the temporal judge to cease from meddling therein in consequence of the appeal; and if the secular judge obey not, he is pronounced excommunicate, and compelled to make satisfaction; by occasion whereof, the temporal jurisdiction is much infringed and clean loseth its prerogative; because no man ever appealeth from a spiritual judge to the temporal.

Actions real and personal. No man may appeal from a spiritual judge to the temporal law by the pope's divinity.

15. Item, If a layman, inhabiting any of the king's towns, procureth his debtor, being also a layman, to be arrested by the secular authorities of the place, then, if he who is so arrested appealeth up those who arrested him or caused him to be arrested, the bishops' officials will take upon them to hear this matter; and if any thing should be attempted in the way of opposition to the appeal, they demand satisfaction of the secular authorities as representing the party on whom the arrest was served. And if any of the king's servants advise them to resist this injury, they are straightways pronounced excommunicate.

16. Item, The said bishops have a number of officials under them, whom they term deans of the clergy, who frequently summon all sorts of people throughout the king's demesnes and elsewhere, only by word of mouth, to come before them, and that without commission; whereas in every diocese there ought to be one consistory, wherein alone causes should be heard and decided. And hereby it happeneth oftentimes that many are so summoned without any cause, to the end that they may pay a large sum of money to extricate themselves, which is to the no small prejudice of the king's majesty and of his subjects, and of the temporal jurisdiction.

Deans of the clergy.

17. Item, The said deans seal up the houses of the clergy, and others belonging even to temporal persons, which are situate in the king's towns, to the prejudice of the king's majesty's jurisdiction and that of the temporality in general; for in such places the bishops have no such kind of jurisdiction.

18. Item, The said prelates, or their officials, do presume to seal up the moveable goods of clerks who are married and merchants; whereas, in such cases, the ordering thereof appertaineth to the secular power.

Married clerks.

19. Item, They compel the laity to give security to clerks to answer before themselves in the spiritual courts; yea, and chiefly the king's own servitors.

20. Item, They claim the right, even within the jurisdiction of the king and his subjects, of making inventories of the goods of laymen deceasing.

21. Item, They presume to take cognizance of causes "hypothecariæ," which are real, or at least-wise mixed, that is, both real and personal.

22. Item, The said prelates go about to have cognizance of such temporal men's matters as dwell in hospitals and almshouses, whether situate in towns which are peculiars of the king or his subjects, or out of them, although the plea thereof appertaineth to the king himself and his subjects aforesaid; forbidding any man to be so hardy as to commence any suit against any of them but before themselves, on pain of excommunication and forfeiting a great sum of money.

23. Item, To the end the ecclesiastical rule should be aggrandized, they confer the tonsure on numbers of children under age, some of them being sons of bondmen, others born bastards; yea, and on many married folks, and disqualified and illiterate persons.

24. Item, They do cause their deans to attach widow-women and to take them under their surveillance, and will have the cognizance thereof; as in like manner they will have the wardship of minors, applying their goods when they die, as they do also the goods of those who die intestate, to their own use: the cognizance of all which matters belongeth to the king himself, because those kinds of persons with their goods are in ward to the king, and under his tuition.

25. Item, They cause temporal men of the king's demesnes, or elsewhere, in violation of all order of law, to be apprehended by their aforesaid deans,

Gins to get money.



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objecting to them that they have offended against some article of christian faith, and forthwith imprison them; whereas their apprehension and imprisonment appertain to the king, till such time as they be convicted of the crime alleged.

26. Item, They exercise their jurisdiction in all places, having no regard either to the king's peculiar towns nor yet to those of his subjects, but run into every hole; when, by law, they ought to have no jurisdiction without their own limits and precinct.

27. Item, When these prelates or their officials by their monitions do charge the king's officers and his justices to execute any thing, if they do not perform that which is prescribed unto them, they inflict a heavy fine; yea, and denounce excommunication against them. And this is a new invention sprung up of late amongst them, much to the prejudice of the king and his subjects.

28. Item, When the bishops or their officials do prosecute any temporal man "ex officio" in their own court, and have no proof of the matter, they compel many of the laity to depose what they know thereof, having no respect whether they be the king's burgesses, or not, or what they be; and yet will they not allow them any thing for their expenses: and if they appear not at their day, they are excommunicated.

29. Item, If an offender be apprehended by any of the king's justices, and indicted of theft, and he, to whom the stolen thing belonged, cometh before the king's sheriffs, and proveth it to be his, and redress should be afforded him by them; if the bishops or their officials affirm the said offender 'ex post facto' to be a clerk, they will by their monitions and citations compel the king's sheriffs to bring in the aforesaid stolen thing to them; and if they do it not, they are excommunicated.

30. Item, If it happen that the king's sheriff or bailiff take an offender for some offence, and he affirmeth himself to be a clerk, although he have no kind of tonsure and wear no habit appertaining thereunto; yet the bishops or their officials will by their monitions cause the detainers of him instantly to deliver up the said offender to them as their clerk.

31. Item, If it happen that the king's sheriff, or any other secular justice, take a thief or even a murderer who beareth a clerk's tonsure, and therefor delivereth him to the clergy to be ordered, it shall not be long before he be acquitted by them, although he acknowledge the charge; yea, and notwithstanding that any laymen who may have been his accomplices in that affair should have been brought to justice for the same, and impeached him thereof; and so such offenders are thereby encouraged to commit the like again.

32. Item, If any complaineth and saith that he is spoiled, by and by the officials will grant a monition against the spoiler, by virtue whereof some one of the deans of the clergy will admonish him to resign into his hands the things comprised in the monition, or else swear that he hath not spoiled the plaintiff of such things as he saith he was spoiled of. But if he refuse to take such an oath before him, then the dean will straightways seal the monition and excommunicate him; and by no means shall he be absolved, before he restore and satisfy the things comprised in the monition, whereof the plaintiff had said that he was spoiled.

33. Item, If any for his offence be cast into prison by the secular power, although at the time of his taking he wore a lay habit, and had no tonsure, but all the days of his life had lived like a layman; yet, if he shall avouch himself to be a clerk, to the intent to have better speed at the clergy's hands than from the secular power, and to escape unpunished, the clergy will immediately issue a monition to the secular power to give up and surrender the offender to them, or else an interdict will be laid on the whole township where the said offender shall be so imprisoned; and, for avoiding the jeopardy which might arise out of the said interdict, the secular judges are of necessity compelled to deliver up the offender, to the great prejudice of the king's temporal jurisdiction, to whom the cognizance thereof appertained "in casu ressorti."

34. Item, When any offender is delivered up by the temporal magistrates to the ecclesiastical, on the plea of his being a clerk, his friends will make suit to the bishop's officials for him, and compound with them, by reason whereof they dismiss parties unpunished; and so they do worse than ever, although their crimes before were sufficiently scandalous.

Ressort-  
tum.

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35. Item, As soon as any married clerk, being a merchant, or of whatsoever other occupation he be, for some offence by him committed is called before the secular judge, the said clerk obtaineth of the officials a monition, and taketh with him some priest, who doth inhibit the secular judge under pain of one or two hundred marks, yea and of excommunication too, not to proceed further, nor to meddle in such causes, and not to molest such parties either in body or goods: and, if the judge obey not, the celebration of religious rites is suspended in that place, although the matter concerneth merchandise.

36. Item, The said officials grant citations without number against the laity "*in casu assecuramenti*," personally to cite before them persons unknown; but, if the persons be known, it is contained in the citation, that in no wise, and that under a great penalty, they cause their adversary to be called before a secular judge, while the present citation is pending and in force.

37. Item, When one is excommunicated in any place, the said officials grant out personal citations against those, who do participate or are conversant with the excommunicated, causing a whole country for the space of one or two leagues round about to be cited together. And further, the friends and acquaintance of the party so excommunicated, sometimes forty, sometimes sixty, yea and sometimes a hundred at once, are compelled to make their purgation before them, that they do not participate or keep company with their friends the excommunicates. Whereby ensueth, that many honest old men for avoiding of trouble and expense do pay some twelve pence, some two shillings; by occasion whereof many vineyards are unlooked to, much ground is untilled, yea, and many good men are constrained to lay the key under the door and run away.

38. Item, The said officials do burden many persons of good name and fame with being usurers, whereby they are constrained to compound with them, to avoid the infamy that thereby might ensue.

39. Item, The aforesaid officials call by citation before them the honestly wedded, as well man as woman, charging them, that they have committed adultery; to the perpetual scandal of virtuous husbands and wives: and all for nothing else but for extortion, to wring money from them.

40. Item, Mention must be made of the multitude of proctors, who eat and devour up all the world with their citations, and catch clients, and hold courts and assizes of their own throughout the country, and of their own authority drop their citations for money which they extort from the parties cited.

41. Item, There be many other griefs and enormities, which the chapters, abbots, priors, provosts of hospitals, and other ecclesiastical persons in the realm of France, practise against the people; as, when they cause to be cited before them many of the king's burgesses, and others belonging to divers privileged places: for instance, citizens of St. Brien, Nantes in Bretagne, Lyons, Maçon, with other more. But especially the provosts of hospitals use this trick more commonly than any others do, whereby the people are much endamaged, and will be every day more and more, if remedy be not had therein.

42. Item, Ecclesiastical magistrates labour to have cognizance of causes of injury, of whatsoever nature it be, whether the injury be committed by word or deed. Likewise they take upon them to hear the causes of the wives of married clerks, although both they and their husbands be merchants by occupation; and if at any time such couples be taken by the secular magistrates, the official causeth an interdict to be laid on that parish, by virtue of the council of Senlis.

43. Item, They challenge to have cognizance concerning widows' goods, both moveable and immoveable; and if it happeneth, at any time, that a merchant's widow, living in any of the king's peculiars, by way of arrest procureth any temporal man to be convented before the secular judge, and the matter proceed so far that he should actually have been condemned by the sentence of the secular judge, and then it come to the ear of the ecclesiastical judge that the widow did summon her debtor before the other tribunal, the said temporal judge will be called to account, and by their monitions and censures they will compel him to make amends: and this oftentimes happeneth.

44. Item, Many of the tenants and inhabitors of the bishops' lands call one another to the court of the officials by a particular kind of appeal termed '*Volagia*,' whereof the officials presume to take cognizance, to the prejudice of the temporal jurisdiction of our sovereign lord the king.

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The  
clergy  
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dicial to  
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Ex officio.

Usury  
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laymen.

The pre-  
lates  
make the  
church a  
den of  
thieves.

45. Item, If any man be apprehended by a secular justice in a riot wherein blood was shed, he is to be ordered by him, if he be lay; but if he be a clerk, he is to be surrendered to the ecclesiastical judge. Whether he be a temporal man or a clerk, however, who is so taken, if he appealeth to the officials' court, they will be so bold as to take cognizance thereof, requiring withal amends of the secular court, which undertook the aforesaid apprehension. If this be suffered, offenders shall never be punished, for by and by they will appeal, and immediately after the appeal fly and void away.

46. Item, When they cause many "ex officio" to be cited before them, they will not allow them to have proctors; to whom, when they come at the day assigned, they object the crime of usury; and except they answer as the promoters themselves wish, they are trodden under foot (although they be mere laymen), and shall not be dismissed before they fine just as the officials themselves list, although they be no usurers; but if any be usurers, the said officials take of them fees and bribes, and then they are permitted to practise their usury as before, so that the others may have their old fees and bribes.

47. Item, They procure their officers to apprehend clerks in whatsoever soil they be found, in spite of their appealing to the justice of the place: and if by any they be hindered of their will herein, they by sentence of excommunication do forthwith cause them to desist therefrom.

48. Item, As often as any temporal magistrats apprehend any person, who afterwards, on being demanded by the ecclesiastical authorities as a clerk, is given up to them without demur, yet, for all that, the officials cause those magistrats to be denounced as excommunicate by the canon law.

49. Item, The prelates grant the tonsure as well to men of thirty years and upward, as also to married men, when they come to them in fear of imprisonment and punishment due unto them for some criminal offence before committed; and this is oftentimes put in practice.

50. Item, If it happen that any of the king's servants or any others are excommunicate, who would fain be absolved, being glad to pay reasonably for the same, the clergy will not accept satisfaction but such as shall please them; wherefore many of them remain still excommunicate.

51. Item, When two persons have been at strife together respecting immoveable<sup>1</sup> property, and the matter in dispute is put into the hands of the king by some servant or officer of the king, for the taking up of the matter, then do the prelates admonish the one part not to trouble the other who is in possession; otherwise, if he do, they excommunicate him.

52. Item, The aforesaid prelates, deans, chaplains, and the rest of the clergy, put the king's officers to so much trouble and expense in defending the king's jurisdiction, invaded as in the aforesaid instances, that many of them spend and consume, in the maintenance of the king's right and title, all that they have.

53. Item, If any secular justice for a true and just cause, at the request of the party, putteth in his helping hand concerning immoveable<sup>1</sup> property of clerks, the ecclesiastical judges and their ministers send out monitions in writing against the said justice, yea, under pain of excommunication and forfeiture, to take away his hand and leave off; enjoining him further to suffer the other party quietly to enjoy the said things. Otherwise they denounce him excommunicate, and he shall not be absolved before he have well paid for it, even as pleaseth 'master official;' to the prejudice of the authority of our sovereign lord the king.

54. Item, The ecclesiastical authorities, as soon as they hear that any rich or fat 'Cob' is dead,<sup>2</sup> or think that he cannot live long, send out, forthwith, letters under their seal to the clergyman, commanding him in no wise to presume to bury him, although he made his testament and received the rites of the church. And when, afterwards, the friends and kinsfolks of the dead resort unto them to know the cause of their inhibition, they assert that he was an usurer, and that he kept not the commandments of the church: and so long keep they the corpse of the dead unburied, till his friends redeem it with good store of money; by which means they have acquired large sums of money.

Note the  
practice  
of officials  
to get  
money.

(1) "Hereditagia." See Ducange.—En.

(2) "Quodd aliquis dives decessit," is the Latin: "cob" was sometimes used for a rich, covetous person. "And of them all cobbing country chuffes, which make their bellies and their bagges their gods, are called rich cobbies." Nash's Lenten Stuff, cited in Nares's Glossary.—Ed.

55. Item, If there be any violent shedding of blood in any church-yard whereby an interdict taketh place, the clergy causeth a fine of ten pounds to be levied on all the parishioners, as their consideration for the purgation of their church-yard, although some of the parishioners be exempt from their jurisdiction; yea, and although he who shed the blood has already paid the whole sum which they levied, and more too.

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56. Item, Certain chaplains affirm themselves to have certain apostolic privileges, by virtue whereof they appoint what judges they will, yea, and oftentimes of their own college, and so they be judges in their own cause; which is plainly against the law. By this oftentimes it happeneth, that after great process and expenses incurred in some great cause (more often about realty than otherwise), on receiving a hint from their own proctors and advocates that they shall have the foil therein, they revoke forthwith those aforementioned judges; and so the king's subjects are damnified, and can have no justice or redress at their hands.

57. Item, If any layman call a clerk before a secular judge in case of inheritance,<sup>2</sup> the ecclesiastical judges procure a stop to be made therein, claiming to themselves the cognizance thereof: and the layman is constrained to make satisfaction for taking such a course.

58. Item, The clergy challenge the cognizance of such causes as married clerks, being merchants and artificers, do commence; when by law they appertain to the temporality, especially about the matters of merchandise.

59. Item, They oftentimes lay interdict on the king's towns and castles, and cause the divine service to cease; contrary to the privileges granted by many of the high bishops of Rome to our sovereign lord the king.

60. Item, To and for the maintenance and keeping of their temporalities, they appoint their own clerks to be their bailiffs and officers; who, if they do offend, are not condignly punished according to law and justice.

61. Item, The ecclesiastical judges have proctors belonging to them, who, when any man is excommunicated (be it right, or be it wrong), cause by their monitions that no man shall work or do any thing for him that is excommunicated; whereby the lands and vineyards oftentimes remain untilld, to the no small prejudice of the king and his people.

62. Item, The aforesaid promoters cause citations to be made out, whereby they summon in one citation twenty, thirty, forty persons or more to appear, for communicating with such interdicted persons; taking of some ten, of others twenty shillings, according as they are able: whereby the common people are much oppressed.

63. Item, The ecclesiastical judges cause all the advocates of their courts to be sworn, that none shall retain them as counsel against them without their license: whereby oftentimes, the poor man quite loseth his right, and the king's own pensioners cannot freely act as counsel, without special license of the judges.

64. Item, They will make inventories of their goods who die intestate; and will have the possession of their goods, as well moveable as immoveable, to distribute with their own hands to the heirs, or to whom they list.

65. Item, The execution also of wills in general they take into their own hands, taking inventories of dead men's goods, and keeping or disposing of them to the heirs after their pleasure. And they have officials properly deputed for the execution thereof.

66. Item, They sometimes will not give credit to wills made before witnesses, unless they be first by their own officials approved.

After the lord Peter had thus spoken, the prelates required to have time to answer thereunto: whereupon, the Friday<sup>1</sup> next ensuing was appointed for the same. On that day, being December the 15th, the lord Peter Roger, archbishop of Sens elect, in the name of the whole clergy answered for them all before the king, holding his parliament that day at Vincennes; and thus he there propounded:—

The archbishop of Sens, elect, prolocutor for the prelates.  
*See Appendix.*

(1) Dec. 7th, the day on which the parliament assembled, fell on a Thursday in 1329 (by Nicholas's Tables); the lord Peter de Cugnieres stated his case and produced the foregoing articles against the clergy the next day, and a week was then given to the prelates to reply. See *supra*, p. 613, note.—Ed.

(2) "In causa hereditaria:" see p. 614, note (2), p. 618, note (1).—Ed.

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## Answer of the Prelates to the Lord Peter's Oration before Philip, the French King.

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Recapitu-  
lation of  
the Lord  
Peter's  
oration.

At the last meeting, the lord Peter de Cugnieres, propounding against the Church of France, took for his theme that which is written in the twenty-second chapter of Matthew, "Render unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and unto God that which is God's;" in which words, he said, two points were to be noted: first, the reverence and subjection which the prelates ought to shew to the king their sovereign; secondly, the separation of the temporal jurisdiction from the spiritual. The first whereof he went about to prove out of the second chapter of the first epistle of Peter, where it is written, "Submit yourselves unto every human creature for the Lord's sake, whether it be unto the king, as unto the superior, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent of him for the punishment of evil doers and for the praise of them that do well." The second point he went about to prove by the words of our Saviour Christ in Luke (chap. xxii.), where the apostle saith, "Lord, behold, here are two swords," and he said unto them, "It is enough;" understanding by the two swords the two jurisdictions: and likewise out of Matthew (chap. xvii.), where Christ would pay tribute for himself and Peter, giving hereby an example, how that ecclesiastical persons were bound to pay and yield to the temporal power the temporalities; which also is proved in the canon law, *Causa xi. Quæst. 1. cap. 'Si tributum' et cap. 'Magnum.'*

And further, he argued the same points from the civil law, (*Corpus Authentic. Collatio i., Tit. vi. Novella vi. in principio, 'Quomodo oporteat Episcopos et clericos ad ordinem reduci;'* where it is said, two great gifts are bestowed, priesthood and empire, priesthood to rule over matters divine, empire to bear domination over human matters. Whence he concluded, that seeing these jurisdictions are distinguished of God (the one being given and limited to the church, and the other to the temporality), the church in no wise ought to intermeddle with the temporal jurisdiction, seeing it is written in Proverbs (chap. xxiii.), "You ought not to pass the ancient limits and bounds, which the forefathers have set." And he laid much stress on the word "ancient;" because customs (he said) brought in to the contrary be of no force, but rather are counted abuses and corruptions. Neither (said he) can prescription take place, for that "jus fisci" is imprescriptible: neither can the king renounce such his royal right: proving the same by many chapters contained in the 10th Distinction. Wherefore seeing the king, at the time he was crowned, swore not only not to alienate or infringe the rights of his realm, but even to restore such rights as had been alienated and usurped either by the church or by any other, the king was bound by his oath to revoke the said abuses.

Also, he did exhibit many particular articles in writing, wherein, as he said, the church did usurp upon the jurisdiction temporal.

Reply to  
the above  
oration by  
the arch-  
bishop of  
Sens,  
elect.

To answer these premises with reconciling of the places, I take for my theme that which is written 1 Pet. ii.; under previous protestation, that whatsoever I shall say, it is not to ground or make any final judgment or determination herein; but only to inform the conscience of our sovereign lord the king and his assessors here assembled. I proceed therefore to consider what the apostle saith (1 Pet. ii.), "Fear God and honour the king." In which words St. Peter teacheth us two things: First, that filial fear and obedience are due unto God for the mightiness and puissance of his majesty, saying, "Fear God;" Secondly, that special honour and reverence is due to the king for the excellency of his dignity, saying "Honour the king." But note you by the way, how the apostle placeth his words: first he saith, that fear is due unto God, because principally and in chief we ought to fear God. For if the king or any other should command things contrary to God, we ought to have no regard thereof, but to condemn the king and obey God. For it is written in the Acts of the Apostles (chap. v.), "We ought rather to obey God than men;" and also in the second book of Maccabees (chap. vii.) it is said, "I will not obey the commandments of the king, but the law." The reason of this St. Augustine giveth thus, in his gloss upon Romans (xiii. 2), cited also in the *Causa xi. Quæst. 3. cap. 97. 'Qui resistit:'*—"But put the case, thou art commanded to do that which thou canst not or mayest not do: doubtless, that thou must neglect the lesser power and fear the higher in such a case, is a lesson which thou art taught by the degrees of worldly things. As for example, be it so that a procurator commandeth thee any thing, and the same be against the proconsul,



thou oughtest not to follow it. Yea, and further, put the case that the proconsul commandeth one thing, the emperor another, and God willeth the third, thou must not care for them, but obey God, for God is the greater power. For they may threaten thee with prison, but God threateneth thee with hell fire: they may kill thy body, but God may send thee, body and soul, to hell fire." And therefore worthily it is put first, "Fear God." And here the place in the last of Ecclesiastes is to be adjoined, where it is written, "Fear God and keep his commandments." And methinks, a man's fear of God is to be estimated chiefly from three things: that is to say, first, from his bountiful bestowing of God's gifts and benefits; secondly, from his honouring and providing for God's ministers; and lastly, from his full rendering unto every man his own.

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Fear of  
God  
standeth  
in three  
points.

First, I say, from the bountiful bestowing of God's gifts and benefits. And for this cause the emperor Justinian writeth: "Although hardly anything is to be accounted good, which is unmeasured, yet for a prince to bestow unmeasured favours upon the church, is good." Nay, the emperor is bound to bestow so much the more, as God hath given him more, and to be himself, as it were, one great gift, and to give readily, especially to the holy churches, wherein the best measure is an unmeasured abundance of the Lord's property." And to this end Gregory saith to Albert, a French noble [cap. 1, Extra "de donationibus"], that a nobleman ought in a manner to prescribe this law to himself, to think himself bound to give even what he giveth voluntarily; and unless he still increase in giving, to think that he hath given nothing. <sup>2</sup>Wherefore Abel, as

(1) *A brief Recapitulation of the Archbishop of Sens's Answer, with certain Notes in Reply to his Popish Reasons, addressed to the Reader.*

The answer of the archbishop of Sens, in the name of the other prelates, to the oration and articles before objected by the lord Peter, consisteth of two parts. First, it declareth the fear due to God. Secondly, the honour due to the king. The first of these is, the fear of God, which, he saith, consisteth in three things. 1. In giving to God. 2. In honouring his ministers. 3. In restoring that which hath been taken away, &c. The second, which is the honouring of the king, he saith, consisteth in a double sort; that is, in words only, wherein is flattery. Also in deed; which again he divideth into four members. 1. When a man counselleth a king to that for which his dominion is loved. 2. When the king is counselled to that whereby his honour and excellency is not diminished. 3. When the king is counselled to that whereby his fame and renown is maintained. 4. When a king is counselled to that, whereby his conscience is not wounded, &c. And this is the order of his whole tractation. Now remaineth with like brevity, to recite the reasons and arguments in order, whereby he proveth the premises, with the subdivision of every member and part thereof. Wherein the studious reader may note both the subtle proceedings of these popish prelates, and also the feeble and impotent ground whereupon they build; whose building, as by this discourse and many others may appear, wholly and finally tendeth to this: To maintain their liberties, pomp, and estimation, above all other secular princes and persons.

First, as concerning fear to be given to God, which he divideth into three parts, in giving, in honouring, and restoring; for the first, he proveth that princes ought to give largely and without measure to the church, by these arguments.

By the testimony of Justinian: although nothing is good which is too much, yet, I answer, that in the time of Justinian, goods then given to the church, were the goods of the poor; wherein were used faithful distribution, voluntary giving, and necessary charity. But now, in our popish churches, revenues and lands given are not distributed to the poor; and yet are men compelled against their will to give still. And again, so little necessity is now to give to such, that almost all the wealth of realms is in their hands and houses; insomuch that they, flowing in such wealth, are now waxen so proud, that kings can scarcely bear any rule for them, as was proved before, that the pope's revenues here in England, amounted to more than three times double the stint of the king's crown. Wherefore by the counsel of Justinian, it was so then, and then might stand, "quod religio peperit divitias:" but now, as the time is altered, so that counsel holdeth not, "postquam nunc filia devoravit matrem;" that is, "after that the daughter hath devoured the mother." Finally, concerning men's giving to the church in these our popish days, four faults I note:

Four in-  
commodities, in  
giving to the  
church.

First, that they give superfluously more than is sufficient to necessity of life.

Secondly, that they give to such as abuse it wickedly.

Thirdly, that in giving to them that need not, noblemen in mean time defraud their poor neighbours, who need indeed, and yet do not complain.

Fourthly, because of this title of giving, men have used, and yet do use, to put great hope of salvation therein, contrary to the testament of God in Christ's death, whereof examples are before.

(2) "Abel offered of the best to the Lord, and was blessed of God;" ergo, every great man that would be blessed of God, must offer of the best he hath unto the church. Answer: This argument, as it is far fetched, so it is soon answered, wherein three notes are to be observed.

Three things to  
be noted  
in offer-  
ing to  
God and  
to the  
church.

First, that he who offereth unto the church of God, doth not therein offer unto God immediately as Abel did.

Secondly, neither is this to be granted, that he who offereth to all churchmen, offereth by and by to the church of God; for many times the churchmen are one, and the church of God is another. Lawrence, the martyr, showing forth the church of God, brought out the poor of the parish, and not the priests of the church.

The third note is; that if noble persons should offer unto God (by the example of Abel) that which is the best and fattest of the flock; then should they offer unto the Lord of their flocks only, and not of their lands. Yea, and to note the very truth, they are taught thereby to offer to God, neither cattle nor lands, but that which is the very best, that is, their own bodies for a lively sacrifice to God. He that offereth up to God a proud heart, and killeth it with the axe of humility, giveth unto him the best and fattest bullock he hath in all his flock. With like reason also I answer the place in Num. xviii. and of Chronicles [cap. iiii.]

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What  
benefit  
cometh  
by giving  
to the  
church.

In time of  
war.

In time of  
peace.

Two  
things to  
be noted  
in giving  
honour,  
wherein  
consist-  
eth hon-  
our  
given to  
priests.

How far  
honour  
given to  
priests  
extend-  
eth

appeareth in Genesis iv., who offered of the best to the Lord, was blessed of God. And therefore divers kings, the more they offered to God, the more they were both spiritually and temporally blessed of him; as we read of Joshua, David, Solomon, and others in the book of the Kings. And therefore it is written in Numbers xviii.: "And ye shall separate unto the Lord's treasury things that be best." As likewise David saith, in the first book of Paralipomena,<sup>1</sup> the last chapter: "I have willingly offered all these things, and now have I seen with joy thy people which here are present offer with a free will unto thee." And no marvel, for David saith in that place: "All things come of thee, and of thine own have we given thee." And it seemeth to me, that because the kings of France, and the barons of the same, have given to God and his church more than those of any other realm, therefore they have been happy above all others, and the more they did give to God, the more they received at his hands: examples whereof we have in Clovis, Charlemagne, St. Louis, and others. For the more one giveth to God, the more one receiveth of him, agreeably to his own promise [Luke vi.], "Give and it shall be given unto you." Wherefore, a gift that a prince bestoweth upon the church is rendered to him again with large increase, and that both in time of war, and in time of peace. I say in war time, because victory proceedeth of no other, but only of God; as it is written in the first book of Maccabees, (chap. iii.): "The victory of battle standeth not in the multitude of the host, but strength cometh from heaven." And likewise in Exodus xvii. it is declared, "that when Moses held up his hands, Israel had the victory: but when he let down his hands, Amalek had the victory." To this end also serveth the last chapter of the second book of Maccabees, where Judas, being at the point to have the victory over the enemy, saw Onias, who had been high priest and a very virtuous man, and Jeremy the prophet, holding up their hands towards heaven, and praying for the people and the whole city. I said also in time of peace, because the life of the king and of his sons, and prosperity, peace, and obedience, are maintained in the realm by the prayers of the church. Wherefore, as long as Solomon was intent on the building the house of God, so long he had peace; who thus in Proverbs xvi. teacheth us, "When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh his very enemies to be at peace with him;" and also in 1 Esdras, chap. vi., it is read, how the priests were commanded to offer oblations to the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the king and his children. And well therefore may it be called a gift both favourable and irrevocable, whereby victory is given, life granted, and peace and security preserved. To serve God therefore, and liberally to give towards the worship of him, is the chiefest sign and token of Divine fear and love. "O ye that fear the Lord, believe him, and your reward shall not fail." [Ecclus. ii.]

Secondly,<sup>2</sup> Concerning the fear of God, I would have you understand, that that to offer up, or to separate unto the Lord's treasury, is not now to give to priests and chaplains of the church, who, peradventure, have more than they do well occupy; but to give liberally to the communion of saints who are needy, and are the true treasury of the church indeed, as Lawrence the true treasurer said.

(3) 1 Chronicles, xxxix. 17.—Ed.

(4) "By God's commandment we are bound in duty to honour our temporal fathers." *Ergo*, by the same duty we are bound much rather to honour our spiritual fathers, that is, priests and prelates. Answer: A father in common speech is diversely taken, as by age, by nature, by office. And to all these we of duty are bound to yield honour, reverence, obedience, submission; albeit not all after one sort, nor in like degree. For as we are bound to honour our fathers and mothers, so aged men and elders have also their honour and name of fathers; so magistrates and spiritual teachers, in their kind, have their honour and reverence. And St. Paul saith, [1 Tim. v.] "that such are worthy of double honour," "*qui bene præsunt, et qui laborant in sermone.*" But, in this, two things are to be noted: Wherein this honour consisteth, and how far it extendeth. These spiritual fathers of the church think they be not honoured enough unless kings and emperors give and surrender unto them all the temporal rule and government, to do what they list, and none to control them: and unless noblemen and subjects endow them with temporal lands and possessions as much as they would have. And this they call honour, which they define only by giving temporally: where indeed it rather consisteth in giving spiritually, as to have a reverent opinion of their ministration, to yield a prompt obedience to their doctrine, to reverence them as the ministers of God, and not to despise, defame, or molest their persons; whereof St. Paul, also, about the same place speaketh, writing to Timothy, "Let no man despise thy youth," &c. And to Titus, "Let no man despise thee," &c. And this is to honour our spiritual fathers.

Secondly, To consider how far this honour extendeth: as no man doth deny, but that these pastors are worthy their double honour who rule well, so, if they administer not their office well, they are, under the oversight of the king bearing the temporal sword, worthy of double punishment. And yet to consider this double honour in them that rule well, how far it doth extend: if it be compared to the honour due to our parents, a case of necessity will soon decide it. For be it that our parents on the one side, and pastor on the other, stand in extreme need of the son's sup-

among the precepts of the Lord, the first and chiefest commandment of the second table is, to "honour thy father:" which precept is very well expounded in the Hebrews [chap. xii.], where it is not only meant of the fathers of our bodies, but also of the Father of spirits. For as spiritual things do far exceed temporal matters; so much more a great deal the spiritual son is bound to reverence the spiritual father, and to be in subjection unto him, that he may live. And that the priests and prelates be the spiritual fathers, it is proved 2 Kings vi., where the king of Israel called Elizeus "father," saying, "My father, shall I smite them?" Unto this effect our Saviour [Luke x.] said to the apostles, whose successors the bishops are, "He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me;" also the apostle Paul [1 Thess. iv.], "He that despiseth you, despiseth not men, but God." Wherefore Justinian the emperor in another place saith, "We have great care to the church of God, that therein may be true doctrine and integrity of priest's life, which having, we trust that for our great gifts we shall receive such rewards at God's hands, as shall both be durable, and remain; yea and also what hitherto hath not happened." Blessed St. Gregory, in his Register, writing to a certain emperor, which is also to be seen in the Decrees,<sup>5</sup> saith, "Let not the emperor disdain priests, but have special regard to them for His sake whose servants they be; and so let him rule over them, that due and condign reverence be given unto them. For they in the divine Scriptures are sometimes termed gods, sometimes named angels [Exod. xxii.], 'Then shall both their causes come before the gods.' Also Malachi ii., 'The priest's lips should be sure of knowledge, that men may seek the law at his mouth: for he is a messenger of the Lord of hosts.' And therefore it is no marvel, if we should vouchsafe to honour them, when God himself, in his speech attributing to them honour, termeth them gods and angels." And here is to be noted, how Constantine the emperor, when certain of his subjects presented unto him libels accusatory against the bishops, received them at their hands. But calling before him those bishops that were accused therein, in their sight he cast those libels into the fire, saying, "Depart you hence, and discuss these matters among yourselves; for it is not convenient and meet that we judge gods, because it is written, 'God stood in the synagogue of gods, and in the midst of them he did judge gods.'" In the same chapter it is declared, how that the Pagans, who worshipped golden and wooden gods, attributed great honour to the priests. What marvel is it then, if the godly and great and christian emperors do honour and reverence the priests of the true God? And, doubtless, it is their duty so to do. And it is reason, which the lord Peter, the last day, said in this point; that there are two powers, priesthood and dominion, the one spiritual, the other temporal, which no less differ one from the other, than the sun from the moon, the heaven from the earth, and gold from lead. And therefore if honour is due and to be given to the lesser power, by them that be underneath him: he that is chief of the higher power, of right good duty, is to be honoured and revered by all under him, as expressly is declared, cap. 'Solitæ' De maj. et obed. where answer is fully made to the allegation of the lord Peter, alleged by him to make for his own purpose, that is to say, "Be ye subject to all creatures for God's sake," &c. There he speaketh of the subjection which standeth upon the merit of virtue, and not upon the duty of necessity. For else, if he should speak of the subjection which is by duty of necessity; then must it needs follow, that every bishop ought to be subject to every beggarly rascal in the city of Paris. For the text is, "Be ye subject to all human creatures:" but a rascal is a human creature: ergo, bishops must be subject to a rascal. Of the dignity of a bishop, Gregory talketh in his pastoral. "The honour," saith he, "and the majesty of a bishop is without all comparison. If you compare it to the royalty of a king, it is even as you would compare metal or lead to the beauty of gold; for that is to be seen, when kings and princes stooping under the knees of priests and kissing their right hand, think themselves to be defended by their prayer." And because the kings of France have, more than others, honoured and revered the prelates, they have, above all others, flourished

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Second part of fearing God. Honouring spiritual fathers.

Honour to be given to priests.

Two powers, temporal and spiritual, and what difference between them both.

See Appendix. Double subjection upon merit of virtue, and upon duty of necessity. Authority of a bishop and a king compared. Pride of the pre-lacy.

portation, wherein he can help but the one: nature, I suppose, sooner will and ought to run, and the word of Christ will sooner drive us, to our father, than to the priest's corban [Mark vii.]: so that this distinction may have place here: That as the one standeth upon merit of virtue, so the other standeth upon mere duty of necessity.

(5) Decret. Pars ii. Causa xi. quæst. i. cap. 41. "Sacerdotibus."

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Third  
part of  
tearing  
God

A thing  
made  
mine,  
divers  
ways.

Six proofs  
that the  
jurisdic-  
tions tem-  
poral and  
spiritual,  
are com-  
patible in  
one per-  
son.

Forms  
being dis-  
like and  
not con-  
trary, may  
be com-  
patible in  
one sub-  
ject.

and prospered. It is said, Eccles. iii., "He that honoureth his father, shall rejoice in his sons." And it followeth there, "He that honoureth his father, shall live a long life." This is therefore the sign of the fear of God. And as it is written, Eccles. iii., "He that feareth God honoureth his parents."

Thirdly, I say, that a man ought to fear God, in the full reverencing and restoring unto man what is his; for he that doth not give to another what is his, but goeth about to usurp, doubtless he feareth not God. Contrary, he that restoreth all again, he is said to love and fear God. [Eccles. xviii.] "He that feareth God will do good things;" and in the Psalm, "I have been afraid of thy judgments, and have done judgment and justice." For as the lawyers say, which is true, "a thing may be made mine divers ways, as by succession, commutation, prescription, or any other acquisition, either by law or custom;" and so of the rest. And whereas the lord Peter, the last day, by distinction of jurisdiction, temporal and spiritual, endeavoured to prove that he who hath spiritual jurisdiction, ought not to have temporal; otherwise there were no distinction thereof, but rather a confusion of jurisdictions: I will therefore prove the contrary, that these jurisdictions are both compatible in one person, especially in an ecclesiastical man;<sup>6</sup> and this will I prove by the law of God, by the law of nature, canon law, civil law, custom and privilege. But first I allege, that in accidental forms, some of them are distinct, that they are not clean contrary, but unlike, as whiteness and sweetness. Other forms there be which are so distinct, that they are clean contrary one to the other, and are not compatible in one subject, for one contrary expels another, and importeth the negative of the other. Wherefore those things be contrary, which one from another are most of all distant and disagreeing, and which, in one susceptible, may come one after the other, but not together, as the philosopher teacheth in the Predicaments. But those forms which are so distinct that they be not contrary, but unlike, are compatible in one subject, as quantity and quality, which, being distinct in respect of their 'genus generalissimum,' yet may be in one person; and fortitude and temperance, being under one kind of moral virtue, are found to be in one man, as logic and grammar, which are also species and kinds in one genus, viz. of 'intellectus.' Therefore it is no good argument:<sup>7</sup> These forms be distinct, ergo, they be not compatible in one subject. And, therefore, that the jurisdictions temporal and spiritual are so distinct, that they are not contrary but compatible, it is evident hereby; because things contrary be so, that the one cannot be ordained to concur with the other, but rather the one confoundeth and destroyeth the other: but, in this case, jurisdiction temporal is ordained for the spiritual; and contrary, the spiritual for the temporal. Or rather, the one dependeth on the other, as the clearness of the moon doth on the brightness of the sun. Also the one jurisdiction so helpeth and comforteth the other, that there is no contrariety in them. And therefore it is no good consequence, because they are distinct, ergo, they are not compatible in one person. This also is to be proved *de facto*. "For the earth is the Lord's, and the plenty of the whole universal world, and all that dwell therein." It is proved likewise by this reason: for if the jurisdictions be not compatible, it should follow, that no ecclesiastical person should have any jot of temporal jurisdiction, neither land, tower, castle, lordship, nor any thing else; which is most absurd: and so by this means it should follow, that no ecclesiastical person should be in subjection unto the king, which were to the great derogation of the king's majesty's crown and dignity. It must needs be, therefore, that these jurisdictions be compatible, notwithstanding the distinction of them one from another. And thus much for answer to all these reasons, by the which lord Peter proved the distinction of these jurisdictions.

(6) "These jurisdictions temporal and spiritual, are compatible in one person." Answer: I grant "pro ratione subjecti;" that is, in the subject itself there is no cause to the contrary, but these vocations may both be exercised by one person, as they have been by the pope, one after the other, (and so may contrary forms also) and yet the pope's person hath been able to sustain them both. But now, here is to be considered, not, what the nature of the subject is able to bear by logic, but what order is taken herein by the will of God, whose order is this: that they, who with Peter are called to the feeding of the flock, should leave their fishing-nets, and fish for men; and that they who labour in the warfare of the Lord should not entangle themselves with the business of this life, whereby they may be more free to please him, whose soldiers they are. [Tit. ii.]

(7) "The jurisdictions temporal and spiritual, are so distinct that they are not contrary," &c. Answer: And what let is there then, but our queen now, and other kings hereafter, may have the government of both states, as well ecclesiastical as temporal? Seeing both the forms being compatible, may concur both in one subject; why not as well in the person of the king within the realm, as in the person of the pope without the realm?

Two  
forms not  
contrary,  
may be  
com-  
pat-  
ible.



These things premised, I proceed further to prove that a person ecclesiastical, who hath jurisdiction spiritual, may also have temporal jurisdiction; and that the jurisdiction temporal may be in an ecclesiastical person, I will prove by the Scriptures: and first out of the Old Testament, to the evident probation whereof, it is to be understood, that God, after the creation of the world and man, even unto Noah's time, would govern the world himself, as king, by the ministry of angels;<sup>8</sup> by reason whereof he gave and pronounced sentence himself against Cain. [Gen. iv.] Noah also, who offered burnt-offerings unto the Lord, and built an altar [Gen. viii.], which thing appertained only unto the priests, had the government and rule of all things, as well spiritual as temporal, which were in the ark.<sup>9</sup> Melchisedec likewise, who was the priest of the most high God, and also king of Salem [Gen. xiv.], had both the jurisdictions in his own hands.<sup>10</sup> For that master of history declareth: That all the first-begotten of Noah, even unto Aaron's time, were priests; who at meals and offerings blessed the people, and who only had the 'jus primogeniture,' whereby the regiment of others was due unto them. Moses, in like manner, of whom it is said in the Psalm, "Moses and Aaron, among his priests," consecrated Aaron and his children to be priests; which Aaron did judge the whole people in temporal matters, yea, and that in causes of inheritance and real property, as appeareth in Numbers [chap. xxvii.], and many other places. To the same purpose serveth that passage [Deut. xvii.], where it is said, "If a matter be too hard for thee in judgment betwixt blood and blood, betwixt plea and plea, betwixt plague and plague, then shalt thou rise and go up to that place that the Lord thy God hath chosen, and shalt come to the priests, the Levites, and to the judge then being, and shalt ask, Who shall show unto us the truth of the judgment? and shalt follow their sentence. And if any man presumptuously shall refuse to obey the priest's commandments and the decree of the judge, the same shall die." Behold, how manifestly it doth appear, how not only the judgment appertaineth to a priest, between plague and plague, concerning the circumstances and irregularity of the law, but also betwixt blood and blood in matters criminal, yea, and betwixt plea and plea in civil matters; which thing doth appear to be in many judges out of the book of Judges. For Samuel, who was both a prophet and priest, was appointed judge for a long time over the people in matters temporal. And when the people desired a king, the Lord was highly offended with them, and said unto Samuel, "They have not refused thee but me, that I should not be king over them." Furthermore, as long as kings among the people of God used the advice and counsel of priests and bishops, it was well with them and their kingdom; but when they forsook and left the counsel of bishops and priests, then was their kingdom divided; and finally they were brought into captivity, in which captivity the people were altogether governed and ruled by the priests and prophets, as by Esdras and Nehemiah. And, last of all, by the means of the Maccabees, the kingdom and government were devolved and brought into the priests' hands, who were the kings and captains over the people, and had the government as well of spiritual matters as of temporal; as is read in Maccabees, of Mattathias and his sons, namely, of Judas Machaby, Jonathan, Simon, and John the son of Simon, who, in all spiritual and temporal matters, were governors over the people of God. [1 Mac. ii.] Moreover, Jeremy, who was one of the priests, declareth after this manner [chap. i.]: "I have set thee over the people and kingdoms, that thou mayest root out, break, destroy, and make waste, and that thou mayest build up and plant." Besides this, in the time of judge Eliah, a priest in like manner had the judgment of temporal matters. And so much concerning the proof hereof, out of the Old Testament.

Secondly, I prove my former proposition by authorities taken out of the

(8) "God, after the creation of the world," &c., "even unto Noah's time," &c. Answer: If God unto Noah's time governing the world as king, gave sentence himself against Cain, as we say, how then did he that by the ministry of angels? If he did it by the angels his ministers, whether is more like then that it make for the pope, or rather for kings and princes, whom the Scripture thrice in one chapter calleth the ministers of God, to execute punishment on him that doth evil. [Rom. xiii.]

(9) "Noah also who offered," &c. Answer: If offering of burnt sacrifices to God do make a priest, then was Cain also, and Abel, Abraham, Isaac, and all the patriarchs, priests. If he had both temporal and spiritual jurisdiction over those that were in his ark, I marvel why he did not curse then the disobedient crew that returned not to him again.

(10) "Melchisedec likewise," &c. Answer: Melchisedec properly did bear a figure of Christ, both king and priest, and of none other.

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Proofs out  
of the Old  
Testament.

Me'chi-  
sedec  
both king  
and  
priest,  
Ergo, the  
pope may  
have both  
jurisdic-  
tions.

Samuel a  
judge in  
temporal  
matters,  
Ergo, the  
pope may  
have both  
jurisdic-  
tions.

Noah a  
priest,  
and had  
both  
jurisdic-  
tions in  
the ark.



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Proofs out  
of the  
New Test-  
ament.  
Christ  
by his  
human  
nature  
had both  
powers.

New Testament. For Christ had not only both the powers, by divine nature, whereby he created all things out of nothing, and by consequence was God over all, but also by his humanity had both powers; for he was the priest after the order of Melchisedec, as it is said in the Psalms, and also is alleged to the Hebrews, who had both on his vesture and on thigh written, "King of kings, and Lord of lords." [Rev. xix.] By this vestment or thigh was meant his humanity, which was joined to his divinity, as the garment is to him that weareth it. He said of himself [Matt. xxviii.], "Unto me is given all power, both in heaven and in earth."<sup>11</sup> As also saith the apostle [Heb. i.], "Whom he made and constituted heir of all universal things." And again [Heb. ii.], "He hath made him not much inferior to the angels. He hath crowned him with glory and honour, and hath set him above the works of his hands: thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet, sheep and oxen, and all the whole cattle of the field." When therefore it is said, "He made all things subject unto him;" he excludeth nothing, as the apostle there saith. Whereby it is apparent, that as concerning his human nature, in the which he was made less than the angels, all things were subject to him. Also this appeareth in Philippians [chap. ii.]: "He humbled himself, wherefore God exalted him;" and it followeth, "That in the name of Jesus should every knee bow, both of things in heaven, and of things in earth, and of things under the earth." Behold here, that in that nature in which he did humble himself, he was exalted, "because every knee should bow down to him." This in like manner hath St. Peter, in Acts x., where he saith, "he was constituted of God, the judge of the quick and the dead." And he speaketh of the nature which God raised up the third day, as the whole Scripture proveth. And likewise St. Peter had this power given him, whom Christ constituted and made his vicar;<sup>12</sup> who also condemned by sentence judicially Ananias and Sapphira,<sup>13</sup> for lying and stealing. [Acts v.] Paul also condemned a fornicator convicted.<sup>14</sup> [1 Cor. v.] And that Christ would have the correction and judgment of such matters to appertain to his church, a text in Matthew xviii. expressly declareth, where it is said, "If thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between him and thee: if he hear thee, thou hast won thy brother; but if he heareth not, then take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things may be established: if he hear not then, tell it unto the congregation: if he hear not the congregation, take him as an heathen man and a publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever you bind on earth, the same shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever you loose on earth, the same shall be loosed in heaven." Behold, how expressly it is commanded, that whensoever in any matter one offendeth the other, he being first charitably admonished, the matter must be published and referred to the order of the church and congregation.<sup>15</sup> But if the offender do not obey and hear the admonition, he is to be taken as a heathen and a publican, which is as much as to say, like one that is excommunicated by the church, so that he may have no communion or participation with it. And that this was the intention of Christ, this seemeth much to prove, where, in giving the reason hereof, he immediately addeth, "Verily I say unto you, whatsoever," &c. (where note this term distributive, "whatsoever," equivalent to "all things.") Wherefore, as the apostle argued in Hebrews ii., that if he ordained all things to be subject unto him, he left nothing unsubjected;<sup>16</sup> even so I may argue: If all things that the church doth loose, be loosed, and every thing that the

(11) "Unto me is given," &c. Answer: That Christ hath all power given him, no man doubtleth; but yet the same Christ saith, that his kingdom is not of this world; neither would he be made a king in this world, &c. "Non eripit mortalita, qui regno dat celestia," &c.

(12) "Whom Christ, &c. made his vicar, &c." Answer: Here in one line be two lies. For Peter had not the very same power in heaven and earth as Christ had, neither was he the vicar of Christ.

(13) As the offence of Ananias and Sapphira was not temporal but spiritual; so did Peter kill them not judicially, that is, as a temporal judge; but spiritually, that is, by the power of the Spirit, which Spirit wrought by him, not as by a judge, but as a minister. And although 't is act of Peter was extraordinary for a singular example; yet, let any prelate with the like power of Spirit so do, and none will blame him.

(14) And so likewise the condemnation of Paul against the Corinthian, was only spiritual and not temporal.

(15) "Must be referred to the order," &c. Christ would have these causes to be referred to the hearing of the church, for spiritual admonition, but not for the temporal jurisdiction of the prelates.

(16) All things that the true church doth truly bind are bound, I grant: but first let the pope prove his church to be the true church, and himself to be the universal head thereof, and then let him claim the keys.

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church bindeth, is bound; there is nothing that the church may not loose and bind. Or by logic, thus I may reason: there is nothing bound by the church, that is not bound in heaven; which argument is good by a certain rule of logic, which saith, that contraries, if a negative be put after the one, become equivalent; thus, 'every thing' and 'nothing,' 'whatsoever thing' and 'no manner of thing,' be contrary one to the other; and yet 'nothing not,' is the same as 'every thing.' Secondly, I do prove it out of another text of Luke [chap. xxii.], which place he alleged to make for his purpose; but I will strike him with his own weapon; for where he said, That by the two swords the two powers, temporal and spiritual, were to be understood;<sup>17</sup> it was so indeed: but to whose hands would he, I pray you, have these two swords committed? Truly to the hands of Peter and the other apostles, &c. But the holy father the pope succeeded Peter and the other apostles, the bishops, disciples, curates, parsons, as in the Gloss appeareth [Luke x.], whence I argue thus: that by the two swords, the two powers are meant; but Christ willed those two swords to be put into the church's hands: ergo, likewise the two powers. But you may reply and say, that Christ did reprehend Peter because he struck with a temporal sword and cut off an ear, saying unto him, "Put up thy sword," &c.<sup>18</sup> Which reason is of no force; for Christ did not will Peter to cast away the sword quite from him, but to put it into the scabbard and to keep it, giving to understand thereby, that such power, although it be in the church's hands, yet the execution thereof (as appertaineth to bloodshedding in the new law), he would have to appertain to the secular judge: yet, perhaps, according to the discretion and will of the clergy.

Thirdly, I prove this by the intent of St. Paul [1 Cor. vi.], where he saith, that "they which have secular business, and contend one against another, ought to be judged by the saints." And that they should judge therein, he made this argument: "Know you not that the saints shall judge the world?"<sup>19</sup> And if the world be judged by you, are ye not good enough to judge small trifles? As though he would say, Do ye not know how that ye shall judge the angels? How much more then may you judge things secular? And it followeth; "If you have judgment of secular and worldly matters, take them who are despised in the church and congregations; and make them judges." Neither doth it make any thing against it, because the apostle in the same place inferreth, "I say it to your shame;" for that is to be referred to those, where he saith, "Appoint those which are despised." Wherefore the apostle speaketh ironically in this matter, as meaning thus: Sooner and the rather you ought to run to the judgment of the despised who be in the church, than to the judgment of those who be out of the church: ergo, the rather to resort to the judgment of the wise, who remain in the church and congregation. Wherefore the apostle by and by added, when he said, "I speak to your shame: what, not one wise man amongst you that can judge between brother and brother?" Meaning thereby, that there were some. By these, therefore, and many other like reasons, which for brevity I omit, it appeareth that both the powers may be in an ecclesiastical man's hand: and that an ecclesiastical man is 'capax,' both of the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction. Nor is it any matter if it be objected, that Peter, and other apostles, and Christ himself, used little this temporal power: for in them there was not the like reason,<sup>20</sup> as now there is in us, as is proved in the 12 Quæst. 1. cap., and in many other places of the law.<sup>21</sup> The apostles at first took no receipt of lands and possessions, but the price only thereof;<sup>22</sup> which now the church, with very good reason, doth receive, and that to the great merit both of the giver and offerer, as it appeareth in Constantine and others; in the which aforesaid chapter the reason of diversity is well proved, for that the apostles did foresee, that the church should be among Gentiles, and not be only in Judea, &c. And further, at the beginning, Christ and his apostles

(17) The two swords do as much signify the two regiments, as do the two fishes wherewith Christ did feed four thousand persons.

(18) Christ bade Peter put up his sword, and not cast it away: *Ergo*, the church may have the temporal sword. Answer: God give you good morrow, I have brought you a capon.

(19) "Know ye not that the saints," &c. Answer: St. Paul here willing the Corinthians to plead their matters, not before the heathen, but before the saints, meaneth the faithful of the congregation, not only prelates.

(20) "In them there was not the like reason," &c. Answer: I grant that Christ and true Christians is one thing; antichrist and his church is another thing.

(21) *Decreti Pars ii. Causa xii. quæst. i. cap. 15. "Futuram."*

(22) As ye say, the apostles had no leisure to take lands and possessions for preaching, but now for lordly loitering you have leisure enough.

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were wholly intent on our salvation, and on conversation and teaching, and little stood on the exercise of any jurisdiction whatever, having regard to that which is written in 1 Corinthians, chap. vi., "All things are lawful unto me; but all things are not expedient;" and also to that we read in Ecclesiastes, [chap. iii.] "To every thing there is a time." But now, through the grace of God, the whole people of the realm of France have submitted themselves to the christian faith; worthily therefore the church is occupied about administering justice, and punishing vice; for "peace shall be the work of justice," Isaiah xxxii.; for in these judgments this only is aimed at, that the life of man be reformed. Thus you see how this our conclusion somewhat resteth on the law of God.

Probation  
by natural  
law and  
reason.

Now will I prove it by natural law and reason: and first after this manner; he seemeth most fit to play a judge's part, who is nearest to God;<sup>23</sup> for properly God is the ruler and director of all judgments, who saith [Prov. viii.] "By me law-makers decree just things:" but ecclesiastical persons are nearest to God, for that they be elected to be a peculiar people unto God, whereof it is said, 1 Pet. ii., "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, and a peculiar people, that ye should show forth the virtues of him that called you," &c.<sup>24</sup> *Ergo*, It is most fitting that the church should sit in judgment on temporal causes. Moreover, secondly, none doubteth, but that the cognizance of sin belongeth to ecclesiastical persons; wherefore since such causes be not without sin of the one party, it is evident that the church may have cognizance thereof. Also, whoever hath power to judge of the end, hath also power to judge of things ordained to the end; for the consideration of the things ordained to the end, riseth of the end. Since therefore the body is ordained for the soul, and temporal things for spiritual, as their end; the church which doth judge of spiritual things, may well judge of temporal things also. All which is sufficiently proved in the Extra De Judiciis, cap. "Novit." It is also confirmed by the fact that the accessory followeth the nature of the principal; which appeareth sufficiently by example. Forasmuch, therefore, as these two jurisdictions be compared to two luminaries, that is to say, to the sun and moon, and the whole brightness of the moon, both formally and virtually, is from the sun and in the sun, and not the brightness of the sun from the moon or in the moon; it is plain that the spiritual jurisdiction, which is compared to the sun, hath in it, both formally and virtually, the jurisdiction temporal, which is compared to the brightness of the moon, and not contrary. Many other reasons might be adduced; but I omit them for brevity's sake.

Probation  
by civil  
law.

Thirdly, I prove it by the civil law, wherein it is said, "If a secular judge be suspected, let the bishop of the city be joined unto him; but if he be negligent, then let the whole judgment be referred to the bishop." (Auth. Collatio vi. tit. xv. "Ut differentes." c. "Si tamen.") In like manner Theodosius the emperor enacted a law, that "whosoever commenced a suit in any kind of matter, whether at the beginning thereof, or in the course of the suit, or when the matter cometh towards a conclusion and even to sentence; if the plaintiff choose the court and jurisdiction of the holy see, there without any doubt, though the defendant resist, must the cause be argued and determined by the bishops." Which law afterwards Charlemagne, who was king of France, confirmed in these words, "We will and command, that all, as well Romans as Frenchmen and others, who are either by law or custom subjected under our dominion, be henceforth bound and charged to keep this for a perpetual law; 'That whosoever commenced a suit,' &c. as is above mentioned (Causa xi. quest. i. cap. 35. "Quicunque litem," et capp. 36, 37). But you will say perhaps, that that law is abrogated, as the gloss seemeth there to imply. But all will not serve; for although that law is not introduced into the Corpus Juris, yet for all that

(23) "He seemeth most fit to play a good judge's part who followeth nearest to God." Ecclesiastical persons follow next God. *Ergo*, Prelates of the clergy are most meet to bear temporal rule.—Answer: If God here be taken for that god, which is called the belly, I grant they seem to follow nearer. But if it be taken for the true God, not I, but their own fruits, life, and doctrine shall decide; and Isaiah also would deny their minor, and say, that this people draweth near to me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.

(24) "You are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, &c.—Answer: This place of Peter was written not only to persons ecclesiastical, but to the whole congregation of the saints dispersed, as the words following may declare: "Qui eratis quondam non populus," &c.

it is not abrogated. Nay, it is an honourable privilege granted to the whole universal church, which the emperor cannot take away, no more than any other liberty of the church, according to the decree, "Ego Ludovicus." Also this privilege is confirmed by the canon law (Extra De judiciis, c. "Novit.")

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Moreover it seemeth to be confirmed by the civil law (Codex, "De Sacrosanctis Ecclesiis," cap. "Privilegia"), although it be not there expressly, but generally named; and so it is clear by the civil law, that such jurisdiction doth pertain to ecclesiastical persons. By the canon law in like manner, in places infinite (Distinct. 22, cap. "Omnes patriarchæ;" Causa ii. quæst. 5, "Si quis Presbyter;" Causa xi. quæst. 1. "Relatum;" Distinct. 95, cap. "Ecce." Extra De Judiciis, c. "Novit." De competenti foro, cap. "Licet;" et multis aliis).

Probation  
by canon  
law.

Yea and further, the canon law so far proceedeth, that whosoever goeth about to interrupt or hinder any, having such jurisdiction by custom only, incurreth sentence *ipso facto* of excommunication (Sexti, tit. xxiii. de immunitate Eccles. cap. "Quoniam ut intelleximus"). Which is most plain with regard to notorious and approved custom, time out of mind, in the days of the good and christian princes, where to violate such custom, it is plain sacrilege. (2 Quæst. 1 Tit. i. &c. 2.) For by the law, custom winneth and gaineth jurisdiction, especially to him that is 'capax' thereof: yea and further, custom, time out of mind, is amongst all persons reckoned in lieu of statute law. Now, seeing the church of France hath been used, with the temporality, to take cognizance both in actions personal and real touching the church, it is plain, that such custom winneth jurisdiction to it. *Ergo*, &c. But the lord Peter avouched, that the custom could not prevail in this case, because here lacked true dealing. Besides, the said right is called imprescriptible, for that it is 'jus fisci.' But this maketh nothing against us; for the church of France rather challengeth this right by custom than by prescription; which custom seemeth rather to be brought in by the free will and election of the people, frequenting more the ecclesiastical consistories than the secular courts. Besides, this custom is the stronger, in that it hath obtained in spite of judgment to the contrary (judicium contradictorium); for oftentimes, when the prelates had given their sentence, though the barons were not consenting thereto, yet this custom, I say, of the church hath been confirmed by the kings of France, your predecessors, and so peaceably obtained by the church.

Probation  
by cus-  
tom.

And yet may the church challenge this by prescription, for that there are but three things which are required in prescription; that is to say, title, true dealing, and continuance of time. But it is certain that the church ever had a good title, as for instance the privilege granted by Theodosius the emperor, and confirmed by Charlemagne, who gave in commandment to keep the same inviolably. If hath title also by divine, natural, and human law, as is before alleged. Wherefore it must needs have true dealing, when so many great and clear titles are known to concur thereunto. Also there concurrerth such continuance of time, that even against 'jus fisci' it is prescriptible: for it hath not only continued for the space of a hundred years, but also more than six hundred years last past. Neither is it true, that this right is imprescriptible, especially by the church, which, so far as appertaineth to spirituals, is not subject to the king, but is much more noble; even as the sun is more noble than the moon, gold than lead, and heaven than the earth. But it is certain that an equal or greater may prescribe right against his equal or inferior; as one king may do to another. Wherefore it appeareth that the church may prescribe this, although it were 'jus fisci,' as indeed it is not.

Probation  
by pre-  
scription.

Three  
things  
pertain-  
ing to pre-  
scription.  
1. Titulus.  
2. Bona  
fides.  
3. Tem-  
porum  
continua-  
tio.

The  
church  
not sub-  
ject to the  
king.

Finally, This is proved by privilege granted by Charlemagne, king of France, as before stated, and by St. Louis, and by Philip your uncle, and by Louis and Philip your kinsmen, kings of France, which privileges we have here ready to show. But perhaps you will say, that it cannot be, that the church hath this jurisdiction both by law, custom, and privilege, seeing these three cannot well stand together; for if the church have it by one of these, it should follow that the church lacketh it by another. To this it may be replied in two ways; first, that privilege may be twofold, either as bringing in a new right, and thus it cannot be reconciled; or, as confirmative and declarative of an old right; and this may well agree; which distinction may also take place in custom. Wherefore it may thus be answered, that although this jurisdiction is

Probation  
by privi-  
lege.  
Objec-  
tion.

Answer.

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French king more blessed than others in three things.

1. Faith to God.  
2. Honour to the church  
3. Justice to the people.

Five things ennobled the realm.

Blood of France came out of Priam.

due unto the church by law, it appertaineth also unto the same by privilege and custom, but yet not by such kind of custom and privilege which induceth a new right : but which declareth and confirmeth the old. And if any will reply, demanding wherefore the church of France should more challenge this, than any other churches in other realms, which have no such prerogative; I can soon answer them. If the kings of France (whom God with singular grace, honour and privilege, far above all other princes, hath blessed and endued for three special causes, to wit, for their great faith and devotion unto God, for their honour and reverence to the church, and for their good justice showed unto the people) have granted to the church special liberties, or have permitted those which before were granted, peaceably to be kept and observed; why then they should have them, it is no marvel. Yea and further, their devotion unto the church hath been such, that the nearer the churches were unto them, the more liberties they enjoyed; and yet had these princes never the less on that account, but rather the more; which is evident, and redoundeth to the great honour and nobility both of the king and his realm.

I have oftentimes heard of others, how that four or five things do especially nobilitate and adorn this realm.

First, their sincere and inviolable faith; for it was at no time read, that the kings of France (since the receiving of the faith) did ever swerve from the same.

Secondly, the nobility of blood, which descended from Priam the king of the Trojans, and successively from Charlemagne and other royal kings.

Thirdly, the unity and peace of concord, which especially, above all others, reigned and flourished in the realm of France.

Fourthly, the solemnity and pomp of the prelates and clergy.

Fifthly, the well-disposed readiness of the barons and subjects to obey.

If therefore the prelates of this realm should not have this law and privilege, but should be deprived thereof, then should the king and his realm lose one of his noble estates, whereby they are highly magnified, I mean the bravery, solemnity, and royalty of the prelates; for then, they should not only be neither pompous nor royal, but more beggarly and miserable than any others, the most part of their living consisting herein. I do conclude, therefore, that it is proved both by divine law, natural law, canon law, civil law, custom, and privilege, that the right of determining such temporal matters of the church may of right appertain to the church of France; and so I turn the lord Peter's theme against himself.

Besides this, I will propound that which is most plain and manifest; that whatsoever things be offered up to the church, and are converted to the dominion and property of the same, be God's, and appertain to him; forasmuch as they are said to be dedicated to and sanctified by him, as sufficiently throughout the Levites may appear, as declared [1 Sam. xxi.] concerning the bread offered to God, where it is said, "I have no common bread under my hands to eat, but holy bread." Wherefore it was not lawful for the laity to eat of the same bread, but in time of great necessity; which is also proved, where it is read, [Dan. v.] "Because king Belthazzar, and his lords, with his queen, drank in the golden and silver vessels, which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple of Jerusalem; in the same (very) hour there appeared fingers, as it had been of a man's hand, writing right over the candlestick upon the plain wall in the king's palace. And the king saw the palm of the hand that wrote; and that which was written was *Mene, Thekel, Phares*; the interpretation whereof is this, as there it appeareth: *Mene*, God hath numbered this kingdom and brought it to an end: *Thekel*, Thou art weighed in a balance, and art found too light: *Phares*, Thy kingdom is dealt in parts, and given to the Medes and Persians." The very selfsame night was Belthazzar, the king of the Chaldees, slain, and Darins succeeded in the kingdom of the Medes; the monarchy of the Assyrians being then translated unto the Medes. Whereby it appeareth, that those things which are offered up to the church, belong to God, and are so dedicated to him that no layman may use them; which if they do, they must look to receive vengeance at God's hand, as Belthazzar did.

These things now ended, I will argue unto the lord Peter's theme, which was, "Give unto the emperor, that is the emperor's; and unto God, that is God's. But this jurisdiction, which, as I proved before, is diversely converted to the dominion and property of the French church, is now God's, and therefore to



be reserved to and for him; wherefore, whensoever any goeth about to take away the same, the good and godly ought to answer, what Ambrose did to the Gothen soldiers, sent to him by the emperor, which was to this effect: "If the emperor," quoth he, "had requested that which had been mine, I would not have denied him, albeit that whatsoever I have, all is the poor's: but because he demandeth those things which belong to God, wherein he hath no right or interest, I had rather he should imprison me, yea and cut off my head, than condescend to his request therein:" alluding to the history of Naboth [1 Kings xxi.], in which is to be seen how Naboth, the holy man, possessor of the vineyard, was requested by the king to give up his vineyard; who made answer, "I will not give unto thee the inheritance of my fathers," at which answer the king was marvellously offended. "Wherefore," quoth Ambrose, "if Naboth would not deliver his vineyard, shall we deliver to you the church of Christ? no, God forbid, that I should deliver you Christ's heritage. Naboth did not deliver the vineyard, nor surely will I deliver Christ's church." And further he addeth a good saying, "I can neither take nor surrender aught from the temple of God, for I received it to keep, not to surrender: besides this, it is my duty and office to consult the interest of the emperor in this matter: and doubtless neither may I surrender any thing to him, nor yet he receive any thing of me." [Causa xxiii. quæst. 8. "Convenior." et "Qui."] Wherefore, by these and the like reasons it appeareth, that not spiritual jurisdiction only doth belong to God, as the lord Peter falsely hath suggested, but also all other kind of jurisdiction whatsoever possessed by the church, whether it be by law, custom, or privilege; insomuch that neither may we surrender the same to any, nor yet may the king at our hands take the same.

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Ambrose in case denieth to obey the emperor.

Naboth denieth the king his vineyard.

*See Appendix.*

Further, the lord Peter affirmed, that Christ, for example sake, did pay tribute; which is untrue, as appeareth in Genesis xlviii.; for the lands of priests were free from paying of all kind of toll and tribute. And if the lord Peter well considered Matt. xvii., he should have found there, how that Christ did not only not pay tribute for example sake, but rather proved how he was not bound to pay any at all. To conclude, therefore, the children be free; but ye pay, to avoid slander and offence: wherefore the text saith: "Lest we should offend them, go to the sea," &c. But peradventure it may be answered, that by the example of Christ, to avoid offence, ye ought to pay. But this is untrue, because there is a double offence of the weaklings and of the Pharisees: for as concerning the offence of the weaklings, which cometh of ignorance and not of malice, some things are to be omitted for a time, till they be better instructed; as the apostle saith in Romans xiv. But as concerning the offence of the Pharisees, who commit and offend of a pretended malice, there is nothing to be omitted, as Christ saith in Matt. xv.; to whom his disciples saying, "Do you not know how that the Pharisees hearing this word are offended?" he answered them, "Behold, suffer them, they are blind, and leaders of the blind;" for that in the time of Christ, the offence then was of little ones: but now is the offence of the Pharisees; wherefore, then it was to be suffered for avoiding of offence, but now not so. Now therefore it is apparent that the third token of the fear of God consisteth in the complete true restoring of goods: and of him who hath such fear whereby he restored to God his own, it is spoken in Eccclus. x.: "The seed of the man that feareth God shall be brought to honour: but the seed which transgresseth the commandment of the Lord shall be shamed." And thus it fully appeareth, how loving fear and obedience is due unto God, for the excellency of his majesty; because the words be, "Fear God."

How offence ought to be avoided.

Third note of the fear of God.

Secondly, I do say, that especial honour and reverence are due unto the king, for his dignity's sake; which followeth in the theme. Now it is said, "Honour the king:" I will allege Eccclus. chap. x.; where it is specified, "In the midst of the brethren the ruler is holden in honour among them;" wherefore it seemeth to me that there are two kinds of honours, one which proceedeth from the lips, and that is named flattery, wherefore it is spoken in Matt. xv.; "This people doth honour me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me." There is another kind of honour which is real, and cometh from the heart; and this is the very true honour indeed, wherewith the king ought to be honoured. But me thinketh, that he doth really and in very deed honour the king

Honour of the king,

Two kinds of honours.

Double honour, with lips and with heart.

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who wisheth and counselleth him to keep and do those things whereby his dominion is beloved, his royalty not diminished, his honour and fame preserved, and his conscience not burdened; and he that persuadeth him contrary to these, I think doth not honour the king.

A prince  
rather to  
be loved  
than  
feared  
A sen-  
tence.

To proceed therefore further; I say first, that he doth *de facto* honour the king, who persuadeth him those things whereby he may be beloved of his subjects: for a prince ought to study rather to be beloved than feared. And what greater treasure can a prince wish, than to have the hearts of his subjects? according to the saying of Seneca,<sup>1</sup> "The love of the citizens is a fortress invincible, and a bulwark not saultable." What thing is more to be wished for, what is better than to live and reign, every man willing and rejoicing thereof? And in my opinion, there is nothing which causeth a prince more to be beloved, than if he keep and maintain his ancient liberties, and bring in no alteration; wherefore it is said [Prov. xxii.], "Thou shalt not remove the landmarks which thy fore-elders have set." This place the lord Peter alleged to make for himself, which I will prove to make against him, and that by this reason, ye ought not to transgress the old limits and bounds which the fathers have set, for novelty and alteration doth engender discord; and for this cause, in making of new alterations there ought to be both evident utility, and urgent necessity. If, therefore, the prince will abrogate and take away the liberties granted by his forefathers and predecessors, he shall not be of his realm beloved; as it appeareth by Rehoboam. [1 Kings xii.] It is, likewise, plainly to be seen in the chronicles, how that by these means many kingdoms and dominions have been translated from nation to nation, and from their own native regiment to the rule of strange people. And now, certain it is, that your predecessors Charlemagne, St. Louis, Philip the Fair, Louis and Philip his sons, with many others, have sealed and confirmed this liberty of the church. Wherefore for a man to counsel and persuade your highness to spoil the church of any thing, it is even the next way to spoil and undo yourself, and bereave you of that by which your dominion is beloved; and for this cause I thought good to put your grace in remembrance of 1 Mac. ii. 51, where it is written, "Remember the works of your forefathers, which they have done in their generations, and you shall receive great glory and renown for ever." Note here, your highness, by the way, how king Philip, grandfather to St. Louis, fostered and kept in his realm St. Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury; who, because he stoutly defended the liberties of his church, was banished out of England; how much more, therefore, are you bound to defend and maintain your own prelates in their liberties ratified and confirmed by your grace's predecessors, according to the saying of Gregory (Causa xxv. quest. 2, cap. "Si.") "If I were to destroy those things which my predecessors and ancestors ordained, I should not be a builder, but I should be justly accounted a stroy-good and puller down, as the voice of Truth itself testifieth, 'Every kingdom divided within itself shall be brought to desolation.' All knowledge and law divided against itself shall be destroyed." In another place he saith, "It is oversharpe, and against all good manners, upon any reason and excuse whatsoever to rescind those things which are well ordained; or, by one's example to teach others at their pleasure to dissolve old constitutions." Mark here a story about a castle which was given to St. Remy for the use of the church of Laon by king Clovis, which king Pepin afterwards desired to have, giving compensation to the church; to whom the said St. Remy appeared in his sleep, and severely blamed him for it, saying, "A better man than thou gave it me, and yet wilt thou take it away from me!" And with that he smote him; who the next day was found all black and blue; since which time, no king of France durst even lie in that castle. Verily therefore, he doth not in fact honour the king, who giveth him counsel to transgress the old limits that his fathers did set; yea, rather, the king's majesty ought to say unto them that which is written in John viii., "I do honour my Father" (that is, in keeping the liberties of the church, as they did which granted them); "but you have dishonoured me" (in counselling me that which seemeth best to please yourselves); for it is written in Eccles. chap. iii., "The worship of a man's father is his own worship, and where the father is without honour, it is the dishonour of the son."

In altera-  
tion, what  
to be con-  
sidered.

See  
Appendix.

Mark  
here a  
fab.c.

(1) Seneca de Clementia ad Neronem.

Secondly, I say, that he truly doth honour the king, who counselleth him, whereby his power and dignity are not diminished; for as it is great honour to the king's highness to increase and augment his power, so is it as much dishonour for him to diminish any jot thereof; and therefore the emperors were wont to call themselves victorious, in augmenting and increasing their commonwealth. And to say that you and your predecessors could not grant these things to the church, it were too, too absurd, and to the too much derogation of your majesty's most honourable estate. And therefore for you, most sovereign lord, who hold and possess such ample right and title in the realm of France, both by election and inheritance, not to grant and leave this to your posterity, it were to the great debasing of your majesty's honour, crown, and dignity. Yea, if it were (as God forbid), it would follow, that your predecessors lived continually in sin; yea, and further, it were as much to say (which were too vile) that blessed St. Louis by whom all France is beautified, could not be justly canonized. For as the lord speaker declared, if he took his oath at his coronation both to alienate nothing, and also to cail in that which was before alienated, which is inseparable from the crown, it should follow that he was foresworn, and consequently committed deadly sin, and so could never be canonized, which is too, too absurd to be talked of. And if reply be made, that he might have repented; it is soon to be answered, that his sin is read of, but of his repentance it is not found, as it is said of Solomon. But put the case that it be true what the lord Peter said, then it must needs follow, that your grace could bestow nothing, neither country, town, nor tower; and yet there be few who willingly would not receive them, notwithstanding their allegiance and homage, which they pretend to your highness. Keep, therefore, and confirm, most renowned prince! that which was granted by your noble progenitors, otherwise your royal honour shall decrease; that it may be verified in you which is read of in Romans xi., "I will honour my ministry."

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Thirdly, I do affirm, that he rightly honoureth the king, who persuadeth him to that whereby his honour and renown is preserved. For, in matters of weight and of great importance, next after conscience we must have regard to name and fame, as it is written in Proverbs xxii., "It is better to have a good name than riches." A good name far surpasseth all things, and is above silver and gold; and St. Augustine saith, "Two things are necessary for thee, conscience and name; conscience for God, and name for thy neighbour; and therefore it is written in Eccles. chap. xli., "Labour to get a good name, for that will continue surer by thee than many great treasures of gold." A good life hath a number of days. That renown and name the Lord, who anointed your grace with the oil of gladness, hath in a very little time more abundantly blessed you with, than any other prince; wherefore you ought to be more vigilant and careful how still to keep and enjoy the same, for it is no less virtue to keep that which is gotten, than to seek and get; whereby not only while you live, but also when you are dead, your glorious renown may live for ever; yea and further, that by you nothing be done, whereby any blot or soil should creep into that your so great renown, applying that to your grace which is said in Proverbs x., "The memorial of the just shall have good report," &c. Beware therefore, most noble prince, and take heed that in your days and time, the liberties of the church be not taken away (which God forbid) or diminished in any jot; for if your glorious name should be blotted therewith, there be thousands who would chronicle the same to perpetual memory. Wherefore, most christian prince, if such as trusted after their death for no other life, but only for fame and renown, lived a life most godly and virtuous, how much more ought we Christians, who look after another life, by our well-doings here, to win us a perpetual name and memory after our death? And you besides, if you should dishonour your name and fame, what a matter were it, considering how the kings of France were ever counted the most christian princes, and most bountiful towards the church, giving examples to other princes how to enrich their churches and the liberties thereof. And now especially, if your grace, the church in some places being in great persecution, should (which God forbid), show light to others to pull and take away that which was given by your forefathers to the church, what might the world say? For then for the like reason might the emperor deprive the church of all which was given to it by Constantine the emperor. Also other kings would do the like in their realms.

Who honoureth the king.

Conscience and good name.

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God forbid that your highness should give such example ! And, for my part, I would rather wish myself to be dead, than give you such counsel, that in so pernicious and naughty a matter you should be example to others ; especially, when the kings of France, your predecessors, were defenders always against such as went about to take away the liberties from the church, which is the office of a king. Hieronymus saith upon Jeremy (see Causa xxiii. quest. 5. cap. "Regum," et cap. "Principes") after this manner : "Let the princes of the world know and understand, how they are bound to make an account to God for the church which they take upon them to keep." Note you also, and read some examples out of stories and commentaries, what regard the kings of France had in observing those things ; and see you by their example, to follow and do the like ; and then shall it be verified in your grace which is written in Ecclus. chap. xxxvii., "A wise man shall obtain honour amongst his people : " as also in chap. iii. : "He that honoureth his mother, is like one that gathereth treasure together."

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Oath of  
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Fourthly, I say, that he indeed doth honour the king, who persuadeth him to do that whereby his conscience is not hurt. For, above all things, a christian man ought to beware how he do that thing, which should be a grudge unto his conscience, because "the life is more than is meat." [Matt. vi.] And assuredly I believe, that your grace would not commit that thing willingly, wherewith your conscience should be burdened, for all the world's good, and that justly ; for the more miraculously God hath called your highness to the state of a king, and hath endued you with his grace, so much the more care ought you to have, and take heed that you offend him not. Nor is it to be doubted, whether in doing the contrary, he will not be the more grievously displeased with you, as he was with Saul. [1 Sam. xv.] Consider, therefore, most sovereign lord, that at what time you were crowned, you sware only these things following, and no others. First, that you would defend and maintain the canonical law, privilege, and justice, granted to the bishops and the church, and, as much as in you did lie, to enlarge and amplify the same : also, that by your arbitrement all christian people, at all times, should keep the true peace of God and his church : also, that you should forbid to all nations all kind of sacrilege, spoilings, and iniquities : also, that in all kind of judgments, you should will and command equity and mercy : also, that throughout your whole territory and jurisdiction, you should sincerely, with all your endeavour, study to exterminate, and cut off from the church the noted heretics : all which, and no other, your majesty swore to fulfil, at the time of your coronation, under the leave and correction of the lord Peter, who affirmed you were sworn to something else. Now therefore, seeing it is a canonical privilege of the church, and in the heart of the whole incorporate (Causa xi. quest. 1. "Quicunque litem") ; when also by custom which is canonical it came in, that the church and spirituality may have cognition in a number of cases, against which divers articles have been here laid in : if this amongst the laity should not be observed in the church, your grace's conscience thereby might be somewhat burdened. In like manner, if you be bound with all your whole might and power to procure, that the whole of Christendom should keep the true peace of God and his church, much more have you to procure the same amongst your own barons and people, who evermore were all one with the church. And as always, where any church was in honour and estimation, there were belonging to it twenty stout barons and knights, whose office, as it was to defend the church ; so was it the part of the church to pray for them, and to offer sacrifice for them unto God. And to this end it was that blessed St. Louis so much laboured in his time ; who, when the greatest barons of his realm had confederated to suppress these liberties of the church, and had consulted to give him, to that end, the hundredth part of their goods, would never condescend thereunto, but always dissuaded them therefrom ; and, finally, by his authority sealed and confirmed these liberties of the church. Consider here, your majesty, how pope Innocent at that time proceeded against those barons. I dare be bold to say, that if there should be now dissension between the prelates and barons, it would not be long before the commonalty would usurp to rule and bear domination ; as by experience it hath been seen in many places. and, likewise, by practice we of late time might have seen, at what time the people stomaching the spirituality in the parts of Champagne and Burgundy, at last rose, and made in every town a king, and therewithal caused

the officers who brought citations to be well banged, and created a pope of their own, who gave them absolution; and not long after they made insurrection against the lords temporal, and served them with the like sauce; until by the king's power they were suppressed, and many of them hanged: and all this was in the days of Louis, the last king of that name. And really the nobles ought not to be-grudge the church her possessions, for how few of them are there who have not brothers or kinsfolks, who live by the goods of the church; amongst whom if they should divide their own inheritance, they would gradually reduce it to little or nothing. Let the barons also consider, that there are but few who are not attached to the church; and that the church is one, as it saith in Canticles vi., "My dove is one;" wherefore they cannot without great peril of transgression advise, that such liberties of the church be taken away.

That therefore your majesty's conscience may remain unspotted, may it please your highness to confirm to the church her just and canonical privilege; and to revoke any attempts which may have been made to the contrary by way of proclamation or otherwise; and to maintain your mother, the church of France, in her ancient franchises, liberties, and customs; that by you "in all things God may be glorified; to whom be honour and glory for ever and ever: Amen:" (1 Pet. iv.) and He will then honour you, who saith, "Whosoever shall honour me, I will crown him with" that "glory" (1 Sam. ii.), in which consisteth the true honour, which is granted to none who is unworthy, nay, whereunto none is admitted except him who is worthy, as the blessed Austin saith; which honour grant He unto you and us, who is blessed for ever: Amen. And because many articles have been exhibited, whereof some infringed the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction, these we are resolved to withstand, according to Ecclesiasticus iv., where it is said, "For the truth strive thou unto the death, and God shall fight for thee against thine enemies:" some others there are containing only alleged abuses, which we do not believe our people to be guilty of, but if they were, we would by no means suffer it; and therefore, for the unburdening of our own consciences, for the king's reverence, and for the people's profit and peace, but chiefly for the honour of God, all we here assembled have concluded to apply such remedy, that the aforesaid abuses, if any such there be, shall cease, to the quietness of the people, and praise of God. To whom be honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

### Another Sitting of the Parliament.

On the Friday next but one, being December the twenty-ninth, the prelates assembled themselves again together at the king's palace in Paris, where the reverend father, the lord Peter Bertrand, by divine providence bishop of Autun, spake openly before the king, sitting there as usual with his counsellors and barons about him, taking for his theme that which is written in Genesis xviii., "O Lord be not angry that I speak yet more," &c., which he applied to this end: "That considering the majesty of the king, the prudence of his council, the insufficiency of the speaker to plead so weighty a cause, he trembled to speak; yet nevertheless, relying on the king's accustomed kindness, he took courage, and presumed to attempt the task which had been appointed him by the prelates, taking for his theme the ninetyeth Psalm: "Lord, thou art our refuge," &c. This he prosecuted in extolling the king's person, declaring his attaining to the crown of France to have been a sort of miracle, and shewing how he ought to be the champion of the church; all which he proved concisely, by many authorities and reasons.

He afterwards answered those propositions which were propounded by the aforesaid lord Peter de Cugnières, and for no other cause, as he protested, but only to inform the conscience of his lord the king, and to advise his grace concerning the same; not as going about to make any final judgment or answer, whereby either sentence, ordinance, statute, or any other process, might ensue or be grounded, or new right be acquired by any man. And first, in reply to the commencement of the discourse of the lord Peter, wherein he affirmed that the words "Render unto the emperor what is the emperor's, and unto God what is his" [Matt. xxii. and Mark xii.], signified obedience and subjection to the king, and the separation of the spirituality from the temporality; whereof the first member was argued from the text in Peter (1 Pet. ii.), where it is said, "Be subject to every human creature," also from the words of Extra "de Majoritate et Obedientiâ," cap. "Solitæ," and Extra "de Judiciis," cap. "Novit," and Causa xi. quæst. 1, cap. "Sacerdotibus," with the notes on the same: while as to the separation between the two jurisdictions, the lord Peter argued

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Arg. By the possessions of the church many brethren and kinsmen of the nobles be maintained. Ergo, Such possessions not to be grued. Belief in the church not in our faith.

To the bill of articles exhibited.

*See Appender.*

The bishop of Autun speaketh.



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temporals to belong to temporal persons, and spirituals to spiritual, because God hath appointed two swords, and saith (Luke xxii.) "Behold here are two swords," and because Christ paid tribute (Matt. xvii. 27), implying thereby that the temporals were to be reserved to temporal persons (*Causa xi. quæst. 1, cap. "Si tributum,"* and *cap. "Magnum"*); also by the law of Justinian, wherein it is written that "God bestowed on man two great gifts, priesthood and empire, the former to preside over divine, the latter over human affairs" (*Corpus Juris Civilis, Authenticæ, Collatio 1, tit. 6, "Quomodo oporteat episcopos;"* asserting, moreover, that these be the boundaries (*Prov. xxiii.*) which ought never to be removed (ff.<sup>1</sup> "*de termino moto.*" lib. 47, tit. 21); affirming also that the king could not abdicate such his royal rights, for that they were a part of the royal prerogative, and he had sworn at his coronation not to alienate any rights in the realm, nay, even to restore such as had been alienated; and finally alleging, that the rights in question were imprescriptible, according to *Distinction 10, cap. "Quis autem,"* and many other chapters of the same *Distinction* :—

To the aforesaid reasoning it was answered thus: The right of determining civil causes (about which the present controversy was) belonged to the church, both by divine and human appointment. From the time of Adam to that of Christ it was by divine appointment, according to the words of Innocent in *Extra "de Foro Competenti," cap. "Licet;"* from the time of Christ it was committed to Peter and his successors for ever (*Matthew xvi.* and *Distinct. 22, cap. "Omnes patriarchæ"*): and that the church in the realms of catholic princes doth and always did enjoy this right, is proved by *Causa ii. quæst. 5, cap. "Si quis presbyter," Causa xi. quæst. 1, cap. "Relatum,"* and *Distinct. 95, cap. "Ecce."* The emperors also confirmed this right to the church by the *Authent. Collat. 6, tit. 15, "Ut differentes judices;"* also *Causa xxiii. quæst. 8, cap. "His à quibus."* The canon law also saith, that St. Peter commanded the princes of the earth and all others to obey the bishop (*Matthew xvi.; Extra "de Majoritate et Obedientiâ," cap. "Omnes;"* and *Distinct. 96, cap. "Duo sunt"*). Wherefore it is to be concluded, that the proposed separation between the two jurisdictions ought by no means to be made, so that the rights in question be taken away from the church. And albeit in the realms of tyrannical princes this state of the church hath been impaired and even abolished, yet in this blessed realm of France it hath been always, even to the present time, duly maintained (*Extra "de Judiciis," cap. "Novit,"* in *parte decisâ*). The laws, also, of the emperors Theodosius and Charlemagne confirmed this right to the church according to *Extra "de Judiciis," cap. "Novit,"* and *Causa xi. quæst. 1, cap. "Quicumque;"* and in *cap. "Omnes"* it is expressly stated, that Charlemagne, king of France and emperor, settled this right especially in France. Moreover, if we consider the subject on the score of custom which hath obtained time out of mind, the said jurisdiction is found to have belonged to the church of France under all its christian and pious kings, and if any one shall go about to vitiate this custom, it is sacrilege according to *Causa xii. quæst. 2, cap. 1 and 2.* Nor let the king's majesty marvel, if in this realm of France, the noblest in the world, this prerogative belongs to the church, as hereby his own power and nobility is beautified (See *Authent. Collat. 2, tit. 2, "Ut judices sine quoquo suffragio fiant"*). Besides, our sovereign lord the king at his coronation swore on the holy gospels of God to preserve to the church her rights. All the barons, also, at least such as were faithful to the church, swore fidelity to her, by the which oath of fidelity they are bound to preserve to the church her rights. Since, therefore, every oath is to be kept which tendeth not to the perdition of the soul, *à fortiori* that oath is to be kept which is taken in favour of the church (*Extra "de jure-jurando," cap. "Si vero;"* and *Causa xxii. quæst. 4, cap. ult.*). Besides this, Charlemagne, St. Louis, Philip of Arragon [the Bold], Philip the Fair, and his sons Louis and Charles, did confirm these privileges, customs, and liberties to the church, and were all sworn at their coronations, as before stated.<sup>2</sup> Who, then, can advise the king's majesty contrary to his oath, especially in relation to these liberties granted and so confirmed to the church, without damning of his own soul? To him, on the contrary, belongeth great reward whosoever bestoweth any thing on the church (See *Authenticæ, Collat. 2 "De non alienand. ac permut. rebus ecclesiæ," cap. 2, § "Simimus"*). Neither maketh the allegation against us that there are two swords; nor yet the distinction between priesthood and empire. For first, while it is true that there are two swords, yet that was said to the church, and the right and power of those two swords is left in the church's hands, although the

(1) 'ff' refers to the *Digestorum libri* in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*.—Ed. (2) *Supra*, p. 629.—Ed.

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Christ  
paid tri-  
bute.

execution by the material sword is committed to the temporal or secular men : which is Christ's meaning where he saith to Peter, "Put up thy sword into its place." (Matt. xxvi) Secondly, as touching the distinction betwixt priesthood and empire, it is true as far as appertaineth unto the end and to the shedding of blood, but not concerning the beginning or subject, for that both the powers are and may be, nay ought to be, in the same subject ; as is before proved. To the allegation that Christ paid tribute it is answered, that he paid it not because he was bound thereto—for it is certain that a king's sons (and such was he) are not bound to pay—but to avoid offence ; nor would the clergy be bound thereto (1 Esdras viii. 22): wherefore, such things are not to be drawn into a consequence. Neither doth the allegation about the boundaries make against us, nay rather, it maketh for us, because (as hath been already stated) such things are said with peculiar reference to the church. Neither yet maketh the allegation against us, that our sovereign lord the king cannot abdicate his rights because at his coronation he specially swore thereto, for it is replied, that he may abdicate the whole of them, because he cannot be said to abdicate any thing which he giveth to God and the church ; for "the earth is the Lord's," and therefore to give in such case is nothing else but to restore to God and the church their own : else it would follow that Constantine's Donation was not binding, which is false (Distinct. 96, cap. "Constantinus"). Besides, it appeareth by ff. "de legatis," l. apud Julianum § ult., that an emperor or king may alienate things of the empire : and yet the empire or kingdom is not damaged thereby, because the thing returneth to its pristine state (ff. "de pactis" l. "Si unus," § "Pact.," and Distinction 35, cap. "Ab exordio"). Furthermore, that reasoning would condemn all the kings of France that ever were, especially St. Louis ; for if it were true (which God forbid), then all of them were perjured, and died in mortal sin ; which is too shocking. Lastly, neither doth it touch us, that such things are said to be imprescriptible. 'Tis true, indeed, they cannot by subjects or otherwise than by the church be prescribed ; but in this matter subjects are out of the question. Besides, seeing they may be alienated, they may be prescribed, especially with the consent of the kings who have confirmed the same for so long a time back as excludeth all other right, fiscal and ecclesiastical.

In conclusion, therefore, the prelates all with one consent agree in asserting the aforesaid positions to be true, and such as must be maintained ; and they beseech their lord the king, both for his soul's welfare and the church's peace, to innovate nothing, but to maintain the church and preserve her liberties as his predecessors did, taking warning from the examples of others what dangers must attend him in pursuing a contrary course. They beg him to consider, also, what spiritual benefits he daily receiveth of the church, and that the church of France never yet failed him when he needed help even in temporal things. Furthermore, he beseecheth his highness to weigh how entirely the present lord pope loveth, and ever did love, his person and realm ; affirming that never any one placed in the chair of Peter loved this realm better than he doth, alleging the text, which saith, "Stand in the multitude of the priests, and believe them with thy heart." (Ecclus. vi. 3, 4.)

After this, in the said session, the aforesaid bishop of Autun, prolocutor, urged many things besides, and answered particularly to the articles above specified and exhibited by the lord Peter in writing to the king and parliament ; which, because they touch more the subtilty of the law and styles of the courts, than is necessary to this our history, and because we would not burden the volume withal, they containing no great profit in them, we have here of purpose for brevity's sake omitted, passing to the next sitting, which was the following Friday, as ensueth. On that day [January the 5th], the prelates assembled at Vincennes before the king, to hear the answer ; where the aforesaid lord Peter de Cugnières, being prolocutor for the king, spake on this wise, taking for his theme, "I am peace unto you, do not fear," &c. ; which he prosecuted, admonishing that they should not be troubled by any thing that had been spoken, for that the intent and mind of their sovereign lord the king was, to keep the rights of the church and prelates, which they had by law and by good and reason-

Special  
answers  
to the  
articles  
premised,  
by the  
bishop of  
Autun.Another  
day's sit-  
ting in  
the par-  
liament.  
See  
Appendix.

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of priests'  
crowns.

able custom. Where, between the first and the last conclusions, he went about to prove, that the cognizance of civil causes ought not to appertain to the church; for that such things were temporal, and ought to pertain to the temporality, as spiritual things to the spirituality. And besides his other reasons, he alleged the 96 Distinct. cap. "Cum ad verum." He asserted, also, that for this intent first the clerks' crowns were shaven, in sign that they should be free from all worldliness, and forsake all temporal things; alleging to that end Causa xii. Quæst. 1. cap. "Duo sunt genera." Furthermore, he declared, that the bishops had cognizance in certain cases expressed by law, wherefore, these said cases ministered a certain rule against them, alleging in proof thereof "De regulis juris,"<sup>1</sup> cap. i., and ff. "de legatis," l. l. "Titie textores." Also he affirmed, that the Decretal "Novit," which they supposed to make for them, did speak of the king of France's state, who hath no superior; but in other persons it was, he said, otherwise. These things thus being proved, he concluded by saying, that, nevertheless, their lord and king was ready to hear the information of those, who would instruct him of any customs, and those customs which were good and reasonable he would have observed.

To this answer, because it did not seem to please and suffice the prelates, the bishop of Autun immediately replied for them all in manner following: First, commending the good and general answer, he spake in this wise, "The prince of the people shall be praised for the prudence of his talk" (Ecclesiasticus ix. 17), commending therewithal, as touching the former good general answer of the king, his purpose and talk propounded; but as concerning the words of the lord Peter, which engendered and brought darkness and obscurity, and might give occasion to the temporal lords to break and infringe the rights and customs of the church, his answer seemed not to the prelates full and plain. Speaking, moreover, to the said Peter, he alluded to the words of the Virgin speaking in the Scripture thus to her son, "Why hast thou thus dealt with us?" And so he prosecuted the same, both marvelling with himself, and yet covertly complaining of his answer. Afterwards, in reply to those things which the lord Peter affirmed, first, in reference to the chapter "Cum ad verum," he said that it was before answered, touching the division of the two jurisdictions, that they may be in one subject, as was before proved. Neither did that weigh which the lord Peter said, that these two jurisdictions could not be in one subject, because things that be in themselves diverse and yet be under one genus, as a man and an ass, cannot be in one subject; but if they were under divers kinds, as whiteness and sweetness in milk, they might be well in one subject: whereunto it was answered, that this rule was not true, because justice and temperance are two divers virtues, and under one genus, and yet be in one subject; besides, these differing species, a man and an ass, be not compatible in one subject. Also to that which was spoken concerning the shaving of the crown, it was answered, that the crown did betoken rule and excellency; and the shaving did signify, that they ought not to heap up store of temporal things, so as to apply their hearts thereunto; but that the temporal things ought to be subject to them, and not they to the temporality, as is proved in the said chapter, "Duo sunt genera." Also as concerning what was alleged "de regula," he answered, that this maketh for the church,

(1) Probably referring to tit. 41, at the end of Decretal. Gregor.—Ed.

as before was proved ; yea, also, that the custom doth make the rule for the church ; also that laws in all kind of cases do always except the custom ; and, therefore, that his reasoning made nothing against it. And as to that which the lord Peter spake about the Decretal “ Novit,” that the case was only one of the king’s person ; yet, for all that, the same thing is expressly said in the context of every christian man : and although in the said law it is the pope who speaketh, yet the same is applied to all bishops in their diocese in the 63rd Distinct. cap. “ Valentinianus.” Wherefore the said bishop concluded and beseeched the king, that it would please his grace to give unto them a more plain and comfortable answer, and that they might not depart from his presence all pensive and sad, whereby occasion might be given to the laity to impugn the rites and liberties of the church, and that they doubted nothing herein of the good nature and conscience of their sovereign lord and king. In the end, it was answered them in the behalf of the king, that it was not his mind and intent to impugn the customs of the church.

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The bishop finds fault with the king’s answer.

On the Sunday following, the bishops assembled again before the king at Vincennes, where the lord archbishop of Sens repeated their last supplication, with the last answer made them in the behalf of the king ; whereupon the lord archbishop of Bourges gave them to understand, how the king willed them not to fear, as they should suffer no hindrance or damage in his time ; yea, and how he would defend them in their rights and customs, and that it should never be said, that he gave ensample to others to impugn the church ; the king himself assenting to his having so said. The said lord archbishop of Sens in the name of the whole prelates gave humble thanks to the king for this, and the said archbishop of Sens beseeched that such proclamations, as had been made to the prejudice of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, might be repealed and called in. Hereunto the king himself answered with his own mouth, that they were not published at his commandment, neither did he know of them, nor ratify them. Thirdly, the archbishop proposed, that those abuses which the temporality complained of should by the prelates be so ordered and reformed, that every man should be well contented therewith. Last of all, he beseeched the king’s highness, that he would of his gracious goodness give them a more comfortable and fuller answer. Then answered the lord Peter in the name of the king ; that if the prelates would see reformation of those things which were to be amended, whereabouts he would take respite between then and the Christmas next following, his grace would innovate nothing in the mean season : but that if in the aforesaid space they should not have corrected and reformed that which was amiss, his majesty would then apply such order and remedy, as should be acceptable both to God and his subjects. After this the prelates had leave of the king to depart, and went home.<sup>1</sup>

Gentle answer of the king to the bishop.

Final answer to the prelates.

And thus much concerning French matters, which because they be ecclesiastical, and bear with them some utility to the diligent reader (such as list to search, note, and observe the acts of men, and the course of religion), I thought therefore here to place and adjoin next after the other contention before proceeding between Philip the French king and pope Boniface. Albeit, as touching the perfect keeping of years and time,

(1) For the “Brief Recapitulation,” &c., which in some Editions follows here, see the foot note (1) to p. 621 of this volume.—ED.

*Edward I* I am not ignorant that this aforesaid parliament, thus summoned and  
*A. D.* commenced against the French prelates, falling A.D. 1329, was to be  
*1307.* referred rather to the reign of king Edward II., of whom now remaineth (by the grace of Christ) in order of history to prosecute, declaring first the instructions and informations of his father given to him at the time of his departing. In the year of our Lord 1307, and the last year of the king, the aforesaid king Edward, in his journey marching towards Scotland, in the north fell sick of the flux, which increased so fervently upon him, that he despaired of life. Wherefore calling before him his earls and barons, he caused them to be sworn that they should crown his son Edward in such convenient time after his death as they might, and keep the land to his use, till he were crowned. That done, he called before him his son Edward, informing and lessoning him with wholesome precepts, and he also charged him with divers points upon his blessing: first, that he should be courteous, gentle, upright in judgment, fair spoken to all men, constant in deed and word, familiar with the good; and especially to the miserable be merciful. After this, he gave him also charge not to be too hasty in taking his crown before he had revenged his father's injuries stoutly against the Scots; but that he should remain in those parts to take with him his father's bones, being well boiled from the flesh, and so being enclosed in some fit vessel, should carry them with him till he conquered all the Scots; saying, "that so long as he had his father's bones with him, none should overcome him." Moreover, he willed and required him to love his brothers, Thomas and Edmund; also to cherish and tender his mother Margaret, the queen. Over and besides, he straightly charged him upon his blessing (as he would avoid his curse) that he should in no case call to him again, or send for Peter Gaveston; which Peter Gaveston the king before had banished the realm, for his naughty and wicked familiarity with his son Edward, and for his seducing of him with sinister counsel; for which cause he had both banished Peter Gaveston utterly out of the realm, and also had put the said Edward his son in prison, and therefore so straightly he charged his son in nowise to send for this Gaveston, or to have him in any case about him. And finally, because he had conceived in himself a vow to return in his own person to the Holy Land (which for his manifold wars with the Scots, he could not perform), therefore he had prepared thirty-two thousand pounds of silver, for the sending of certain soldiers with his heart unto the Holy Land. This thing he required of his son to see accomplished, so that the aforesaid money, under his curse and malediction, be not employed to other uses. But these injunctions and precepts the disobedient son did not at all observe or keep after the decease of his father. Forsaking and leaving off the war with the Scots, the son, with all speed, hasted him to his coronation. Also contrary to the mind of his nobles, and against the precept of his father, he sent for the aforesaid Peter Gaveston, and prodigally bestowed upon him all that treasure which his father had bequeathed to the Holy Land. He was, moreover, a proud despiser of his peers and nobles; and therefore reigned unfortunately, as by the sequel of the story here following, by the grace of Christ, shall be declared. Thus king Edward, the first of that name, leaving

Death of  
king  
Edward,  
A. D. 1307.

Godly les-  
sons and  
precepts  
given to  
the young  
prince.

The king  
ordereth  
his bones  
to be car-  
ried in  
the field  
against  
the Scots.

Father's  
care in  
exclud-  
ing  
wicked  
company  
from his  
son.

*Sce*  
*Appendix.*

Rash vow  
of king  
Edward:  
his heart  
to be car-  
ried to  
the Holy  
Land.



behind him three sons, Thomas and Edmund by his third wife, and Edward by his first wife, whom he had sufficiently thus with precepts instructed, departed this mortal life, A.D. 1307, after he had reigned nearly thirty-five years; of whom this epitaph was written :

“ Dum viguit rex, et valuit tua magna potestas,  
Fraus latuit, pax magna fuit, regnavit honestas.”

Edward  
II.

A.D  
1307.

See  
Appendix.

In the time and reign of this king many other things happened, which here I omit to speak of, as the long discord and strife between the prior of Canterbury, and the prior of Dover, which continued above four years, together with much wrangling and unquietness between them. Likewise another like contention growing up between John Romain, archbishop of York, and the archbishop of Canterbury: upon this occasion, that when John, archbishop of York, after his consecration returned from the pope, coming to Dover, contrary to the inhibition of Canterbury, he passed through the middle of Kent, with his cross borne up, although the story reporteth that he had the king's consent thereunto, A.D. 1286.

Item, Between Thomas, bishop of Hereford, and John Pecham, archbishop of Canterbury, arose another wrangling matter, in the time of this king; which bishop of Hereford, appealing from the archbishop to the pope, went up to Rome, and on his journey died. Who with less cost might have tarried at home, A.D. 1282.

## EDWARD THE SECOND.<sup>1</sup>

EDWARD II., son of Edward I., who was born (as is aforesaid) at Caernarvon in Wales, after the departure of his father entered upon the government of the land A.D. 1307, but was crowned not before the year next following, by reason of the absence of Robert Winchelsey, who was banished by king Edward I.; whereupon the king, this present year, writeth to the pope for the restitution of the said archbishop, for that by an ancient law of the realm the coronation of the king could not otherwise proceed without the archbishop of Canterbury. Which Edward, as he was personable in body and outward shape, so in conditions and evil disposition much deformed—as, unsteadfast of word, and light to disclose secrets of great counsel; also, refusing the company of his lords and men of honour, he much haunted among villains and vile personages; given, moreover, to overmuch drinking, and such vices as thereupon be wont to ensue. And as of his own nature he was to the said vices disposed, so was he much worse by the counsel and familiarity of certain evil-disposed persons; as first, of Peter or Piers Gaveston beforementioned; then, after him, of the two Spensers and other; whose wanton counsel he following, gave himself to the appetite and pleasure of the body, nothing ordering his commonweal by sadness, discretion, and justice; which thing caused first great variance between him and his nobles, so that shortly he became to them odible, and in the end was deprived of his kingdom. In the first year he took to wife Isabel, daughter of Philip king of France; with whom, the year after, he was crowned at

A.D.  
1307.

[Feb. 25th.  
A.D. 1308,  
Rymer.]

[Dec.  
16th,  
A.D. 1307,  
Rymer.]

Edward  
led by  
wicked  
counsel.

(1) Edition 1563, p. 74. Ed. 1583, p. 366. Ed. 1596, p. 336. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 416.—Ed.

*Edward  
II.*

*A.D.  
1307.*

*Peter  
Gaveston,  
a wicked  
doer  
about the  
king.  
See  
Appendix.*

Westminster by the bishop of Winchester, for that Robert Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, was yet in exile, not returned home. Notwithstanding, the barons and lords made first their request to the king to put Peter Gaveston from him, or else they would not consent to his coronation; whereupon he was enforced to promise that they should have their requests accomplished, at the next parliament, and so was crowned. In the mean season the aforesaid Peter or Piers, bearing himself of the king's favour bold, continued triumphing and setting at light all other states and nobles of the realm, so that he ruled both the king and the realm, and all things went as he would; neither had the king any delight else or kept company with any but with him; with him only he brake all his mind, and conferred all his counsels. This, as it seemed strange unto the lords and earls, so it inflamed their indignation so much against this Peter, that through the exciting of the nobles the bishops of the land did proceed in excommunication against the said Gaveston, unless he departed the land. Upon the occasion whereof the king, the same first year of his reign, being grieved with the bishops, writeth to the pope, complaining that they had proceeded to excommunication of the said Peter unless he departed the realm within a time certain. What answer the king's letter had from the pope, I find not set down in story. Over and besides, it befel in the said first year of the king that the bishopric of York being vacant, the king gave the office of the treasure to one of his own clerks;<sup>1</sup> whereof the pope having intelligence writeth to the king, commanding him to call back the same gift; and withal citeth up to Rome the said clerk, there to answer the matter to a nephew of one of his cardinals, upon whom he had bestowed the said dignity: whereunto the king maketh answer, "That if such citations and the execution of the same should proceed, to the impeachment of our kingly jurisdiction, and to the prejudice of our lawful inheritance, and the honour of our crown (especially if the deciding of such matters which principally concern our estate should be prosecuted in any other place than within this our realm, by any manner of ways, &c.), certes, although we ourselves should wink thereat, or through sufferance permit matters so to pass our hands; yet the states and nobles of our kingdom, who upon allegiance are obliged and sworn to the protection and defence of the dignity of the crown of England, will in no wise suffer our right and the laws of the land so to be violated."

*[Dec.  
26th,  
A.D.1307.  
Rymer.]*

Besides this, the aforesaid pope wrote to the king, complaining that by certain counsellors of king Edward his father, lying sick and utterly ignorant thereof, a certain restraint was given out, charging his nuncios and legates, whom he had sent for the gathering of the first-fruits of the benefices vacant within the realm, not hereafter to intermeddle therewith, &c. Whereunto the king maketh answer,—

Most holy father, it hath been given you to understand otherwise than the truth of the matter is. For most true it is, indeed, that the aforesaid inhibition was ratified by good act of parliament holden at Carlisle, upon certain causes concerning the execution of such collections, the said our father not only being not ignorant, but also witting, willing, and of his own mere knowledge agreeing to the same, in the presence not only of his own earls, barons, and states, and commons of the realm, but also your legates and liegers being called thereunto.

(1) See Appendix respecting an error in the foregoing statement.—ED.

Item, upon other letters brought from the pope to the king, for the installing of one Peter, a Savoyard, his kinsman, into the bishopric of Worcester, being then vacant; and withal requiring that if the said Peter would not accept thereof, the election should be referred to the prior and convent of the same place:—the king therewith grieved, maketh answer by his letters to the pope, and sundry his cardinals: “That forsomuch as elections of prelates to be placed in cathedral churches within his kingdom are not to be attempted without his license first had and obtained, &c.,” therefore he could not abide that any such strange and unaccustomed reservations should or could take place in his realm without manifest prejudice of his kingly estate; requiring further that he would not cause any such novelties to be brought into his kingdom, contrary to that which his ancestors before him had been accustomed to do.

Edward  
II.A.D.  
1310.[Jan.  
20th,  
A.D. 1308,  
Rymer.]

Thus the time proceeded, and at length the parliament appointed came, A.D. 1310, which was the fourth of this king's reign. The articles were drawn by the nobles to be exhibited to the king, which articles were the same as those contained in ‘Magna Charta’ and in ‘Charta de Foresta,’ above specified, with such other articles as his father had charged him with before—to wit, that he should remove from him and his court all aliens and perverse counsellors, and that all the matters of the commonwealth should be debated by common counsel of the lords both temporal and spiritual; and that he should stir no war out of England in any other foreign realm, without the common assent of the same, &c. The king perceiving their intent to be (as it was indeed) to sunder Peter Gaveston from his company, and seeing no other remedy but that he needs must yield and grant his consent, agreed that the said Gaveston should be banished into Ireland. And so the parliament breaking up, the lords returned to their own, well appeased: although of the other articles they could not speed, yet, that they had driven Peter Gaveston out of the realm at this time, it did suffice them.

[May 18th,  
Rymer.]

This Peter Gaveston was a certain gentleman's son of Gascony; whom, being young, king Edward I. for the good service his father had done him in his wars received to his court, and placed him with his son Edward now reigning. Who, in process of time growing up with him, incensed and provoked him to much outrage and wantonness; by whose occasion first he began in his father's days to break the park of Walter, bp. of Chester,<sup>1</sup> then lord treasurer of England, and after executor to the king; for the which so doing the king (as is partly touched before) imprisoned his son, and condemned this Peter to perpetual banishment. Notwithstanding, the young king after the death of his father (as ye have heard) sent for this Gaveston again; and withal so persecuted this aforesaid bishop, that he clapped him in the tower and seized upon all his goods; moreover, caused most strict inquisition to be made upon him for guiding his office, wherein if the least crime might have been found, it would have cost him his life. And thus much of Peter Gaveston, and of his origin. Now to the matter.

See  
Appendix

The king thus separated from his old compeer, that is, from the company of Peter Gaveston now exiled into Ireland, continued in

(1) See p. 343, note (4).—Ed.

*Edward  
II.*

*A. D.  
1310.*

*The pride  
of Gave-  
ston.*

*He spoil-  
eth the  
king's  
treasure.*

*Gaveston  
again  
banished  
the land.  
The  
queen  
complain-  
eth to the  
French  
king, her  
father, of  
Peter  
Gaveston.*

*Crouched  
Friars.  
The  
knights of  
St. John,  
or, of  
Rhodes.*

*Templars  
burned  
at Paris;  
the horri-  
ble order  
put down.*

great mourning and pensiveness, seeking by all means possible how to call him home again, and conferring with such as were about him upon the same; who did insinuate to the king, that forso much as the earl of Gloucester was a man well loved and favoured in all the realm, if a marriage might be wrought betwixt his sister and Peter Gaveston, it might be a means both for him to obtain more friendship and for the king to have his desire. To make short, Peter Gaveston in all haste was sent for, and the marriage through the king's procuring proceeded between the earl's sister and the aforesaid Peter, albeit, sore against the earl's mind. Gaveston, thus restored and dignified, was so surprised in pride and exaltation more than ever before, that he disdained and derided all other: whose rule and power more and more increased, insomuch that he, having the guiding of all the king's jewels and treasure, conveyed out of the king's jewel-house at Westminster a table and a pair of tressels of gold unto certain merchants beyond the sea, with other jewels more, to his behoof; to the great impoverishing both of the king and queen and of the land; and over all that brought the king by mean of his wanton conditions to manifold vices, as adultery and such other like. Wherefore the lords, seeing the mischief that daily increased by occasion of this unhappy man, took their counsel together at Lincoln, and there concluded to void him again out of England, so that shortly after he was exiled again, and went into Flanders; for in France or his own country he durst not appear, for fear of Philip the French king, to whom the queen of England, his daughter, had sent over great complaints of the said Gaveston, who had so impoverished her and the whole court, that she had not wherewith to maintain her state. Upon which complaint, the French king through all his dominions laid strait watch to apprehend the said Gaveston; but he, not unwarned thereof, secretly coasted into Flanders, from whence it was not long but he was fet again by the king, as in further process followeth; so much was the king's heart infatuated by this wicked person.

About this year, or the next before, came in first the Crouched Friars; and also began first the knights of the order of St. John Baptist, otherwise called the knights of Rhodes, for that they by manly knighthood put out the Turks from the isle of Rhodes.

In the history of king Edward, this king's father, before precedent, mention was made of pope Clement V., who succeeded after Benedict; also of putting down of the Templars, which in this year happened by the means of the French king; who, as he caused to be burned in the city of Paris this year fifty-four Templars, with the great master of the same order, so, by his procurement, the aforesaid pope Clement called a council at Vienne, where the whole order and sect of Templars being condemned, was shortly after, by the consent of all Christian kings, deposed all in one day. After which, the French king thought to make his son king of Jerusalem, and to convert to him all the lands of the said Templars. But Clement, the pope, would thereto not agree, transferring all their lands to the order of Hospitallers, for the great sum of money given for the same.<sup>1</sup> The cause why these impious Templars were put down was so abominable

(1) Arnaud de Pontac [*"Chronographia a Christo nato usque ad"* MDLXVI.] fol. Paris, 1567, 12mo. Lovan. 1572, sub anno 1310.]—Ed.

and filthy, that for reverence of chaste ears it were better not told, if it be true that some write. Another matter worthy to be noted of like abomination I thought here to insert, touching a certain nunnery in France called Provines, within which, at the cleansing and casting of a fish-pond, were found many bones of young children, and the bodies also of some infants as yet wholly unconsumed; upon occasion whereof divers of the nuns of the said nunnery, to the number of twenty-seven, were had to Paris, and there imprisoned: what became of them afterwards I find not in mine author.<sup>1</sup>

Edward  
II.A. D.  
1310.Bones of  
children  
found in  
the fish-  
pond of a  
nunnery.

In the same council also, it was decreed by the said Clement, that all religious orders exempted should be subject to the common law as others were; but the Cistercian monks, with money and great gifts, redeemed their privileges and exemptions of the pope, and so had them granted.<sup>2</sup> These Cistercians sped better herein, than did the Minorites of the Franciscan order in their suit, of whom, when certain of them had offered unto the said pope Clement forty thousand florins of gold, besides other silver, that the pope would dispense with them to have lands and possessions against their rule, the pope asked them, Where was that money?<sup>3</sup> They answered, In the merchantmen's hands. So the space of three days being given them to bring forth these merchants; the pope absolved the merchants of their bond made to the friars, and commanded that all that money should be employed and should revert to his use; declaring to the friars that he would not infringe nor violate the rule of St. Francis lately canonized, neither ought to do it for any money. And thus the beggarly rich friars lost both their money and their indulgence.<sup>4</sup>

Cistercian  
monks re-  
deem  
their ex-  
emptions.The Mi-  
norites  
deceived  
by pope  
Clement.One thief  
beguileth  
another.

Concerning this pope Clement V. Sabellicus<sup>5</sup> writeth, that he excommunicated the Venetians for aiding and preferring of Azo, marquis d'Este, unto the estate of Ferrara;<sup>6</sup> and wrote his letters throughout all Europe, condemning them as enemies of the church, and giving their goods as a lawful prey unto all men; which caused them to sustain great harm. But Francis Dandolo, a nobleman of Venice, being ambassador from the Venetians to the said Clement, for the obtaining of their absolution and the safeguard of their city and country, and for pacifying the pope's fury towards them, was fain so to humble himself before this proud tyrannical prelate, that he suffered a chain of iron to be tied about his neck, and to lie down flat before his table, and so to catch the bones and fragments that fell from his table, as it had been a dog, till the pope's fury towards them was assuaged; so that after that, in reproach, because he so humbled himself for the behalf and helping of his country, he was of some called a dog. But the city of Venice showed themselves not unkind in return to Dandolo for his gentle good-will declared to his country;<sup>7</sup> for, as he had abased himself before, in the vile and ignominious condition of a dog, for his country's sake, so they extolled him with as much glory again when he returned home, decking and adorning him after the best array, with the chief princely ornaments of the city, to make him amends for his former reproach received.<sup>7</sup>

Clement  
excommuni-  
cated the  
Venetians  
for mak-  
ing a  
duke.Pride  
and ty-  
ranny of  
Clement.Francis  
Dandolo  
humbleth  
himself.Piety of  
Dandolo  
to his  
country  
rewarded

Concerning the constitutions of this pope Clement, and his decretals

(1) Parker's *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, anno 1310. See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ex Chron. Thomæ Walsingham.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Sabel. *Eunead.* 9, lib. 7.

(6) See *suprà*. p. 485.—Ed.

(7) Out of Sabellicus, and is alleged in the book named the "Image of Tyranny."



*Edward  
II.*

*A. D.  
1311.*

and Clementines, and how Henry the emperor, in his days, was poisoned in receiving the sacrament, ye have heard before.<sup>1</sup> About this time Robert Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, whom this king's father had banished before, was released, and returned home from Rome.

*The  
counting  
of the  
year was,  
in old  
time,  
from Mi-  
chaelmas.*

These things thus declared, let us proceed, by the Lord's grace, to the next year (A.D. 1311), and the fifth of this king's reign. In that year, counting the year from Michaelmas to the same feast again, as then the usage of the realm was, Peter Gaveston, who had wandered the countries about, and could find no safe resting-place (notwithstanding that, upon forfeiture of life and goods, he was utterly banished out of the realm, yet trusting to the king's favour, and the good will of the earl of Gloucester, whose sister he had married), secretly returning into England with a certain company of strangers, presented himself to the king's sight. On beholding him, the king for joy ran to him, and embracing him, did not only retain him, but also for his sake undid all such acts as had been, in the parliament before enacted.<sup>2</sup> The queen and the whole court seeing this doating of the king, made a heavy Christmas. After this return of Gaveston was noised among the commons, the peers and nobles of the realm were not a little stirred, casting with themselves what way it were best to take. If he were still suffered, they saw not only themselves rejected, but also that the queen could not enjoy the love of the king, neither could there be any quietness in the realm. Again, to stir up war in the land, it were not the best; to vex or disquiet the king also they were afraid. But forasmuch as they could not abide that all the nobility should be so thrust out and vilipended for the love of one stranger, and also that the realm should be so spoiled and impoverished by the same, this way they took: namely, that Thomas, earl of Lancaster, should be elected among them as the chieftain, and chief doer in that business; to whom all other earls, and barons, and prelates also, did concordly condescend and consent, except only Walter, bishop of Coventry, whom Robert the archbishop, on that account, afterwards did excommunicate. This Thomas of Lancaster, by the public assent of the rest, sent to the king (then lying at York) humble petitions in the name, as well of the whole nobility as of the commons, desiring his grace to give the aforesaid Gaveston unto them; or else, according to the ordinance of the realm, that the land might be voided of him. But the tyrannous king, who set more by the love of one stranger than by his whole realm besides, neither would hearken to their counsel, nor give place to their supplications; but in all hasty fury removed from York to Newcastle, where he remained almost till Midsummer.

*The arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury ex-  
commu-  
nicateth  
the  
bishop of  
Coventry.*

In the meantime, the barons had gathered an host of sufficient and able soldiers, coming toward Newcastle; not intending any molestation against the king, but only the execution of the laws upon the wicked Gaveston. The king, not having wherewith to resist their power, removeth in all speedy manner to Tynemouth, where the queen was; and, hearing there that Newcastle was taken, he taketh shipping, and saileth from thence, notwithstanding the queen there, being great with child, with weeping tears, and all instance, desireth

(1) Page 608.—Ed.

(2) Ex Chron. Tho. Walsingham.

him to tarry with her, as safely he might; but he, nothing relenting to her, took Peter, his compeer, with him, and coasted over to the castle of Scarborough; where, leaving Peter Gaveston to the safe keeping of his men, he himself journeyed toward the coast beside Warwick. The lords, hearing where Peter was, bend thither all their power; so that, at length, Gaveston seeing no remedy, but that he must needs come into their hands, yieldeth and submitteth himself; requiring only this one condition, that he might talk a few words with the king in his presence. Thus Gaveston being apprehended, the king hearing thereof, sent unto the lords, requiring his life to be spared; and that he might be brought to speak to him, and promised that on their so doing, he would satisfy their minds and requests in all things whatsoever. About this, advisement was taken: but the earl of Pembroke, hearing the king's promise, persuaded the barons to yield to his petition; promising himself, upon pain of losing all his lands, to take the charge upon him of bringing Gaveston to a conference with the king, and so to recommit him to them again: which when he had obtained, he taketh Peter Gaveston with him, to bring him where the king lay; and so coming to Dedington, not far from Warwick, he leaveth him in the keeping of his soldiers, while he that night went to his wife, being not far off from thence. The same night it chanced that Guy, earl of Warwick, came to the same place where Gaveston was left; who, taking him out of the hands of his keepers, carrieth him to the castle of Warwick, where incontinent they would have put him to death; but doubting and fearing the king's displeasure, they staid a little. At that time one of the company (a man of sage and wise counsel, as mine author writeth) standing up among them, with his grave oration declareth the nature of the man, the wickedness of his own condition, the realm by him so greatly endamaged, the nobles despised and rejected, the pride and ambition of the man intolerable, the ruin of things like to ensue by him, and the great charges and expenses they had been at, in so long pursuing and getting him; and now, being gotten and in their hands, he exhorteth them to use and take the occasion now present; as hereafter, being out of their hands, they might seek, and should not find it.

Briefly, in such sort, he so persuaded the hearers, that forthwith he was brought out, and by common agreement beheaded in a place called Blakelow; which place in other stories I find to be called Gaveshead; but that name, as I think, was derived upon this occasion, afterward. And thus he that before had called the earl of Warwick the black dog of Arden, was thus by the said dog worried, as ye have heard. His carcase the Dominic friars of Oxford had in their monastery interred for the space of two years; but, after that, the king caused the said carcase to be taken up and buried within his own manor of Langley. After this, great disturbance began to arise between the king and the lords; who having their power lying about Dunstable, sent stout message unto the king at London, to have their former acts confirmed. Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, the king's nephew (who neither did hold against the king, nor yet against the nobles), with the bishops and prelates of the realm, went between both parties with great diligence to make unity. At this time, also, came two cardinals

*Edward II.*A.D.  
1311.

Peter Gaveston taken of the nobles.

The king entreateth for him.

Gaveston apprehended by Guy of Warwick.

Gaveston beheaded.

See Appendix.

His corpse buried in the king's manor of Langley.

*Edward*  
*II.*

A.D.  
1312.

The  
pope's  
letters  
and le-  
gates, not  
allowed  
by the  
nobles of  
England.

from Rome, with letters sent unto them from the pope. The nobles answered to the message of the cardinals, lying then at St. Alban's; that, as touching themselves, they should be at all times welcome to them; but as touching their letters, forasmuch as they were men unlettered, and only brought up in war and feats of arms, therefore they cared not to see the same. Then message was sent again, that they would at least grant but to speak with the pope's legates, who purposely came for the intent to establish quiet and unity in the realm. They answered again, that they had bishops both godly and learned, by whose counsel only they would be led; and not by any strangers, who knew not the true cause of their commotion. And, therefore, they said precisely, that they would have no foreigners or aliens to be doers in their business and affairs pertaining to the realm. Yet, notwithstanding, through the mediation of the archbishop and of the earl of Gloucester, the matter at length was so taken up, that the barons should restore to the king, or to his attorney of St. Alban's, all the treasure, horses, and jewels of the aforesaid Gaveston taken at Newcastle; and so their requests should be granted. And so was the matter at that time composed.

[Monday,  
Nov. 13th,  
A.D. 1312.  
Rymer.]

Shortly after, Isabel the queen was delivered of a fair child at Windsor, whom Louis, the French king's son, (the queen's brother, with other Frenchmen there present) would have to be called by the name of the French king; but the English lords were contrary, willing him to be called by the name of Edward, his father. At the birth of this Edward there was great rejoicing throughout the land, and especially the king his father so much joyed thereat, that he began daily more and more to forget the sorrow and remembrance of Gaveston's death, and was, after that, more agreeable to the will of his nobles.

The king  
rules by  
foreign  
counsel.

See  
Appendix.

Thus peace and concord between them began to be in a good towardness; which more and more might have been confirmed in process of time, had not Satan, the author and sower of discord, stirred up his instruments (certain Frenchmen, titivillers, and make-baits about the king), who ceased not, in carping and depraving the nobles, to inflame the king's hatred and grudge against them; by the exciting of whom the old quarrels being renewed afresh, the king, in his parliament called upon the same, began to charge the aforesaid barons and nobles with sedition and rebellion, and for slaying Peter Gaveston. Neither were the nobles less stout again in defending their cause, declaring that they in so doing had deserved rather thanks and favour with the king than any displeasure, in vanquishing such a public enemy of the realm; who not only had spoiled and wasted the king's substance, but also had raised much disturbance in the realm; and, forasmuch as they had begun with the matter to their so great labour and expense, they would proceed further, they said, not ceasing till they saw an end thereof. To be short: great threats there were on both parts, and a foul matter had like to have followed; but again, through the diligent mediation of the queen, the prelates, and the aforesaid earl of Gloucester, the matter was taken up and brought to reconciliation upon these conditions, that the lords and barons openly in Westminster Hall should humble themselves before the king, and ask pardon there of their doings, and that every man

Medja-  
tion for  
peace.

The king  
recon-  
ciled with  
his  
nobles.

there should receive a letter of the king's pardon, for their indemnity and assurance. And so passed over that year, within which died Robert Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury; in whose room Thomas Cobham was elected by the king and church of Canterbury to succeed; but the pope frustrating the election, placed Walter Reinold, bishop of Worcester.

*Edward II.*  
A. D. 1314.

In the mean time, the Scots hearing this civil discord in the realm, began to be busy, and to rebel anew through the means of Robert Bruce, who being chased out of Scotland by king Edward I., as is above premised, into Norway, was now returned again into Scotland, where he demeaned himself in such sort to the lords there, that in short process he was again made king of the realm, and warred so strongly upon those that took the king's part, that he wan from them many castles and strong holds, and invaded the borders of England. The king, hearing this, assembleth a great power, and by water entereth the realm of Scotland; against whom encountered Robert Bruce with his Scots at Estrivelin<sup>1</sup>, where was fought a strong battle, in the end whereof the Englishmen were discomfited, and so eagerly pursued by the Scots, that many of the noblemen were slain, as the earl of Gloucester, Sir Robert Clifford, Sir Edmund Maule, with other lords to the number of forty-two, and knights and barons two hundred and twenty-seven, besides men of name, who were taken prisoners; of common soldiers ten thousand, or, after the Scottish story, fifty thousand slain. After that, Sir Robert Bruce reigned as king of Scotland. About that time, and in that year, died pope Clement, who, keeping in the realm of France, never came to the see of Rome; after whose death the papacy stood void two years.

A. D. 1313.  
What discord doth in a common wealth.  
The Scots rebel against England.

Englishmen overcome,  
[Monday, June 24th, A. D. 1314.]

Pope Clement never sat in the see of Rome.  
A. D. 1314.

The Scots, after this, exalted with pride and fierceness, invaded the realm of England so sorely, killing and destroying man, woman, and child, that they came winning and wasting the north parts as far as to York. Besides this, such dearth of victuals and penury of all things oppressed the whole land, such murrain of sheep and oxen, that men were fain to eat horse-flesh, dogs, cats, mice, and what else they could get. Moreover, such a price of corn followed withal, that the king hardly had bread for the sustentation of his own household. Moreover, some there were that did steal children and eat them, and many, for lack of victual, died. And yet all this amended not the king of his evil living.

Miserable dearth and famine.

The cause and origin of this great dearth, was partly the wars and dissension between them and the Scots, whereby a great part of the land was wasted. But the chiefest cause was the intemperate season of the year, which, contrary to the common course, was so moist with abundance of rain, that the grain laid in the earth could have no ripening by heat of the sun, nor grow to any nourishment; so that they who had to eat, could not be satisfied with fulness, but oftsoons were as hungry again. They that had nothing were driven to steal and rob; the rich were constrained to avoid and diminish their households; the poor for famine died.<sup>2</sup> And not so much the want of victuals which could not be gotten, as the unwholesomeness of the same when it was taken, so consumed the people, that the quick were not sufficient to bury the dead; for the corruption of the meats,

Its origin.

(1) "Estrivelin," Stirling.—Ed.

(2) Ex Chron. Tho. Wals. in Vita Edwardi II.

*Edward  
II.*

A. D.  
1314.

by reason of the unseasonableness of the ground, was so infectious that many died of the flux, many of hot fevers, divers of the pestilence. And not only the bodies of men thereby were infected, but also the beasts, by the putrefaction of the herbs and grass, fell into as great a murrain, so far forth as that the eating of flesh was suspected and thought contagious. A quarter of corn and salt, from the month of June to September, rose from thirty shillings to forty shillings. The flesh of horses was then precious to the poor. Many were driven to steal fat dogs, and to eat them. Some were said, in secret corners, to eat their own children. Some would steal other men's children to kill them and eat them privily. The prisoners and thieves that were in bonds, for hunger fell upon such as were newly brought in unto them, and, tearing them in pieces, did eat them half alive. Briefly, this extreme penury had extinguished and consumed (as it was thought) the greatest part of the people of the land, had not the king, by the statute of the Londoners, given forth commandment through all his land, that no corn should at that time be turned to the making of drink. Such a Lord is God, thus able to do, where he is disposed to strike. And yet we miserable creatures, in our wealth and abundance, will not cease daily to provoke his terrible Majesty.

Scots  
driven  
out of  
Ireland.

But let us return again to the order of our story. After the Scots had thus plagued miserably, as ye have heard, the realm of England, they also invaded Ireland, where they kept up and continued war the space of four years. But in fine, the Irishmen (by aid sent to them from England) did quit themselves so well, that they vanquished the Scots, and slew Edward Bruce, and many of the nobles of Scotland, with many others, and drove the residue out of the country.

A. D. 1319.

[Sept.  
20th.]

The  
White  
Battle of  
spiritual  
men in  
York-  
shire.

The king, about the twelfth year of his reign, assembled a new host, and went into Scotland, where he laid siege to Berwick. But in the mean time, the Scots, by another way, invaded the marches of Yorkshire, robbing and harassing the country, and they slew much people. Wherefore the archbishop of York, and others, the abbots, priors, clerks, with husbandmen, assembled a great company, and gave them battle at a place called Mitton, where the Englishmen were discomfited, and many of them slain; but the archbishop and the abbot of Selby, and divers others there, escaped. So many spiritual men were slain there, that it was called the White Battle; for reason whereof, the king on hearing of it, and partly because winter did approach, was constrained to raise the siege; and so returned, not without great danger.

The two  
Spensers.

At this time the two Spensers (sir Hugh Spenser the father, and Hugh Spenser the son) were of great power in England, and by the favour of the king practised such cruelty, and bore themselves so haughtily and proudly, that no lord of this land might gainsay them in any thing that they thought good; whereby they were in great hatred and indignation both with the nobles and the commons, no less than Peter Gaveston was before.

The  
pope's  
legates  
spoiled of  
their il-  
lotten  
treasure.  
*See  
Appendix.*

Soon upon this came two legates from Rome, sent by pope John XXII., under pretence to settle an agreement between England and Scotland; who, for their charges and expenses, required of every spiritual person four-pence in every mark. But all their labour



nothing availed; for the legates, as they were in the north parts (about Darlington) with their whole family and train, were robbed and despoiled of their horses, treasure, apparel, and what else they had, and with an evil-favoured handling came to Durham whither they were going; where they staid awhile, waiting for an answer from the Scots. But when neither the pope's legacy, nor his curse, would take any place with the Scots, they returned again to London, where they first excommunicated and cursed as black as soot all those arrogant and presumptuous robbers of Northumberland. Secondly, for supplying of the losses received, they exacted of the clergy, to be given and paid unto them, eight-pence in every mark. But the clergy thereunto would not agree, seeing it was their own covetousness (as they said) that made them venture further than they needed. Only they were contented to relieve them after four-pence in a mark, as they promised before: further they would not grant: whereof the king being advertised, and taking part with his clergy, directed his letters to the said legates in form as followeth:<sup>1</sup>—

Edward  
II.A. D.  
1318.See  
Appendix.  
The  
pope's  
curse  
contemn-  
ed by the  
Scots.The  
clergy of  
England  
resist the  
extortion  
of the  
pope's  
legates.

### Letter of the King against Papal Extortion.

See  
Appendix.

The king to Master Rigaud of Asserio, canon of Orleans, greeting: we have taken notice of the clamours and lamentable petitions of the subjects of our realm, perceiving by the same that you practise many and sundry inconveniencies very strange, never heretofore accustomed, nor heard of in this our realm, as well against the clergy and ecclesiastical persons, as against the laity, even to the utter oppression and impoverishing of many of our liege people; which if it should be winked at, as God forbid, may, in process of time, be occasion of greater perils to ensue; whereat we are (not without cause) moved, and not a little grieved. We forbid you, therefore, that from henceforth you practise not, nor presume in any case to attempt any thing within this our realm, either against our clergy or laity, that may in any manner of way tend to the prejudice of our royal person, or of our crown and dignity regal. Witness the king at Windsor the sixth day of February, in the 11th year of his reign.  
Per concilium.

A prohi-  
bition  
against  
strange  
taxes and  
imposi-  
tions.

Likewise in the same year the said king writeth to the same effect to the archbishop of Canterbury, as followeth:<sup>2</sup>—

### Letter of the King to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The king to the reverend father in God, W. by the same grace archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, greeting: We are credibly informed by many of our subjects, that certain strange impositions, never heard of before within any of our dominions, upon lands and tenements, goods and chattels, concerning the testaments and cases of matrimony, are brought into our realm to be executed upon our subjects by you or some others; which, if it should proceed to execution, would manifestly tend to the disherison and impeachment of our crown and dignity regal, and the intolerable damage of the subjects of our realm, to the due preservation of the which you are bound by solemn oath of allegiance. We therefore command and straitly charge you, that you proceed not in any case to the execution of any such letters, either in your own person, or by any other, nor yet presume, by colour of the same, to attempt any thing that may be prejudicial or hurtful to our crown or dignity regal. And if you, or any other in your name, have done or attempted any thing by colour of the same, that ye call back and revoke the same forthwith without delay. Witness the king at Shene, the 17th of February, the eleventh year of his reign.  
Per ipsum regem.

(1) Rex Magistro Rigando de Asserio, canonico Aurelian salutem, &c.

(2) Rex venerabili in Christo patri, W. eadem gra. archiepiscopo Cant., &c.

*Edward*  
*11.*  
*A. D.*  
*1318.* The like letters in effect were directed to the archbishop of York, and to every other bishop throughout England; by force of which letters the greedy legates being restrained of their ravening purpose, taking what they could get, and setting a peace, such as it was, between the king and the earl of Lancaster, were fain to pack.

Besides the restraint above mentioned for strange impositions, there followed, moreover, the same year, the king's prohibition for the gathering of Peter-pence, directed to the aforesaid legate the tenor whereof followeth.

A Prohibition against extortion in gathering the Pope's Peter-pence.<sup>1</sup>

The king to Master Rigaud of Asserio, canon of Orleans, greeting: We are given to understand that you do demand and purpose to levy the Peter-penny within our realm, otherwise than the said Peter-penny hath been heretofore accustomed to be levied in the time of any our progenitors, exercising herein grievous censures ecclesiastical, to the great annoyance and damnifying of the subjects of our realm; for present remedy whereof our loving subjects have made their humble supplication unto us. And forasmuch as the said Peter-penny hath been hitherto accustomed to be gathered and levied upon lands and tenements within our realm after a due manner and form, we, not willing that any such unaccustomed impositions shall in any wise be made upon the lands and tenements of any of our subjects within our dominions, prohibit you, upon grievous pain, straitly charging that in no wise you presume to exact, gather, or levy the said Peter-penny in any other form or manner than hath been heretofore accustomed to be gathered and levied in the time of our progenitors, or since the beginning of our reign, until further order be taken in our high court of parliament by the advice of the nobles and peers of our realm, such as may well be taken without prejudice of our crown and damage of subjects. Witness the king at Westminster the first day of March.

Per ipsum regem et concilium.

Letters to the same effect were directed to the archbishops, deans, archdeacons, and the rest of the clergy.

Touching the first original of this Peter-pence, though mention be made before in the life of king Offa and others, yet to make a brief recapitulation of the same, according to the rolls as they come to our hands.<sup>2</sup> It is found recorded in ancient chronicles touching the Peter-pence of St. Peter (A. D. 793), that Offa, king of Mercia, travelled up to Rome in the time of pope Adrian I. to obtain the canonizing of St. Alban; and having performed his vow, visiting the college of English students which then flourished in Rome, he did give to the maintenance of the scholars of England, students in Rome, one penny out of every tenement within this realm, that had land belonging to it amounting to the yearly value of thirty pence. And for this his munificence he obtained of pope Adrian, that no person within his dominion public, repenting him for not performing enjoined penance, should therefore be banished.<sup>3</sup>

Read before in the lives of king Offa, and king Ethelwolf.

(1) "Rex Magistro Rigando."

(2) De denariis beati Petri sic scriptum, &c.

(3) A. D. 857. "Adewulfus rex Westsaxonum, tempore Leonis papæ quarti, Romam singulis annis 300 mancusas portari præcipit, taliter dividendas ibidem: viz. 100 mancusas in honorem scilicet Petri, specialiter ad emendum oleum, quo implerentur omnia luminaria ecclesiæ apostolicæ in vespera Pasche et in galli cantu; et 100 mancusas in honorem scilicet Pauli eisdem de causis; 100 preterea mancusas præcipit exhiberi universali Papæ ad suas elemosynas ampliandas. Et sciendum, quod secundum antiquorum Anglorum interpretationem differunt mancusa et manca, quia mancusa idem erat apud eos quod marca argentea: manca vero erat moneta aurea quadra, et valebat communiter 30 denarios argenteos.

Of this Peter-pence is found a transcript of the original rescript apostolical, the tenor whereof is this: "Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Cantuar. et Ebor. archiepiscopis et eorum suffraganeis, et dilectis filiis abbatibus, prioribus, archidiaconis, eorumque officialibus per regnum Angliæ constitutis, ad quos literæ istæ pervenerint,

Concerning this Peter-pence, it is touched in the laws of king Edward the Martyr, chap. 10, when, where, of whom, and under what pain, this Peter-pence must be gathered; being but the king's mere alms, as is aforesaid. And thus much touching Peter-pence. Now for other letters written by the king to the pope, the same year, for other matters, as craving the pope's help in compounding the variance betwixt the two archbishops of Canterbury and York, for bearing the cross from the one province to the other, thus it followeth: that the king grievously complaineth, that such hurly-burly and uproar arose thereof, that they could not meet together in one place through the great multitude of armed men, assistants on both parts in the very bearing of the cross, to the great disturbance of the people.

*Edward  
II.*

*A. D.  
1322*

Now after this long digression, to turn to our English matters again, mention was made before of the variance between the king and the earl of Lancaster, and of a peace concluded between them. But this peace did not long endure, which the king by his own default did break, sending to the Scots a privy messenger (who was taken in the way), to have the aforesaid earl of Lancaster by their means made away with.

In the mean time the lords and nobles of England, detesting the outrageous pride of the Spensers, whereby they wrought daily both great dishonour to the king, and hinderance to the commonweal, in such wise conspired against them, that gathering their power together, they made a request to the king, that he should remove the Spensers from his person. For this there was a parliament called at London, and the barons came together with a great company; at which parliament both the Spensers were banished the land for the term of their lives, and they took shipping at Dover, and so voided the land. But not long after, the king (contrary to the ordinance made in the parliament) sent for the Spensers again, and set them in high authority; and they ruled all things after their sensual appetites, nothing regarding justice or the commonwealth. The barons, therefore, intending again to reform this mischief, assembled their powers; but the king (making such hasty speed, and gathering his people so soon) was stronger than they, and pursued them so in divers places, that the barons, not fully joined together (some flying, and some departing to the king, some slain by the way), in the end were chased so eagerly, that in short space the aforesaid Thomas, earl of Lancaster, was taken, and put to death with the rest of the nobility, to the number of two and twenty of the greatest men, and chiefest captains of this realm; of whom only Thomas, earl of Lancaster,<sup>1</sup> for the nobility of his blood, was beheaded, all the other lords and barons being hanged, drawn, and quartered, &c. This bloody unmercifulness of the king toward his natural subjects, not only procured to him great dishonour

*Pride of  
the Spen-  
sers.*

*[July  
15th,  
A. D.  
1321.]*

*A. D. 1322.  
Twenty-  
two of the  
greatest  
nobility  
of the  
realm put  
to death  
by the  
king.*

salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Qualiter denarii beati Petri, qui debentur cameræ nostræ, colligantur in Anglia et in quibus episcopatibus et dioceses. debeantur, ne super hoc dubitari contingat, et præsentibus fecimus annotari, sicut in registro sedis apostolicæ continetur. De Cantuar. dioces. 7*l.* 18*s.* sterlingorum. De London. dioces. 16*l.* 10*s.* De Roffens. dioces. 5*l.* 12*s.* De Norwicens. dioces. 21*l.* 10*s.* De Elienum. 5*l.* De Lincoln. 42*l.* De Cistrens. 8*l.* De Winton. 17*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* De Exon. 9*l.* 5*s.* De Wigorne. 10*l.* 5*s.* De Hereford. 6*l.* De Bathon. dioces. 12*l.* 5*s.* De Sarisbur. 17*l.* De Coventre. 10*l.* 5*s.* De Eborac. 11*l.* 10*s.* Datum apud urbem veterem. 10 Kal. Maii Pontificatus nostri anno secundo. Summa, 30 [300] marcæ et dimidi.<sup>1</sup>

(1) Thomas, earl of Lancaster, came of Edmund, younger son of king Henry III.

*Edward II.* within the realm, but also turned afterwards to his much greater harm and hinderance, in his foreign wars against the Scots; and, finally, wrought his utter confusion, and the overthrow of his seat royal, as in the sequel of his end appeared, and worthily.

*A. D. 1323.* After the ruin of these noble personages, the king, as though he had gotten a great conquest (who then indeed began first to be overcome and conquered himself, when he so oppressed and cut off the strength and sinews of his chivalry), began to triumph not a little with the Spensers; and, to count himself sure as though he were in heaven, to exercise more sharp severity upon his subjects, trusting and committing all to the counsel only of the aforesaid Spensers, inso-much that both the queen and the residue of the nobles could little be regarded; who, as they grew ever in more contempt with the king, so they increased more in hatred against the Spensers; but strength and ability lacked to work their will.

*A. D. 1323.* The next year, the king being at York, after he had made Sir Hugh Spenser an earl, and Sir Robert Baldock (a man of evil fame) to be chancellor of England, he then arrayed a mighty host against the Scots; but for lack of skilful guiding, expert captains, and for want specially of due provision of victuals necessary for such an army, the great multitude, to the number reckoned of a hundred thousand (wandering through Scotland, from whence the Scots had conveyed all their goods and cattle into mountains and marshes), were so pinched and starved with famine, that a great part of the army there presently perished; and they that returned home, as soon as they tasted of meats, escaped not. The king neither having resistance of his enemies, and seeing such a destruction of his subjects, was forced, without any act done, to retire. But in his retiring, Sir James Douglas and the Scots having knowledge thereof, pursued him in such wise, that they slew many Englishmen, and had well near taken the king himself. After this distress, the king, thus beaten and wearied with the Scots, would fain have joined in truce with the Scots; but because they stood excommunicated by the pope, he standing in fear thereof, desired license to treat with them of peace, notwithstanding the said excommunication: which license being obtained, a treaty was appointed by commissioners on both parts at Newcastle, at the feast of St. Nicholas next ensuing; and so truce was taken for thirteen years. Whereupon this is to be noted by the way, gentle reader, not unworthy of observation, that whereas in former times, and especially in those of the late king Edward I., so long as the Scots were under the pope's blessing, and we in displeasure with his holiness for dealing with them, so long we prevailed mightily against them, even to the utter subversion in a manner of their whole estate. But now so soon as the pope took our part, and the Scots were under his curse and excommunication, then gat they greater victories against us than at any time either before or since; insomuch as that being before not able to defend themselves against us, they now pursued us into the bowels of our own country.

The king purposing to erect a house of friars Augustine, within the town of Boston in Lincolnshire, first prayed the pope's license in that behalf

Polydore Virgil, among other histories of our English nation

The king  
distress-  
ed again  
in Scot-  
land,

[May  
30th,  
A. D.  
1323.]  
*See*  
*Appendix,*

which he intermeddled with, prosecuting also the acts and life of this present king, and coming to write of the queen's going over into France, inferreth much variety and diversity of authors and story-writers concerning the cause thereof. Otherwise, he giveth himself no true certainty of that matter, neither yet toucheth he that which was the real cause; by reason partly, that he being an Italian and a foreigner, could not understand our English tongue, and partly again, being but one man, neither could he alone come to the sight of all our Latin authors. One I am sure came not to his perusing, an old ancient Latin history fairly written in parchment, but without name, belonging to the library of William Cary, citizen of London. In that story, the truth of this matter, without any ambiguity, is fully and with all circumstances expressed, as here briefly is inserted.

*Edwarda*  
*II.*

A.D.  
1324.

Polydore  
Virgil, an  
Italian,  
writeth  
out Eng-  
lish sto-  
ries.

The king of England had been divers and sundry times cited up to the court of France, to do homage to the French king, for the dukedom of Aquitaine, and other lands which the king then held of France; which homage because the king of England refused to tender, the French king began to enter all such possessions as the king then did hold in France: whereupon great contention and conflicts there were, on both sides. At length, in this year now present, a parliament was called at London, where, after much altercation, at last it was determined, that certain should be sent over, to wit, the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, and the earl of Richmond, to make agreement betwixt the two kings; for the better help and fortification of which agreement, it was thought good afterwards, that queen Isabel, sister to Charles, then the French king, should be sent over. Here is to be noted first, that the queen's lands and possessions and castles a little before, upon the breach between the French king and the king of England, were seized into the king's hands, and the queen put to her pension, &c. Thus the queen being sent over with a few to attend upon her, only Sir John Cromwel, baron, and four knights, took their passage to France; by whose mediation it was there concluded, that the king of England, if he would not himself come to do his homage, should give to his son Edward the dukedom of Aquitaine and the earldom of Pontigny: and so he to come to make his homage to the king, and to possess the same. This being in France concluded, was sent over by message to the king of England, with the king's letters patent adjoined for the safe conduct of him or of his son. Upon this, deliberation was taken in the council of England; but the two Spensers fearing to take the seas with the king, or, without the king, to remain behind, for fear of the nobles, so appointed, that prince Edward, the king's son, was sent, which happened afterwards to their utter desolation, as it followed: for all things being quieted and ordered according to the agreement in France, king Edward of England, soon after Michaelmas, sendeth for his wife and his son again out of France. But she, sending home most part of her family, refuseth herself to return; for what cause it is not fully certain, whether for indignation that her possessions and lands were seized to the king, as is before premised; or whether for fear and hatred of the Spensers, as is likely; or else for love and familiarity of Sir Rogér

A.D.1324.

The  
queen put  
to her  
pension.  
Sent to  
France.

Prince  
Edward  
made  
duke of  
Aquitaine  
and earl  
of Pon-  
tigny.

The  
queen  
and the  
prince re-  
fuse to re-  
turn into  
England.



*Edward II.*A. D.  
1325.Proclaim-  
ed trait-  
ors in  
England.The king  
conspires  
privily  
the death  
of the  
queen  
and of  
his son.A. D. 1325.  
Prince  
Edward  
betrothed  
to the  
earl of  
Hein-  
ault's  
daughter.The  
queen re-  
turning,  
landeth  
in Eng-  
land.

A. D. 1326.

The king  
destitute  
of help  
and sol-  
diers.

Mortimer. For here is to be noted, that the said Sir Roger Mortimer, with divers others of the barons' part, who had broken prison in England, were fled before into France, and now resorted unto the queen. The king seeing this, giveth forth in proclamation, and limiteth a certain day to the queen and his son to return; or else to be proclaimed traitors to the king and to the realm. Notwithstanding, the queen persisting in her purpose, denieth to return, unless the other nobles who were fled might be permitted safely also to return with her; whereupon the king immediately caused them both to be proclaimed traitors, and all them that took their parts.

Here then began great hatred between king and king, between the king and the queen, much preparation of war, great spoiling on the sea, much sending between the pope and them; but that would not serve. Then the king, by the counsel of the Spencers, sendeth privily to procure the death of the queen and of his son, which should be wrought by the execution of the earl of Richmond, the queen's familiar; but as the Lord would, that imagination was prevented and utterly frustrated. Albeit, the queen, yet notwithstanding (whether misdoubting what corruption of money might do in the court of France; or whether the French king, being threatened by the king of England and by the pope, durst not detain her), removed from thence, and was received with Edward her son, joyously and honourably in the court or country of the earl of Heinault. There, by means of such as were about her, a marriage was concluded between the said Edward her son, being of the age of fourteen years, and Philippa, the aforesaid earl's daughter. When this was noised in England, divers men of honour and name came over to the queen; and, soon after, the earl of Heinault prepared a crew of five hundred men of arms to set over the young prince with his mother into England. Of this the fame sprang shortly through the realm; wherefore the king in all defensible ways made provision to have the havens and ports of his land surely kept, to resist the landing of his enemies. On the contrary side, the queen, with no less preparation, provideth all things to her expedition necessary; who, when she saw her time, speeding herself to the sea-coast with prince Edward her son, lord Edmund earl of Kent the king's brother, Sir Roger Mortimer, the lord Wygmore, and other exiles of England, accompanied also by the aforesaid Heinauldiers, of whom Sir John of Heinault, the earl's brother, was captain, having with her of Englishmen and strangers the number of two thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven soldiers; she took shipping in those parts, and had the wind so favourable, that they landed in England at a port called Orwel, beside Harwich in Suffolk, in the dominion of the earl marshal, in the month of September; to whom, after her landing, resorted earl marshal the earl of Leicester, with other barons, knights, and bishops also; namely of Lincoln, Hereford, Durham, and Ely. The archbishop of Canterbury, though he came not himself, yet sent his aid and money. Thus the queen, well furnished with plenty both of men and victuals, setteth forward toward London; so that the further she came, the more her number daily increased, and the king's power contrarily decreased; insomuch that, as mine author affirmeth, not one almost in all the realm could be hired with any wages to fight on the king's behalf

against the queen, neither did the queen's army hurt any man or child, either in goods or any other thing, by the way. *Edward II.*

At the arriving of the queen, the king was in London, who first would not believe it to be true. Afterwards, seeing and perceiving how it was, he asketh help of the Londoners, who, after mature advisement, rendered this answer to the king again: that as touching the king, the queen, and their son, the lawful heir of the kingdom, they were ready, with all duty and service, to honour and obey. As for strangers and traitors to the realm, they would receive none such within their city gates. Furthermore, to go out of the city to fight, that, they said, they would not, unless it were so, that according to the liberties of their city, they might return home again before sunset. The king hearing this answer (which liked him not well), fortieth the Tower of London with men and victuals, committing the custody thereof to John Ealham, his younger son, and to the wife of Hugh Spenser, his niece; and leaving Walter Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, behind him, to have the rule of the city of London, he himself, hearing daily the great recourse of the people that drew to the queen, for more safeguard to himself, fled with a small company westward, towards Wales. But, before his departing from London, he caused a proclamation to be made, wherein all and singular persons were charged, upon forfeit of life and goods, every man with all his power to rise and invade the rebels and destroy them all, only the lives of the queen, his son, and his brother, reserved. Also that no man, upon pain pretaxate, should help, rescue, or relieve the said rebels, with goods, victuals, or otherwise. Item, it was also proclaimed, that whosoever would bring to the king the head and body of Sir Roger Mortimer, either dead or alive, should have out of the king's coffers a thousand pounds. *Answer of the Londoners to the king.*

In contrariwise, the queen setteth forth another proclamation, wherein it was forbidden to take or spoil violently the value of any man's goods against the will of the owner, under pain of losing his finger, if it were three-pence; of his hand, if it were sixpence; of his head, if it were twelve-pence. Moreover, whosoever would bring to the queen the head of Hugh Spenser the younger, chopped off from his body, should receive of the queen for so doing, two thousand pounds. This done, the queen sendeth her letters to the city of London for aid and succour to subdue the oppressor of the realm, to which letters at first no answer was made. Again, she wrote the second letter, which was then tacked upon the cross in Cheap, which was then called the new cross; the copy and tenor of which letter was this: *Liberties of the city of London in going to war.*

Copy of a Letter that the Queen sent unto the Mayor and Citizens of London. *The king's proclamation.*

Isabel, by the grace of God, queen of England, lady of Ireland, and countess of Pountif. And we Edward, the first son of the king of England, duke of Guienne, earl of Chester, of Pountif, and of Mounstrell, to the mayor and all the commonalty of London, send greeting. Forasmuch as we have before this time sent to you by our letters, and how we come into this land in good array, and good manner, for the profit of holy church, and of our right dear lord and king, and all the realm, with all our might and strength to keep and maintain the realm, as all good people ought for to do; upon that, we pray you and desire you that ye would be helping to us for the health and profit of the realm; and

*Edward  
II.*

*A. D.  
1327.*

we have had none answer of you, nor know not your will in that part: wherefore we send to you again, and pray you, and charge you, that ye bear you so against us, that ye have no nor make cause us to grieve, but that ye be to us helping in all the ways that you may. And wete ye well in certain, that we, and also those that cometh with us into this realm, nothing for to done, but that shall be pleasing to God, and common profit to all the realm; not else, but for to destroy the Spensers, enemies to the realm, as ye well know. Wherefore we pray and charge you, in the faith that ye owe to our lord the king, to the crown, and to us, and upon all that ye may forfeit, that if Hugh Spenser, both the father and the son, our enemies, come within your power, that ye do them hastily to be taken, and safely kept, till we have ordained for them our will, as ye desire profit and honour of us, and of the realm. Understanding well, if it be so, that ye do our desire and prayer, we shall the more be beholden to you. And also we shall do you profit and worship if that ye send us hastily word again of your will.

Given at Baldocke, the sixth day of October.

Bishop of  
Exeter  
beheaded  
at the  
standard  
in Cheap.

These aforesaid letters being published and perused, the bishop of Exeter,<sup>1</sup> to whom, as ye heard, was committed the rule of the city, sent to the mayor for the keys of the gates, using such sharp words in the king's name, that variance began to kindle between him and the citizens; so much so that the commons in their rage took the bishop and beheaded him and two of his household at the Standard in Cheap. Then the king went to Bristol, and ordained Sir Hugh Spenser the father, to keep the castle and town there; and the king, with Hugh Spenser the son, and Sir Robert Baldock, the chancellor, and the earl of Arundel, went into Wales. The queen's forces so pursued them, that they first took the town, yielded up to her; then they took Sir Hugh Spenser the father, whom, being drawn and torn, they at last hanged up at Bristol, in chains of iron. As the king was thus flying, the queen caused to be proclaimed throughout her army, that the king should come and appear, and so receive his kingdom again, if he would be comfortable to his liege subjects: who when he did not appear, prince Edward, his son, was proclaimed high keeper of the realm.

Hugh  
Spenser,  
the fa-  
ther,  
hanged in  
chains.

The king  
taken in  
Wales.

In the mean time Henry earl of Lancaster, and brother to the good earl Thomas, who before was beheaded, also lord William Souch, and Master Uphowel, were sent by the queen into Wales to pursue the king, and there they took him, and sent him to the castle of Kenilworth; and took Hugh Spenser the son, and Sir Robert Baldock the chancellor, and Sir John, earl of Arundel, and brought them all to the town of Hereford. Soon after, Hugh Spenser the son, was drawn, and hanged on a gallows fifty feet high, and afterwards beheaded and quartered, whose quarters were sent into the four quarters of the realm. Sir John of Arundel was beheaded, and Sir Robert Baldock was put in Newgate at London, where, shortly after, he pined away and died among the thieves. This done, a parliament was assembled at London, from whence message was sent to the king, that if he would resign up his crown, his son should have it after him: if not, another should take it, to whom the lot would give it: whereupon the king, being constrained to yield up his crown to his son, was kept in prison, and after had to Barkley; where he is said to have taken great repentance. After this message being sent, and the king half

Hugh  
Spenser,  
the son,  
executed.

[Jan. 7th,  
A. D.  
1327.]

(1) This bishop of Exeter builded in Oxford two colleges, Exeter College, and Hart Hall; his name was Gualter Stapleton.

condescending thereunto (the parliament notwithstanding prosecuting and going forward), there was a bill exhibited and put up, containing certain articles against the said king, then in prison in the castle of Barkley, touching his misbehaviour and imprudent governing of the realm; which bill openly before the lords and commons, by the speaker of the parliament house, was read. After long consultation thereupon amongst themselves touching those articles, and also for the better and more circumspect government of the realm from that time forth, it was consulted and agreed upon by the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons there assembled, that the said Edward was a man not meet to be their king, nor from that time forth any more to bear the crown royal, or title of a king; but that Edward his eldest son, who there in the same court of high parliament was present, as he was rightful heir and inheritor thereunto, so should he be crowned king thereof in his father's stead, with these conditions thereunto annexed: that he should take wise, sage, and true counsellors unto him, that the realm might be better and more circumspectly governed, than before in the time of Edward his father it was; and that the old king, his father, should be honourably provided for and kept, so long as he lived, according as unto his estate it appertained, &c. These and other things thus finished and ended, the parliament breaketh up, and all things necessary, and to the coronation of a prince appertaining, were in speedy wise prepared, whereof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be specified.

*Edward II.*

A. D. 1327.

A bill exhibited in the parliament against the king

The king deposed by the parliament, and his son Edward chosen king

In the mean time as touching the king, who was yet in prison, it is thought by some writers, that the next year following, by the means of Sir Roger Mortimer, he was miserably slain, by a spit, as it is said, being thrust up into his body, and was buried at Gloucester, after he had reigned nineteen years.

[Sep. 21st, A. D. 1327.]

In the time and reign of this king, the college of Cambridge, called Michael House, was founded and builded by Sir Henry Stanton, knight, to the use and increase of learning, a thing in a commonwealth very profitable and necessary to be had; the want and need whereof, many sundry times, is sooner felt in this realm of ours and other realms abroad, than is the discommodity thereof of most men commonly understood.

Michael House, in Cambridge, founded by Henry Stanton.

About the same time also was Nicolaus de Lyra, who wrote the ordinary Gloss of the Bible: also Gulielmus Ocham, a worthy divine, and of a right sincere judgment, as the times then would either give or suffer.

*See Appendix.*

In the tractation of this king's history, it was declared before what grudge did kindle in the hearts of the barons against the king, for revoking such acts and customs as had been before in the parliament established, both for Peter Gaveston, and for the two Spensers. Also, what severe punishment the king did execute upon them for the same, in such cruel and rigorous sort, that as he spared none of those whom he could there find, so he never ceased all his life after to inquire out and to be revenged of all such as had been in any part or consenting to that matter. For this his extreme and implacable tyranny, he was in such hatred of all the people, that, as he said, he could not find one of all the commons to take his part, when need required. Among others who were for that matter troubled, was one Adam, bishop of

Tyranny odious to the people.

*Edward  
II.*

*A. D.  
1327.*

*See  
Appendix.*

Form of words when a bishop challenges the privilege of the church against a secular judge.

The bishop rescued by the clergy.

The king proceedeth in judgment against the bishop.

*See  
Appendix.*

A new-found heresy, to say that Christ and the apostles had no proper possessions here.

Hereford, who being impeached of treason with others besides, was at length arrested in the parliament to appear and answer to that which should be to him objected. Many things were there laid against him, for taking part with them that rose against the king, with more matters, and heinous rebukes, &c.; whereunto the bishop for a great while answered nothing.<sup>1</sup>

At length the bishop, claiming the liberties and privileges of the church, answered the king in this form:<sup>2</sup>—"The due reverence of your princely majesty ever saved, I, an humble minister and member of the holy church of God, and a bishop consecrated (albeit unworthy), cannot, neither ought, to answer to these so high matters without authority of the archbishop of Canterbury, my direct judge next under the high bishop of Rome, whose suffragan also I am, and the consent likewise of the other my fellow-bishops." After these words by him pronounced, the archbishop and other bishops with him were ready to make humble intercession for him to the king, and did. But when the king would not be won nor turned with any supplication, the said bishop, together with the archbishop and the clergy, coming with their crosses, took him away, challenging him for the church, without any more answer-making; charging moreover, under the censures of the church and excommunication, none to presume to lay any further hands upon him. The king, moved with this boldness and stoutness of the clergy, commandeth, notwithstanding, to proceed in judgment, and the jury of twelve men to go upon the inquiry of his cause; who finding and pronouncing the bishop to be guilty, the king caused immediately all his goods and possessions to be confiscated unto himself: moreover, he made his plate and all his household provision to be thrown out of his house into the street; but yet he remained still under the protection and defence of the archbishop, &c.

This archbishop was Walter Reynold; after whom succeeded Simon Mepham, in the same see of Canterbury, A. D. 1328.<sup>3</sup>

After pope Clement V., by whose decease the Romish see stood vacant, as ye have heard, two years and three months, next was elected pope John XXII.,<sup>4</sup> a Cistercian monk, who sat in that papacy eighteen years. He was stout and inflexible, and given so much to the heaping up of riches, that he proclaimed them heretics who taught that Christ and his apostles had no possessions of their own in this world. At this time was emperor Louis of Bavaria, a worthy man, who, with this pope, and others that followed him, had no less contention than had Frederic before mentioned, in the time of king Henry III.; inso-much that this contention and variance continued the space of four and twenty years. The cause and first origin of this tragical conflict, arose upon the constitution of Clement V., the predecessor to this pope; by whom it was ordained, as is before mentioned, that emperors, by the German princes elected, might be called kings of the Romans, but might not enjoy the title or right of the empire to be nominated emperors, without their confirmation given by the pope. Wherefore, this emperor, because he used the imperial dignity in Italy, before he was

(1) Ex Tho. Walsling.

(2) "Ego sanctæ ecclesiæ Dei minister humilis, membrum ejus, et episcopus consecratus, licet indignus, ad tam ardua nequeo respondere, nec debeo, absque D. Cant. archiepiscopi, post summum pontificem mei directi judicis, ejus etiam sum suffraganeus, auctoritate, et aliorum parium meorum episcoporum consensu."

(3) Ex Tho. Walslingham.

(4) A. D. 1316, called John XXI. Eo.



authorised by the pope, the said pope therefore excommunicated him. And notwithstanding the emperor oftentimes did proffer himself to make entreaty of peace and concord; yet the pope, inflexible, would not bend. The writings on both parts be yet extant, wherein the said bishop doth make his vaunt, that he had full power to create and depose kings and emperors at his pleasure. In the same time were divers learned men, who seeing the matter, did greatly disallow the doings of the bishops of Rome; among whom was William Ocham, whose tractations were afterwards condemned by the pope, for writing against the temporal jurisdiction of their see; as did another, named Marsilius Patavinus, who wrote the book entitled ‘Defensor Pacis,’ which was given into the hands of the said emperor; wherein the controversy of the pope’s unlawful jurisdiction in things temporal is largely disputed, and the usurped authority of that see set forth to the uttermost. It is found in some writers, that a great cause of this variance first began, for that one of the emperor’s secretaries, unknown to the emperor, in certain of his letters had likened the papal see to the beast rising out of the sea, in the Apocalypse. At length, when the emperor, after much suit made to the pope at Avignon, could not obtain his coronation, coming to Rome, he was there received with great honour; where he, with his wife, were both crowned, by the full consent of all the lords and cardinals present; and moreover, another pope was there set up, called Nicolas V. After these things done, the pope, not long after, departed at Avignon in France; after whom succeeded Benedict XII.,<sup>1</sup> a monk of the Benedict order, and reigned seven years; who, by the counsel of Philip, the French king, confirmed and prosecuted the censures and cursings that John, his predecessor, had published against Louis, the emperor: moreover, he deprived him of his imperial crown, and also of his dukedom of Bavaria. The emperor upon this cometh to Germany, and assembling the princes electors, dukes, bishops, nobles, and the learned, in a council at Frankfort, there declared before them, out of the ancient laws and customs of the empire, how it standeth only in the princes electors, and in no others to elect the kings or the emperors of the Romans (for in both these names there was no difference), so that the same electors, in choosing the king of the Romans, did also elect and choose the emperor; which emperor, so by them constituted, had lawful right, without any information of the apostolical see, to exercise the administration of the empire. And if he were lawfully elect, he ought to be anointed by the Roman bishop; which if he do refuse, then might he be anointed and declared emperor and Augustus by any other catholic bishop thereunto appointed, as by the old manner and custom hath been; especially seeing these injunctions are only certain solemnities added and invented by the bishops, for a token of unity between the church and empire, to govern and defend the faith together. Wherefore, in that the emperor sweareth to the bishop of Rome, in that is to be understood no homage or fealty made to the bishop, but only that it is a sacrament and a promise given to defend the faith;<sup>2</sup> which oath or sacrament so given, giveth no majority to the pope in any temporal rule, but only bindeth the emperor to be prompt and ready to defend

*Edward II.*

A. D. 1338.

Strife between the pope and the emperor.

The emperor crowned against the will of the pope.

Is deprived and deposed.

A council at Frankfort. The emperor’s protestation.

(1) A. D. 1335.—Ed

(2) Ex Hieron. Mario; et ex Crantzio

Edward  
II.A.D.  
1343.

the faith and church of Christ, when need shall require obedience. Wherefore, whereas the pope leaneth only to the electors' authority to make the king of Romans, and taketh upon himself alone power to make the emperor; that, as it is newly brought in and devised of late by pope Clement V., so is it contrary both to all ancient order, and also derogatory to the liberty and majesty of the sacred empire. Again, neither is that also less absurd and contrary to all right and reason, that the pope, in time of the imperial seat being vacant, taketh upon him to have the whole and full doings of the empire, as lawful emperor for the time; which prerogative and function, by ancient orders of our ancestors, should properly and only appertain to the Palatine of the Rhine; the constitution Clementine of the afore-said pope Clement to the contrary notwithstanding. Then, in the end, for his own excuse, he, in the presence of them all, reciteth the public confession of his faith, to answer and purge himself of those objections laid to him by the pope. This did the meek emperor Louis in that council. Yet, all this notwithstanding, the said emperor remained still excommunicate, till the time that variance happened between this pope Benedict and Philip, the French king. Wherefore, to make his party good, at least to have some friends to flee to, he began to pretend favour and absolution, rather for necessity than for any good will to the emperor. But, not long after, this pope died; of whom this epitaph was made:—

“Hic situs est Nero, laicis mors, vipera clero,  
Deius a vero, cupa repleta mero.”

Trouble  
of Louis  
the empe-  
ror.

After Benedict followed pope Clement VI.,<sup>1</sup> a man most furious and cruel;<sup>2</sup> who renewing the excommunications of his predecessors, caused his letters to be set upon church-doors, wherein he threatened and denounced most terrible thunderbolts against the said Louis, the emperor, unless within three days he should satisfy to God and the church, and renounce the imperial possession of the crown. The emperor upon this cometh to Frankfort, and there, ready to stand in all things to the ordinance of the pope, sendeth his orators to the court of Rome, to entreat the pope's favour and good will towards him: to which messengers the pope answered again, that he would never pardon the emperor, before he gave over and confessed his errors and heresies, and, resigning up his empire to his hands, would submit himself, his children, and all his goods, to the will and pleasure of the bishop; promising that he should not receive again any part of the same, but upon his good grace, as his will should be to restore them.

Heresy of  
the pope's  
making  
objected  
against  
the em-  
peror.

The heresy here mentioned, which was to this emperor objected by the pope, was this; because (as is above touched upon) he used and executed the imperial dignity after his election, before he was by the pope confirmed. Over and besides, the pope sendeth to the emperor, by the said orators, a certain form of a bill contained in writing with certain conditions, which he commanded to be given into the hands of the emperor. Here, if the emperor Louis had had as much mind to set upon the pope with dint of sword, as he lacked

(1) A.D. 1342 — Ed. (2) Ex Chron. de sex mundi ætatibus, cui tit. 'Rudimentum Novitiorum.'

neither occasion nor power so to do, what blood might have been spilt ! But the good emperor, sparing the effusion of blood, receiveth gently the bill ; and not only with his seal doth confirm it, but also sweareth to observe all the conditions thereof ; which the pope hearing of, doth greatly marvel. But yet all this would nothing help to mollify the modest heart of this Pharaoh.

*Edward II.*

*A. D. 1347.*

*Proud heart of the pope.*

The princes and electors, seeing the bill of the articles and conditions, whereof some sounded to the malicious defacing and destruction of the empire, and abhorring the wickedness thereof, desired the emperor to stand to the defence of the imperial dominion, as he had begun, promising that their assistance and aid to the uttermost thereunto should not lack. Upon that other orators were sent to pope Clement from the princes, desiring him to abstain from such manner of articles conceived against the state and majesty of the empire. The pope, surmising all this to spring from Louis the emperor, to the utter subversion of him and all his posterity, on Maundy-Thursday blustereth out most black curses against him ; also he reneweth all the former processes of his predecessor against him, as against both a heretic and a schismatic : commanding, moreover, the princes electors to proceed in choosing a new emperor. The archbishop of Mentz, seeing the innocency of the emperor, would not consent to the violating of his majesty ; wherefore he was deprived by the pope of all his dignities. The other bishops electors, as the archbishop of Cologne, who took eight thousand marks, with the duke of Saxony, who took two thousand marks, being corrupted with money by John, king of Bohemia, elected Charles, the son of the said John ; whom pope Clement eftsoons in his consistory did approve. Who seeth not here what matter of war and bloodshed was ministered by the pope between these two emperors, if the patience of Louis had not been more prudent to quench the fire, than the pope was to kindle it ? Charles then, the new emperor elect, sped him to Aix-la-Chapelle, according to the custom, there to be crowned ; but by the citizens there and the empress (the wife of Louis keeping thereabout) he was repelled. All this happened in the time and reign of Edward III., king of England ; against whom the said Charles, with the French king, and the king of Bohemia, set on by the pope, encountered in war ; where the king of England had against them a noble victory, and slew a great number of the Frenchmen and Almaines, and put Charles, the new emperor, to flight. In the mean time, among the princes and citizens of Germany what sorrow and what complaints were against pope Clement and those electors, cannot be expressed ; for as they were all together at Spires congregated in a general assembly, so there was none among them all, that allowed the election of Charles, or that cared for the pope's process ; promising all to adhere and continue faithful subjects to Louis, their lawful emperor. But Louis, remembering his oath made before to the pope's bill, voluntarily and willingly gave over his imperial dignity, and went to Furstenfeld ; where, shortly after, through the procured practice of pope Clement (as Hieronymus Marius doth write), poison was given him to drink ; after which being drunk, when he would have vomited out and could not, he took his horse and went to hunt the bear, thereby, through the chafing and heat of his body, to expel the

*A. D. 1346.*

*The emperor accused by the pope for a heretic.*

*Faithful archbishop of Mentz. Bribers corrupted with money.*

*The pope, a sower of discord and blood.*

*See Appendix.*

*Again stirreth up wars.*

*Charles, the new emperor put to flight by the Englishmen.*

*Louis, the right emperor resigns his empire.*

*Is poisoned.*

Edward  
II.A. D.  
1350.Louis,  
emperor  
and  
martyr.Gunterus  
de Monte  
Nigro,  
emperor.Is poi-  
soned.Ruin of  
the Ger-  
man em-  
pire, and  
the first  
cause  
thereof.The year  
of jubilee  
reduced  
to the  
fiftieth  
year.Pilgrims  
in this  
year.Abomi-  
nable and  
blasphe-  
mous bull  
of pope  
Clement.The pope  
com-  
mendeth  
the an-  
gels.

venom. And there the good and gentle emperor, wickedly persecuted and murdered of the pope, fell down dead,<sup>1</sup> whom I may well account among the innocent and blessed martyrs of Christ; for if the cause being righteous doth make a martyr, what papist can justly disprove his cause or faith? If persecution joined thereunto causeth martyrdom, what martyr could be more persecuted than he, who, having three popes like three ban-dogs upon him, at length was devoured by the same? The princes hearing of his death, assembled themselves to a new election, who, refusing Charles aforesaid, elected another for emperor, named Gunterus de Monte Nigro, who, shortly after falling sick at Frankfort, was likewise poisoned through his physician's servant, whom the aforesaid Charles had hired with money to work that feat. Gunterus tasting of the poison, although he did partly cast it up again, yet so much remained within him, as made him unable afterwards to serve that place; wherefore, for concord's sake, being counselled thereto by the Germans, he gave over his empire to Charles, for else, great bloodshed was likely to ensue. This Charles thus ambitiously aspiring to the imperial seat contrary to the minds of the states and peers of the empire, as he did wickedly and unlawfully come by it, so was he by his ambitious guiding, the first and principal mean of the utter ruin of that monarchy; for that he, to have his son set up emperor after him, convented and granted to the princes electors of Germany all the public taxes and tributes of the empire. This covenant, being once made between the emperor and them, they afterwards held so fast, that they caused the emperor to swear never to revoke or call back again the same: by reason whereof, the tribute of the countries of Germany, which then belonged only to the emperor for the sustentation of his wars, ever since to this day is dispersed diversely into the hands of the princes, and to the free cities within the said monarchy; so that both the empire being dis furnished and left desolate, and the emperors weakened thereby, they have neither been able sufficiently since to defend themselves, nor yet to resist the Turk, or other foreign enemies. Of this a great part, as ye have heard, may be imputed unto the popes, &c.<sup>2</sup>

This pope Clement first reduced the year of jubilee to every fiftieth year, which before was kept but in the hundredth year; and so he being absent at Avignon (which he then purchased with his money to the see of Rome), caused it to be celebrated at Rome, A. D. 1350. In that year were numbered, of peregrines going in and coming out every day at Rome, to the estimation of five thousand. The bull of pope Clement, given out for this present year of jubilee, proceedeth in these words:—

What person or persons soever, for devotion sake, shall take their peregrination unto the holy city, the same day when he setteth forth out of his house, he may choose unto him what confessor or confessors either in the way or where else he listeth: unto the which confessors we grant, by our authority, plenary power to absolve all cases papal, as fully as if we were in our proper person there present. Item, we grant that whosoever being truly confessed shall chance by the way to die, he shall be quit and absolved of all his sins. Moreover, we command the angels of paradise to take his soul out of his body, being absolved, and to carry it into the glory of paradise, &c.

See  
A. 1. 11. 12.

(1) Louis of Bavaria died A. D. 1347.—Ed.

(2) Hieronymus Marius.

And in another bull he saith,—

We will, that no pain of hell shall touch him : granting, moreover, to all and singular person and persons signed with the holy cross, power and authority to deliver and release three or four souls, whom they list themselves, out of the pains of purgatory, &c.

Edward  
II.

A. D.  
1326.

O! blas-  
phemy of  
the pope !

This Clement, as mine author affirmeth, took upon him so prodigally in his popedom, that he gave to his cardinals of Rome bishoprics and benefices which then were vacant in England, and began to give them new titles for the same livings he gave them in England ; wherewith the king, as good cause he had, was offended, and undid all the provisions of the pope within his realm ;<sup>1</sup> commanding, under pain of imprisonment and life, no man to be so hardy, as to induce and bring in any such provisions of the pope, any more within his land. And under the same punishment he charged the two cardinals to void the realm, (A. D. 1343). In the same year all the tenths, as well of the Templars as of other spiritual men, were given and paid to the king through the whole realm. And thus much concerning good Louis, emperor and martyr, and pope Clement VI., his enemy ; wherein, because we have a little exceeded the course of years wherewith we left off, let us return somewhat back again, and take such things in order as belong to the church of England and Scotland, setting forth the reign of king Edward III., and the doings of the church which in his time have happened, as the grace of Christ our Lord will assist and enable us thereto.

The king  
resisteth  
the pope.

Tenths of  
church  
goods  
given to  
the king.

This aforesaid king Edward II. in his time builded two houses in Oxford for good letters, to wit, Oriel-College, and St. Mary-Hall.

Oriel-Col-  
lege and  
St. Mary-  
Hall in  
Oxford  
builded  
by king  
Edw. II.  
Commo-  
tion be-  
tween the  
town and  
abbey of  
Bury.

Here I omit also by the way the furious outrage and conflict which happened in the time of this king, a little before his death, A. D. 1326, between the townsmen and the abbey of Bury ; wherein the townsmen gathering themselves together in a great multitude (for what cause or old grudge between them, the register doth not declare), invaded and sacked the monastery. And after they had imprisoned the monks, they rifled the goods and treasure of the whole house, spoiling and carrying away their plate, money, copes, vestments, censers, crosses, chalices, basons, jewels, cups, masers, books, with other ornaments and implements of the house, to a value unestimable :<sup>2</sup> in that conflict, certain also on both sides were slain. Such was the madness then of that people, that when they had gathered unto them a great concourse of servants and light persons of that country to the number of twenty thousand, to whom they promised liberty and freedom ; by virtue of such writs as they had out of that house, first they got into their hands all their evidences, copies, and instruments, that they could find ; then they took off the lead ; that done, setting fire to the abbey-gates, they burned up nearly the whole house. After that they proceeded to the farms and granges belonging to the same abbey, whereof they wasted, spoiled, and burned to the number of two and twenty manor-places in one week ; transporting away the corn, horses, cattle, and other moveables belonging to the same, the price whercof is registered to come to 922*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.*

(1) Ex Chron. Wals. in Vit. Edw. III.

(2) Ex Latino quodam registro.



*Edward II.* besides the valuation of other riches and treasures within the abbey, which cannot be estimated.

*A. D. 1327.* The abbot was all this space at London, in the parliament, by whose procurement at length such rescue was sent down, that twenty-four of the chief of the town (submitting themselves) were committed to ward; thirty carts-full of the townsmen were carried to Norwich, of whom nineteen were there hanged, and divers convicted were put to prison. The whole township was condemned in seven-score thousand pounds, to be paid for damages of the house. John Berton, alderman, and W. Herling, with thirty-two priests, thirteen women, and one hundred and thirty-eight others of the said town were outlawed; of whom divers, after grudging at the abbot for breaking promise with them at London, did confederate themselves together; and privily, in the night, coming to the manor of Chenington, where the abbot did lie, burst open the gates, and entering in, first bound all his family. After they had robbed him of all his plate, jewels and money, they took the abbot and shaved him, and secretly conveyed him away with them to London; where they, removing him from street to street unknown, from thence had him over the Thames into Kent: at length over the sea they ferried to Dist in Brabant, where they a sufficient time kept him in much penury, misery, and thralldom; till, at length, the matter being searched out, they were all excommunicated, first by the archbishop of Canterbury, then by the pope. At last it being known where he was, he was delivered and rescued by his friends out of the thieves' hands, and finally brought home with procession, and restored to his house again: and thus was that abbey with the abbot of the same, for what demerits I know not, vexed and afflicted about this time, as more largely I have seen in their Latin register. But thus much briefly; the rest I omit here,<sup>1</sup> passing over to the reign of the next king.

The abbot  
robbed,  
and  
stolen  
away to  
Brabant.

Restored  
again.

## EDWARD THE THIRD.<sup>2</sup>

*A. D. 1327.* CONCERNING the acts and story of king Edward II., his deposition, and his cruel death, wrought by the false and counterfeit letter of Sir Roger Mortimer, sent in the king's name to the keepers, for the which he was afterwards charged, drawn, and quartered, I have written sufficiently before, and more, peradventure, than the profession of this ecclesiastical history will well admit. Notwithstanding, for certain respects and causes, I thought somewhat to extend my limits herein the more; whereby both kings, and such as climb to be about them, may take the better example by the same; the one to have the love of his subjects, the other to learn to flee ambition, and not bear themselves to brag of their fortune and state, how high soever it be: considering with themselves nothing to be in this world so firm and sure, that may promise itself any certain continuance, and that is not in perpetual danger of mutation, unless it be fastened by God's protection.

<sup>(1)</sup> About the latter end of this Edward II. ceaseth the history of Nic. Trivet, and of Flor. Hist.  
<sup>(2)</sup> Edition 1563. p. 71. Ed. 1583. p. 374. Ed. 1696. p. 344. Ed. 1684. vol. i. p. 428.—Ed.

After the suppression of this king, as is above expressed, Edward his son was crowned king of England, being about the age of fifteen, who reigned the space of fifty years, and was a prince of much and great temperance, in feats of arms very expert, and no less fortunate and lucky in all his wars, than his father was unfortunate before him. For liberality, also, and clemency, he was worthily commended; briefly, in all princely virtues, famous and excellent. Concerning the memorable acts of this prince, done both in war and peace, as how he subdued the Scots, had great victories by the sea, conquered France, A.D. 1332, won Calais, A.D. 1348, and translated the staple thither, took the French king prisoner, and how the French arms first by him were brought in, and conjoined with the English arms; also how the order of the garter first by the said king was invented and ordained, A.D. 1356, also, A.D. 1357, how the king, in his parliament at Nottingham decreed, that all such, in Flanders or elsewhere, as had skill in making cloth, should peaceably inhabit the land, and be welcome (for three years before that, it was enacted, that no wool should be transported over the sea; which was, to bridle the pride of the Flemings, who then loved better the sacks of wool, than the nation of Englishmen): all these things, with other noble acts of this worthy prince, although in other chronicles they be fully treated of, yet, according to that order which I have begun (saying somewhat of each king's reign, although not pertinent to our ecclesiastical history), I have here inserted the same; making haste to other matters, shortly and compendiously abridging them out of divers and sundry authors together compacted, mentioned in this wise.

The coronation and solemnity of king Edward III., and all the pomp thereof, was no sooner ended, but Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, understanding the state and government of the realm to be, as it was indeed, in the queen, the young king, the earl of Kent, and Sir Roger Mortimer; and that the lords and barons, as he was informed, did scarcely well agree amongst themselves, although he grew now in age, and was troubled with the falling disease, yet thought he this a meet time for his purpose, to make invasion: hoping for as good success and like victory now, as but lately before he had at the castle of Eustrivelin.<sup>1</sup> Whereupon, about the feast of Easter, he sent his ambassadors with heralds and letters of defiance to the young king Edward III., the queen, and the council; declaring, that his purpose was, with fire and sword to enter and invade the realm of England, &c. The king, queen, and council, hearing this bold defiance, commanded in all speedy preparation musters to be made throughout all the realm; appointing to every band captains convenient, and at the city of York, by a day assigned them, commanding every man to be, with all their necessary furniture, ready and thoroughly provided. They directed their letters also with all speed to Sir John of Heinalt, requiring him, with such soldiers and men-at-arms as he might conveniently provide in Flanders, Heinalt, and Brabant, to meet the king and queen, upon the Ascension-day next ensuing, at their city of York.

The king and queen made speedy preparation for this expedition; the noblemen provided themselves with all things necessary thereunto; the English captains and soldiers, their bands thoroughly

*Edward  
III.*

*A. D.  
1327.*

*Defiance  
of the  
king of  
Scots.*

(1) Stirling.—Ed.

*Edward  
III.*

A. D.  
1327.

The king  
and  
queen  
at York,  
with an  
army of  
sixty  
thousand  
men, to  
meet the  
king of  
Sots.

Great  
fray in  
York.

Carlisle  
and New-  
castle,  
then the  
keys of  
England,  
kept with  
garrisons.

The Scots  
pass the  
Tyne,  
burning  
and spoil-  
ing the  
country.

The  
king's  
army  
and the  
Scots so  
near, that  
they see  
each  
other.

furnished, were ready at their appointed time and place. Sir John of Heinault, lord Beaumont mustering his men as fast, was ready to take shipping, where, at Wysant, in English bottoms there lying for him ready, he went aboard, and with a merry wind landed at Dover, travelling from thence by small journeys daily, till he came, within three days after the feast of Pentecost, to the city of York, where the king and queen, with a great power of sixty thousand men, within and about the city of York, expected his coming; before whom, in courteous wise he presented himself, and mustered his troop, wherein he had to the number of five hundred good men-at-arms well appointed and mounted. His coming and furniture were well liked both by the king and queen; and he was, by the harbinger, appointed to be lodged, with his household retinue, in the abbey of white monks. To be brief, such grudge and variance arose between some of the king's soldiers and his, within the suburbs of the town being together lodged, that from the little to more, whilst the king and queen, with divers other of the nobles (strangers and others), were at dinner, the said fray so greatly increased, that the whole army, as many as were in the town then lodged, stood to their defence; so that there were slain of the English archers, in a short space, by the strangers, to the number of three hundred men. Whereupon, after the fray was, with much difficulty both of the king and queen, ended, such heart-burning grew between the parties, that the number of six thousand conspired together against them, thinking to have burned them in their lodgings, had they not been, by the great grace of God and discreet handling, otherwise prevented and let. Whereupon the Heinaults were fain to take and keep the field, using as diligent watch and ward as though they had been among their hostile enemies. After this, the king set forward his army towards Durham, and encamped himself near about the same; who also sent the lord Ufford and the lord Mowbray to Carlisle with a sufficient company to keep that entrance; and also the lord marshal of England to keep the town of Newcastle, with a sufficient company to defend the same, and the country adjoining. For well knew the king, that by one of these two entries the Scots must pass into England, standing both of them upon the river Tyne, twenty-four miles distant.

But the Scots privily with their army passed the river betwixt the two towns into England, few understanding thereof, till the great fires which the Scots had kindled and made in England, bewrayed them; who came burning and destroying the country all about as far as Stanhope park. This thing being declared to the king, he commandeth his host with all speed to march towards them; who so long travelled, that they came in sight each of other. The king also commanded the passages of the river to be so straitly and narrowly guarded, that by no means the Scots could retire and escape back again into Scotland, without battle given them of the king. But the Scots, understanding the great power of the king, kept always the advantage of the hills, retiring in the nights from one to another; so that, without great odds and advantage on the one side, and hazard to the other, the king could not set upon them.

Thus, in the day time, the Scots, keeping the advantage of the hills, and in the night time retiring to the advantage of other similar

ones, came near against that river where they first passed over, where they made a show to offer battle to the king upon the morrow. Hereupon the king being busied in putting his men and battles in readiness to fight the next morning, being almost wearied out in pursuing the Scots from place to place, the Scots, in the mean season, got over the river, and escaped the danger of the king. As this thing could not be done without great treason of some near about the king; so Sir Roger Mortimer was grievously suspected thereof, and, afterwards, it was laid to his charge. But to be short, by this means the Scots escaped the river; after whom it should have availed the king very little to have made pursuit, as the wily Scots knew full well. For joy thereof, the lord William Douglas, one of the Scottish generals, with two hundred horse, gave alarm in the king's camp; and came so near, that he cut certain of the lines of the king's tent in sunder with his sword, and retired to his company without great loss of any of his men. Then, on the morrow, the king, perceiving the Scots to be gone, came to the place where over-night they lodged, where were found five hundred great oxen and kine ready killed; five hundred cauldrons made of beasts' skins full of flesh, over the fire seething; a thousand spits full of flesh ready to be roasted; and more than ten thousand shoes of raw leather (the hair still upon the same), which the Scots had left behind; and five poor English prisoners tied to trees, and their legs broken. All which the king seeing, he left any further pursuing the Scots, and returned with his army to Durham, where he dismissed his army, and came again to London; sending with Sir John of Heinault two hundred men at arms for their better safeguard against the English archers (with whom at York, as you have heard, they frayed) till they had taken shipping; and so they returned home.

The king, then being at London, confirmed the liberties of the citizens, and ordained that the mayor should sit in all places as chief justice within the liberties of the same; and that what alderman soever had been mayor before, should be a justice of peace within his own ward.

Then the king, the queen, and the council, sent over to the earl of Heinault certain ambassadors, touching the solemnization of the marriage between the king and the lady Philippa, his daughter; who in such sort sped their message, that she was soon after conveyed over to England very honourably, and at Dover arrived. And from thence she came to London (some chronicles affirm to York), where, upon the day of the conversion of St. Paul, the year above specified, the marriage and coronation of the queen were with much triumph, during the space of three weeks, solemnized.

After this coronation and marriage, the king summoned his parliament to be kept at Northampton; whereat, by the means of Sir Roger Mortimer and the old queen, a peace was purchased for the Scots (who had for that purpose sent their ambassadors) to continue for four years. Also the king (then being within age) granted to release the Scots of all their homage and fealty unto the realm of England, which by their charter ensealed they were bound to; as also their indenture, which was called the Ragman Roll,<sup>1</sup> wherein were

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1328.[Aug  
6th.]The Scots,  
through  
treason,  
escape  
out of  
England  
unfought.Provision  
left in the  
Scottish  
camp.The king  
returneth  
to Lon-  
don.His mar-  
riage.Parlia-  
ment at  
North-  
ampton.  
See  
Appendix.The Rag-  
man Roll  
delivered  
to the  
Scots.

(1) "Ragman Roll" was the original deed which contained the acknowledgment by John Baliol and the Scotch nobility of homage to the king of England. See p. 579.—Ed.

*Edward  
III.*

*A. D.  
1330.*

The black  
cross of  
Scotland.  
The  
barons  
give up  
their  
titles in  
Scotland.

Parlia-  
ment at  
Salis-  
bury.

Earl  
Henry  
refuseth  
to come  
to it.

specified the aforesaid homage and fealty to the king and crown of England, by the said king of Scots, nobles, and prelates, to be made; having all their seals annexed to the same. Also there was then delivered unto them the black cross of Scotland, which king Edward before, for a rich jewel and relie, had conquered and brought from Seone abbey; with all such rights and titles as any of the barons else had enjoyed in the said realm of Scotland, with many other things more, to the great prejudice both of the realm, and discontent of all the nobles and barons for the most part, more than the old queen, Sir Roger Mortimer and the bishop of Ely, who in such sort ruled the roast, that all the rest of the nobles and barons east with themselves how best they might redress and remedy the great inconveniences, that unto the realm, by means of them, grew and happened. Hereupon the king and queen, and Sir Roger Mortimer, caused another parliament to be called at Salisbury, where the said Sir Roger Mortimer was made earl of March, against all the barons' wills, to prevent and disappoint the aforesaid purpose of them; but the earl Henry of Lancaster, with others, would not be at the same: wherefore it was laid unto their charges, that they went about to conspire the king's death.

And further, because the king was under the government of the earl of Kent, his uncle, as well as under that of the queen his mother and the earl of March; and because they could not do in all things as they listed on account of the said earl the king's uncle, who loved the king and the realm, envy began to arise between the earl Mortimer and him; and, by Isabel the queen's practice, he found the means to persuade the king, that the earl of Kent (to enjoy the crown, as next heir unto the king) went about to poison him. To this the king giving easy credit, caused his said uncle to be apprehended; and, without making answer to his accusation and accusers, to be beheaded at Winchester, the third of October, in the third year of his reign. But the just judgment of God not permitting such odious crimes in him to be unpunished or undetected, so in fine it fell out, that Isabel the old queen, the king's mother, was found and understood to be with child by the said Mortimer. Complaint hereof was made to the king, as also of the killing of king Edward, his father, and of the conspiracy of Mortimer against the earl of Kent, the king's uncle, put to death before. Hereupon, divers other articles being laid against him, and manifestly read in the court, he was arraigned and indicted, and by verdict found guilty, having his judgment as in cases of high treason, and suffered death accordingly at London; where, upon London bridge, next unto Spenser's, his head obtained a place. The queen also, the king's mother, by good advice of the council, was restrained of her liberty, and within a certain castle not permitted once to come abroad: unto whom the king her son once or twice a year would resort, and visit her.

This year prince Edward was born at Woodstock; who in process of time and years grew to be a most valiant prince, and was, before he died, accounted throughout the world the flower of chivalry.

After this the king prepared another army into Scotland in the year prefixed. But first he summoned king David of Scotland, who, in the last truce (four years to continue as you heard), his father then

The earl  
of Kent  
put to  
death  
guiltless.

Sir Roger  
Morti-  
mer, earl  
of March,  
condem-  
ned, and  
put to  
death.

The  
queen  
put in  
prison.

The birth  
of prince  
Edward  
[Friday,  
June  
15th.]

Expedi-  
tion of  
Edward  
into Scot-  
land.

*See  
Appendix.*



living, had married the lady Jane, sister to this king Edward (termed Jane Makepeace), to do him homage ; but that he refused. Whereupon, not forgetting therewithal the scoffing rhymes, which daily from that time of truce the Scots had in their mouths, he did so much, that with an army well furnished he entered Scotland by the river Tweed ; for the Scots had then the possession of the town of Berwick. The Scottish gigs and rhymes were these :—

“ Longbeards heartless, painted hoods witless ;  
Gay coats graceless, make England thriftless.”

To be short, the king wasted the land ; burned, destroyed, and took towns and castles with small resistance or none ; and, for the space of six months together, did in that land what he listed, without any battle offered to him : for the king of Scots was but a child, and not above the age of fifteen years, and wanted good captains that should have defended the realm ; insomuch that they were all, saving those that kept in holds for their defence, fain to take the forest of Godworth ; and there kept themselves as long as the king remained in Scotland. At length, when he had sufficiently wasted, and spoiled, and burned the same, he returned towards Berwick, about which he bent his siege, vowing not to discontinue the same, till he had gotten the town.

The Scots who kept the same, after a certain time and many assaults made, were contented, upon certain conditions, to have delivered up the town ; but that the king refused, unless, all conditions set apart, they would, with bag and baggage, depart. Hereupon they condescended to the king, that if by a certain time they were not by the king of Scots rescued, they would render up the town, and with bag and baggage depart ; and so, the time having expired, frustrate of all hope and rescue, at the day appointed they did. The king then entered the town, and tarried there the space of twelve days ; who, after he had appointed Sir Edward Baliol captain over the town, and leaving also behind him other knights, squires, and soldiers, as well to keep the same as other holds the king had conquered in Scotland and on the frontiers thereof, he returned with his people towards London, permitting every man to depart and go what way he liked.

Then Sir Robert d’Artois, a nobleman of France, and descended of the blood royal, being in England with the king, ceased not oftentimes to advertise the king, and put him in memory of his good and right title to the inheritance of the crown of France. This Sir Robert, for a certain displeasure that Philip, the French king, took against him for a certain plea which by him was moved before the king, was fain, for the safeguard of his life, to flee the realm of France, and so come to the king’s court. King Edward was not unwilling at all to hear thereof, but took delight oftentimes to reason and debate that matter with him concerning his right, title, and inheritance to the crown of France. But yet, notwithstanding, he thought it not good to make any attempt thereunto without advised and circumspect counsel ; for that it contained matter of no small, but most difficult, importance : neither yet he took it to deserve the fame either of wisdom or prowess to let so good a title die, or so fit opportunity to

Edward  
III.

A. D.  
1333.

Wasteth  
and de-  
stroyeth  
the realm

Berwick  
besieged  
and yield-  
ed to the  
king.

The king  
entereth  
the town  
[July  
16th,  
A. D.  
1333.]

Sir Robert  
d’Artois,  
a noble-  
man of  
France,  
inciteth  
the king  
to prose-  
cute his  
title in  
France.

Edward  
III.

A.D.  
1339.

The king deliberates with his council, concerning the title of France. Ambassadors sent to the earl of Heinnault concerning it. They return an answer that pleaseth the king.

King Philip of France hearth of the king's purpose, and stayeth his voyage of the cross.

[July 16th.  
A.D. 1338.  
Rymier.]

King Edward assigned lieutenant-general of the empire.  
[August.]

First viage into France.

Southampton burned by the French.

†

pass. Wherefore he, calling together certain of his council, used their deliberate advices touching the seriousness of this matter. In fine, it was by them thought good, that the king should send certain ambassadors over to the earl of Heinnault, whose daughter he had married, as well to hear his advice and counsel herein; as also what friends and aid, by him and his means, in this so great an expedition to be begun in the empire, to him might be procured. The king hereunto condescended, and appointeth for this embassy the bishop of Lincoln with two other baronets, and two doctors; who in such speedy wise made their voyage, that in short space they returned again to the king with this answer, that not only the earl's counsel and advice should be herein pressed to the king of England their master, but also the whole country of Heinnault. And further, for that to such an expedition as appertained, the province of Heinnault was but a small matter to make account of—he said he would procure for the king greater aid and friendship in the empire; as the duke of Brabant his cousin-german and a puissant prince, the duke of Gueldres, the archbishop of Cologne, the marquis of Juliers, &c., who are all good men of war, and able to make ten thousand fighting men, saith he. This answer well pleased the king, and made him joyous thereof; but this counsel of the king, as secret as it was, came to Philip the French king's ears; whereupon he stayed the voyage of the cross which he then had in hand, sending forth countermands to stay the same, till he knew further the purpose of the king of England.

The king hereupon himself taketh shipping, accompanied as to a king appertained; and when he had consulted with all the aforesaid lords of the empire in this matter, and understood their fidelity, he made his repair to the emperor, at whose hands he was well entertained, and honourably received; whom the emperor appointed to be his lieutenant-general, having thereby more authority both to will and command such as for this his expedition he sted unto, and had made convention with. Philip, hearing this, prepared his army, and rigged his navy, that as soon as the king should enter into the dominion of France, they also might enter into England, requiting like for like.

The king of England next year, after the feast of St. John Baptist, according to his purpose, prepared all things ready to such an expedition, conducting his army, and gathering a greater strength in the empire, as before to him was promised, using the emperor's authority therein, as his lieutenant-general; howbeit at the charge altogether of the king of England. The French king, as soon as king Edward had landed his army at Machelen<sup>1</sup> in Flanders, hearing of the defiance which the king and other noblemen of the empire had sent unto him, sent certain ships lying ready thereunto, and waiting for such opportunity upon the coast of England; who, upon a Sunday, whilst the townsmen were at the church little looking for any such matter, entered the haven of Southampton, took the town and spoiled the same, committed most revolting excesses, burned, killed, took captives, and carried away rich spoils and great booties to their ships; and so again departed into France. Further, as the king of England had allied himself with the noblemen of the empire, and had the friendly favour of the emperor also thereunto, so the French

king made the like league and alliance with David, king of Scots (whom the king had so hardly dealt with in Scotland, as partly before you heard, keeping the most part of Scotland under his subjection), binding the said David, as well by writing as by oath and pledge, that without his consent he should make no peace, nor conclude any truce with the king of England. The French king again assured him of aid, and rescue, and help, and promised to recover his kingdom and dominion to his use; and forthwith sent certain garrisons and bands into Scotland to keep play with the Englishmen, and there to fortify divers places till further opportunity served. He also fortified with men, money, victuals, and munition, the town of Cambray, which he suspected would be besieged, lying so near upon the empire, as indeed it came to pass; for king Edward, departing from Machelen, set forward his host towards Heinault, and by the way assembled such power as in the empire he looked for, marching forward still till that they came to Cambray, and besieged it with forty thousand men, while another company, the Flemings, Brabanters, and Hollanders, went to St. Quintin. But in effect, neither there, nor at Cambray, nor elsewhere, any thing notorious was achieved, but the summer being well spent, and little prevailing in the siege of Cambray, being of situation strong and well defended therewithal with men and munition, he broke up the siege, and marched further into the heart of France towards Mutterel. The French king having understanding of this, prepared himself to give battle to the king of England, who, with another great army, came to Vironfosse, where days were appointed to meet in battle; but in the end, nothing was done or attempted between the princes, and the king of England (without any battle either given or taken) returned with his army from thence to Ghent. Concerning the cause of the sudden removing of the king out of France, it seemeth most especially to arise from the pope; who at the same time sent down his legates, for the order of a peace to be made between the kings. At Ghent were gathered in council together, by the king's appointment, all the nobles as well of England, as of the empire, to consider what was best to be done; where this plain answer was made to the king of England: That unless he would take upon him the claim and title of France, as his lawful inheritance, and as king thereof prosecute his wars, it would not be lawful for them any further to aid the king of England, or to fight with him against the French king; for that the pope had bound them in two millions of florins of gold, and under pain of excommunication, that they should not fight against the lawful king of France. Whereupon, the king thought good, therefore, presently to make open challenge to the realm and crown of France; and further, to quarter and intermingle the arms of France with the arms of England in one escutcheon; whereupon king Edward immediately made answer to the pope again, directing unto him his letters, wherein he declareth at large his right and title to the crown of France, purging thereby himself and his cause unto the bishop. The copy and tenor of his letter is too long to express, but it is to be found in the story of Thomas Walsingham, remaining in the library of J. Stephenson, citizen of London, whoso hath list or leisure to peruse the same. Besides this letter to the pope, he, remaining

*Edward  
III.*

A. D.  
1340.

The  
Scots  
stirred  
against  
England  
by the  
French  
king.

The pope,  
the cause  
of the  
king's re-  
moving  
out of  
France.

A. D. 1340.

[Jan.  
23d.]

The king  
of Eng-  
land tak-  
eth the  
title of  
France.

*Edward III.* yet at Ghent, directed another to the peers and prelates of France in tenor as followeth.

A. D.  
1340.

The Letter of King Edward to the Nobles and Commons of France.

The title of France, how it came to king Edward.

Note the grossness of this time, when the blood of Christ was thought but only dedicated to the Holy Land.

Edward, by the grace of God, king of France and England, lord of Ireland : unto all prelates and ecclesiastical persons, to the peers, dukes, earls, barons, and to the commons of France, greeting. The high Lord and King above, to whom although his will be in his own power, yet would he that power should be subject unto law ; commanding every thing to be given unto him which is his, declaring thereby that justice and judgment ought to be the preparation of the king's seat. Wherefore seeing the kingdom of France, through the providence of God, by the death of Charles, the last king of France of famous memory, brother-german to our lady mother, is fallen unto us by plain and manifest law ; and forasmuch as lord Philip de Valois, being the son of the uncle of the aforesaid king, and so being far from the crown by a further degree of consanguinity, through force and usurpation hath intruded himself into the aforesaid kingdom, whilst we were yet in our minority, and so, contrary both to God and to justice, doth detain and occupy the same ; and lest we should seem to neglect our own right and the gift given us of God, or not to submit our will to God's ordinance : we have thought good to acknowledge the title of France, and by supportation of the Almighty King have taken upon us the defence and regiment of the said kingdom ; firmly purposing with ourselves, as every good man ought to do, graciously to minister justice to every one, according to the rites and laudable custom of the aforesaid kingdom. Also to renew the good laws and customs which have been in the time of Louis our progenitor ; adding, moreover, that which shall seem expedient according to the condition and quality of the time. As to any change of coin, or any other inordinate exactions, we intend not to seek our profits by your detriments, when (the Almighty be praised for it) we abound and have enough. And as concerning the affairs of the realm, our purpose is not to proceed rashly, or by our own will, but by the discreet advice and counsel of the peers, prelates, nobles, and other our faithful subjects of the kingdom, so far forth as shall make for the honour of God, the defence and advancement of the church (which in all fulness of devotion we do reverence), and to the profit both public and private of all the subjects thereof, with full execution of justice by the grace of God to be executed upon all and singular persons, being earnestly careful for the honour, profit and tranquillity of you all. For, as the Lord knoweth nothing shall be more grateful to us, than that by our careful solicitude peace may be engendered, especially betwixt us, and universally among all christian men ; so that by our concord the force and strength of all christian princes may be joined together for the recovery of the Holy Land, which our Saviour and Redeemer hath dedicated with his own proper blood, whereunto we will endeavour ourselves, through the grace of the Holy Ghost. And forasmuch as we have offered to the aforesaid lord Philip divers friendly and reasonable conditions of peace, whereunto he would neither condescend, nor agree to any conformation ; yea, rather moveth against us unjust war, to the utter subversion of our state, we are forced of necessity, to the uttermost of our power, for the defence both of us, and recovery of our rights, to defend ourselves by force of battle ; not seeking any slaughter of good and humble subjects, but desiring their safeguard and profit.

For the which cause, all and singular such subjects of the kingdom of France, who shall submit themselves to us as the true king of France, within the feast of Easter next ensuing ; professing unto us their fealty, and doing to us as to the king of France by duty appertaineth, so as our beloved subjects of Flanders have done already, or be ready to offer themselves so to do : all such we willingly admit and receive to our peace and grace, under our protection to be defended, them to maintain as is convenient from all molestation and unquietness whatsoever in person or goods, hereafter to be enforced either by us, or by our officers, upon whatsoever occasion of rebellion before passed. And, forasmuch as the premises cannot easily be intimated to all and singular persons, we have provided the same to be fixed upon church doors, and other

public places, whereby the manifest notice thereof may come to all men, to the comfort of you that be to us devout, and to the true information of those who through sinister surmises of our enemies are otherwise informed of us.— Given at Ghent the eighth day of February, in the year of our reign over France, the first; over England, the fourteenth.

*Edward  
III.*

A. D.  
1340.

This done, for that the winter then drew on, neither was there any hope, as the time served, of farther doing good, the king thought best for a season to return again to England with his company, giving over the wars until the next spring; and so he did, taking shipping, and arrived at Dover. When he came to London, it was declared unto him, of the great spoil the Frenchmen had made at Southampton; who answered again, "That within one year he doubted not but the same should be well paid for and recompensed." And according to the same purpose of his he lingered no time, but calling a parliament at Westminster, with much grudge and evil-will of his subjects there was for the maintenance of his wars granted to him a great subsidy, which was the fifth of every man's goods, and also the customs of his wools, two years beforehand, and the ninth sheaf of every man's corn. At the spring the king again prepared his army, and rigged his navy, purposing to land in Flanders. But the archbishop of Canterbury, then lord chancellor, having understanding of the French power upon the sea, lying for the king, gave him advertisement there, willing him to go more strongly, or else not to venture. But the king, not crediting the archbishop, and being angry with him there-for, said, "That he would go forward;" whereupon the bishop resigned the chancellorship, and removed himself from his council. Then the king, consulting thereupon further with the lord Morley his admiral, and others, hearing also the same of them, furnished himself with stronger power, and committed him to his ship, and did so much, that a few days before Midsummer, he was upon the sea with a great fleet. Before the town of Sluys the French king, to stop his passage, had got ready a great navy, well nigh to the number of twenty score sail, and had made the Christopher of England, which before the Frenchmen took at Southampton, their admiral. Betwixt the two navies was a long and terrible fight, but, in the end, the victory, by God's grace, fell to the king of England, in which fight he himself was personally; so that of the number of thirty thousand Frenchmen, few or none were left and escaped alive, and two hundred sail of ships were taken, in one of which were found four hundred dead bodies.

[Feb.  
21st.]

[March  
29th.]

Counsel  
of the  
arch-  
bishop to  
the king.

Battle  
upon the  
sea be-  
tween  
king Ed-  
ward and  
the  
French.  
[June  
24th.]

The  
French  
beaten.

*See  
Appendix.*

After this great slaughter of the Frenchmen, of whom many for fear of the sword leaped into the sea, when no man durst bring tidings thereof to the French king, they who were next about the king did suborn his fool, to insinuate the understanding thereof by subtlety of covert words; which was thus. As the fool, being in the king's presence, was talking of many things, among other talk he suddenly burst out (being prompted by others) into a vehement railing against the Englishmen, calling them cowards and dastards, with many such opprobrious words tending to that effect. The king, not knowing whereunto the words of the fool did appertain, asked the fool, why he called the Englishmen such weaklings and cowards, &c. "Why," saith the fool, "because the fearful and cowardly



*Edward  
III.*

A. D.  
1340.

Words of  
the fool  
to the  
French  
king.

Englishmen had not the hearts to leap into the sea so lustily as our Normans and gentlemen of France had." By this the French king began to understand the victory on his part to be lost, and the Englishmen to be victors.

This victory achieved, the fame thereof spreading abroad in England, at first was not believed, till letters thereof came from the king, prince Edward his son being then at Waltham, directed to the bishops and prelates of the realm: the effect of which letters here followeth under written.

### The Letter of King Edward to the Bishops of England.

See  
Appendix.

The bountiful benignity of God's great clemency poured upon us of late, for your true certification and rejoicing, we thought good to intimate unto you. It is not unknown (we suppose) to you, and to others our faithful subjects, who also have been partakers with us of the same, with what storms of boisterous wars of late we have been tossed and shaken, as in the great ocean. But although the rising surges of the sea be marvellous, yet more marvellous is the Lord above, who, turning the tempest into calm, in so great dangers, so mercifully hath respected us. For whereas we of late did ordain our passage upon urgent causes into Flanders, the lord Philip de Valois our bitter enemy understanding thereof, laid against us a mighty navy of ships, intending thereby either to take us, or at least to stop our voyage; which voyage if it had been staid, it had been the cutting off of all the great enterprises by us intended and taken in hand, and, moreover, we ourselves had been brought to a great confusion. But the God of mercies, seeing us so distressed in such perils and dangers, hath graciously, and beyond man's expectation, sent to us great succour and strength of fighting soldiers, and a prosperous wind after our own desires, by the means and help whereof we set out of the haven into the seas, where we eftsoons perceived our enemies well appointed and prepared with a main multitude to set upon us, upon Midsummer day last past; against whom, notwithstanding, Christ our Lord and Saviour hath rendered to us the victory through a strong and vehement conflict, in the which conflict, a mighty number of our enemies were destroyed, and well nigh all their whole navy was taken, with some loss also on our part, but nothing like in comparison to theirs; by reason whereof we doubt not but our passage by the seas hereafter shall be more quiet and safe for our subjects, and also many other commodities shall ensue thereof, as we have good cause to hope well of the same. For which cause we, devoutly considering the heavenly grace so mercifully wrought upon us, do render most humble thanks and praise to Christ our Lord and Saviour; beseeching him, that as he hath been, and always is, ready to prevent our necessities in time of opportunity, so he will continue his helping hand ever towards us, and so direct us here temporally, that we may reign and joy with him in heaven eternally. And, in like sort, we require your charity, that you also with us rising up to the praise of God alone, who hath begun so favourably to work with us to our goodness, in your prayers and divine service do instantly recommend us unto the Lord, travelling here in these foreign countries, and studying to recover not only our right here in France, but also to advance the whole catholic church of Christ, and to rule our people in justice; and that also ye call upon the clergy and people, every one through his diocese to do the same, invoking the name of our Saviour, that of his mercy he will give to us his humble servant a docible heart, so to judge and rule hereupon rightly, doing that which he hath commanded, that at length we may attain to that which he hath promised, &c.

See  
Appendix.

This letter was written to the bishops A. D. 1340.

After this aforesaid victory on the sea, and that news thereof, with due thanks to our Saviour, had been sent into England: the king striking into Flanders, came to Ghent in Brabant, where he had left the queen, who joyfully received him, being a little before purified or churched, as we term it, of her fourth son, whose name was John, and commonly

called John of Gaunt, and was earl of Richmond, and duke of Lancaster. At Vilvorde the king assembled his council, whereat the noblemen of Flanders, Brabant, and Heinnault conjoined together in most firm league, the one to help and defend the other with the king of England, against the French king, purposing and determining from thence to march toward Tournay, and it to besiege. But the French king, understanding their counsel, fortified and virtualled the same before their coming thither. Furthermore the French king at the same time, to stop the siege of king Edward, sent with king David of Scotland a great power, to the intent to make invasion in England, thereby the sooner to cause the king to remove his siege. In the mean time king Edward wrote his letters to Philip de Valois, making unto him certain requests, as in the same his letters here following is to be seen; who, for that he wrote not unto him as king of France, but by the name of Philip de Valois, refused to answer him touching the same, as by their letters here placed may be seen.

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1340.Council at  
Vilvorde.Flanders,  
Brabant,  
and Heinnault, take  
part with  
king Edward.

### The Letter of the King of England to Philip de Valois, the French King, going to the Siege of Tournay.

See  
Appendix.

Philip of Valois, we have long laboured with you by embassages and all other reasonable ways, to the end you should restore unto us our rightful inheritance of France, which this long while you have with great injury and guilt usurped: and forsomuch as we well perceive that you intend to persevere in the same injurious usurpation, without returning any satisfactory answer to our just demand, we have entered the land of Flanders, as sovereign lord thereof, and are now passing through the country. And we hereby signify unto you, that with the help of our Lord Jesus Christ and our own right, with the forces of the said country, and with our subjects and allies, we purpose to vindicate the right which we have to that inheritance, which you by your injurious violence detain from us; and that we are now approaching toward you, to make a quick decision of this our rightful challenge, if you will do the like. And forasmuch as so great a power of assembled hosts as we bring with us on our part, and as we may well suppose you also bring on your part, cannot long remain assembled together without doing great damage both to the people and the country, which thing every Christian ought to eschew (and especially the princes and others who have the government of the same), we much desire, as the shortest way, and to prevent the waste of Christian life, and as the quarrel plainly lieth between you and me, that the controversy between us should be decided by our own persons, body to body; to which thing we offer ourselves for the reasons aforesaid, content if only we may see the great prowess of your person, your good sense, and your discretion. And in case you do not choose this way, then let us end the dispute by the battle of one hundred of the most able persons of your part, and as many of mine, which each of us shall bring into the field. But if you will not admit either the one way or the other, then do you assign unto us a certain day before the city of Tournay, within ten days next after the date of this our letter, wherein to combat both of us, power against power. And we would have all the world to know, that it is not of any pride or presumption on our part that we offer unto your choice the above-specified conditions, but for the causes aforesaid, and to the intent that the will of our Lord Jesus Christ being declared between us two, peace may grow more and more among Christians, the power of God's enemies may be abated, and Christianity advanced. Be pleased to write by the bearer of these our letters and signify to us which of our aforesaid offers you will accept, sending us quick and speedy answer.—Given under our great seal, at Chyn upon the Skell, in the fields near Tournay, the 27th day of July, A.D. 1340.<sup>1</sup>

(1) The above translation, and the following one, are revised from the originals in Avesbury.  
—Ed.

*Edward  
III.*

A. D.  
1340.

The Answer of the Lord Philip de Valois unto the Letter aforesaid.

Philip, by the grace of God king of France, to Edward, king of England. We have seen your letters brought to our court, and sent on your part to one Philip de Valois; wherein are contained certain requests, which you make to the said Philip de Valois. And because the said letters did not come to us, and the said requests were not made to us, as by the tenor of the said letters clearly appeareth, we do not return you any answer to the premises. Nevertheless, forsomuch as we have learned by the said letters and by other ways that you have entered into our realm of France, doing great damage to us and to our realm and people, more through presumption than reason, and disregarding the duty which a liege-man oweth unto his lord—(for you formerly entered our liege-homage, when you acknowledged us, as reason is, for king of France, and promised obedience such as men ought to promise to their liege-lords; as more clearly appeareth by your letters patent from you to us which we have in our possession sealed with your great seal, and of which you ought to have the counterpart from us to you)—it is our intent then, as shall seem best to ourselves, to drive you out of our realm, to the honour both of us and of our kingdom, and to the commodity of our people. And this we have a firm hope of accomplishing through Jesus Christ, from whom we derive all our power. For by your unreasonable demand, proceeding more from presumption than reason, hath been hindered the holy expedition beyond the sea, and great numbers of Christian people have perished, the worship of God hath been diminished, and Holy Church less revered. And as touching that which you write, that you look to be assisted by the Flemings, we hope and believe surely, that the good people and commons of that country will so behave towards our cousin the earl of Flanders their immediate lord, and us their sovereign lord, as that they shall keep their honour and their loyalty unsullied. And as for what they have hitherto done otherwise than well, that hath been occasioned by the evil advice of persons, who neither have regard to the public weal, nor to the honour of their country, but only to their own private advantage.—Given in the fields near to the priory of St. Andrew les Aire, under our privy seal, in the absence of our great seal, the 30th day of July, in the year of grace 1340.

The Scots  
invade  
England.

Mention was made a little before of David, king of Scots, whom the French king had supported and stirred up against the king and realm of England; which David, with the aid of the Scots and Frenchmen, did so much prevail, that they recovered again almost all Scotland, which before he had lost, when he was constrained to live in the forest of Gedworth many years before. Then invaded they England, and came with their army, wasting and burning the country before them, till they came as far as Durham; and then returned again into Scotland, where they recovered all their holds again, saving the town of Berwick. Edinburgh they took by a stratagem or subtle device practised by Douglas and certain others, who, apparelling themselves in poor men's habits, as victuallers with corn and provender and other things, demanded the porter early in the morning, what need they had thereof; who, nothing mistrusting, opened the outward gate, where they should tarry till the captain rose; and perceiving the porter to have the keys of the inward gate, they threw down their sacks in the outward gate, that it might not be shut again, and slew the porter, taking from him the keys of the town. Then they blew their horn as a warning to their bands, which privily they had laid not far off; who, in haste coming, and finding the gates ready opened, entered upon a sudden, and killed as many as resisted them, and so obtained again the city of Edinburgh.

And recover  
Edin-  
burgh.

The Scots being thus busy in England, the French king, in the

mean season, gathered together a puissant power, purposing to remove the siege from Tournay; and among others sent for the king of Scots, who came to him with great force, besides divers other noblemen of France; insomuch that the French king had a great army, and thought himself able enough to raise the siege, and thither bent his host. But the French king, for all this his aforesaid huge power and force, durst not yet approach the king so near, as either to give him battle, or remove his siege, but kept himself with his army aloof, in a sure place for his better defence. And notwithstanding the king of England wasted, burned, spoiled, and destroyed the country for twenty miles round about Tournay, and took divers and sundry strong towns and holds, as Ortois, Urses, Greney, Orchies, Odint, St. Amand, and the town of Lille, where he slew above three hundred men at arms, and, about St. Omer, he slew and killed of noblemen, the lord of Duskune, of Maurisleou, of Rely, of Chastillion, of Melly, of Fenis, of Hamelar, Mountfaucou, and other barons, to the number of fourteen; and also slew and killed above one hundred and twenty knights, being all men of great possessions and prowess, and took other small cities and towns, to the number of three hundred: yet, for all this, Philip de Valois, the French king, durst neither rescue his towns, nor relieve his own men; but of his great army he lost (which is to be marvelled at, being in the midst of his own country), by famine and other inconveniences, and for want of water, more than twenty thousand men, without any battle by him given. Whereupon, at the entreaty of the said Philip, by his ambassadors sent to the king, and by the mediation of the lady Jane, sister to the said Philip, and mother to the earl of Heinault, whose daughter king Edward, as you heard, had married, a truce, containing the number of fourteen articles, for one year, was concluded, the king of England being very unwilling and loath thereunto. Yet, notwithstanding, partly by the instance of the aforesaid lady, but especially for that the king was greatly disappointed, through the negligence of his officers in England, who sent him not over such money as he needed for the continuance of his wars and payment of his soldiers' wages, the articles being somewhat reasonable, he agreeth to the truce; the conditions of which, as there concluded, here follow under-written.

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1340.Tournay  
besieged.

### Articles of Truce.

I. That during the said truce no aggression [novitas], mischief, or grievance, shall be committed by either party upon the other, in prejudice of the said truce.

II. Item, that during the said truce either of the princes, and their coadjutors, and confederates, whosoever they be, shall remain in quiet possession and seizin as at this present day of all such goods, lands, and possessions, as they hold and enjoy within the realm and dominion of France, in what manner soever they have achieved the same.

III. Item, that the said princes, and their coadjutors and confederates, whosoever they be, shall pass safely from one country to another, and all merchants with their merchandise, as well by sea as by land, as accustomedly they have been wont; except such outlaws as have been banished out of the said realms, or any of them, for other causes than the war between the said princes.

IV. Item, that the said two princes shall not procure, either by themselves or any other, any aggression or grievance to be committed on either of the said kings or their allies, by the bishop of Rome or any ecclesiastical persons whatsoever; either for the said war, or any other cause, nor for any service rendered to either

*Edward*  
*III.*

A. D.  
1340.

of them by any of their said allies or coadjutors : And that if either our holy father the pope, or any other, should attempt any such thing during the said truce, the said kings shall hinder it to their utmost.

V. Item, that the truce be immediately proclaimed in both the hosts, and that they shall stand bound on either side to keep and observe the same.

VI. Item, that within twenty days next and immediately ensuing, each of the princes shall cause to be proclaimed in Gascony and Aquitaine, and other their lands, these articles of truce, to the intent they may be the better observed, kept, and known.

VII. Item, if by any the said princes, their people, confederates, or coadjutors, any sieges are laid in Gascony or the duchy of Aquitaine, or any isles of the sea, as Guernsey or Jersey, or elsewhere, that the same sieges be raised as soon as they shall hear of this truce : and that fourteen persons, seven from each side, survey those places now, and put them in precisely the same condition at the end of the truce.

VIII. Item, that such as are outlaws and fugitives out of the country of Flanders, as being partisans of the king of France, shall not return during the truce ; and if they do, that justice shall be done upon them within that realm, and they shall forfeit all the goods they have in Flanders.

IX. Item, that the debts due to Arras, Crespigny, or other towns of France, shall neither be demanded nor exacted during the said truce.

X. Item, that all such prisoners, as have been taken during this war, shall be released out of prison, and sent home upon their faith and oath to return, unless it so happen that they were ransomed before the date of this present truce : And if any shall refuse so to do, that then the lord under whom he is, shall constrain him to return again to prison.

*See*  
*Appendix.*

XI. Item, that all things carried off as spoil in the time of war before the said truce, whatsoever and howsoever, whether spiritual goods or other, shall remain as spoil ; without any obligation on any one to make restitution during the said truce.

XII. Also, that these conditions of truce immediately may take effect between the English and Scots, their lords, aiders, and allies ; and the same to endure until the nativity of St. John Baptist next coming ; and that certain persons be appointed by a certain day to be at the marches of England and Scotland to confirm the said truce, under such conditions as have been accustomed in those parts : And if the said Scots refuse so to do, that then they have no aid out of France during the said truce.

XIII. Item, that this said truce be proclaimed in England and in Scotland, within twenty-five days after the date hereof.

XIV. Item, it is recorded that within this truce be included the Spaniards, Catalanians, Genevese, Provençons, the bishop and chapter, the town and castle, and all the inhabitants of Cambray, and the lords of Bret, Fronsac, Gascony, Lisle, Tenbon, Vervin, and Royes.

In witness whereof, we John, by the grace of God king of Bohemia and earl of Luxembourg, Adolph, bishop of Liege, Radulph, duke of Lorraine, Ayemes, earl of Savoy, and John, earl of Armagnac, on the one party ; and John, duke of Brabant, Renaud, duke of Gueldre, William, marquis of Juliers, and Sir John of Heinault, lord Beaumont, on the other party, betwixt the high and puissant princes of France and England, have sealed this instrument of truce and respite, and delivered the same accordingly in the church of Esplechin, on Monday the twenty-fifth day of September, in the year of grace 1340.<sup>1</sup>

King  
Edward  
returneth  
from  
Tournay  
[Novem-  
ber 30th.]  
Deceived  
by his  
officers.

This truce thus finished, king Edward brake up his camp, removing his siege from Tournay, and came again to Ghent ; from whence, very early in the morning, he, with a small company, took shipping and by long seas came to the Tower of London, very few or none having understanding thereof. And being greatly displeased with divers of his council and high officers, for that through their default he was constrained against his will, not having money to maintain his wars, to condescend unto the aforesaid truce, he commanded to be apprehended and brought unto him to the Tower the lord John Stonehore, chief justice of England, and Sir John St. Paul, with divers others.

(1) Revised and amplified from the original in Rymer and Avesbury. - Ed.



And the next morning he sent for the lord Robert, bishop of Chichester, the lord Wake, the lord treasurer, and divers other such that were in authority and office, and commanded them all to be kept as prisoners in the said Tower, only the said bishop excepted; whom, for fear of the constitution of pope Clement, which commandeth that no bishop should be by the king imprisoned, he set at liberty and suffered him to go his way, and in his place he substituted Sir Roger Boncher, knight, as lord chancellor of England.

Edward III.

A. D. 1341.

No bishop must be imprisoned, by the pope's law.

The history intreating of this matter reporteth thus: that the king had this time under him evil substitutes and covetous officers, who, attending more to their own gain than to the public honour and commodity of the realm, left the king destitute and naked of money. With which crime also John Stratford, archbishop then of Canterbury, was vehemently noted and suspected; whether of his true deserving, or by the setting on of other, hereafter shall more appear; insomuch that the king, ardently incensed against him, charged him with great falsehood used against his person. The archbishop subtilly and featly excuseth himself to the king of the aforesaid objections, and cunningly handleth the matter in words by his letter directed to the king, as followeth:—

Covetous officers

John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury.

### Letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the King.<sup>1</sup>

Very sweet Sire, may it please you to consider, that the most sovereign thing for keeping kings and princes in the love of God and a prosperous condition is good and wise counsel. And therefore the wise man saith, "In the words of counsellors" (that is good counsellors) "there is safety." [Prov. xi. 14; xxiv. 6.] And therefore it is written in the Book of Kings, that Solomon, the wisest king that ever was, chose the most ancient and wise persons of his realm to stand before him, by whose advice, tempered with his own judgment, he always kept the land of Israel in peace and quiet; and besides that, all the kings round about him were at his will. And after his death his son Rehoboam reigned, who, neglecting the good counsel of his father and of the ancient and wise men who had stood before his father, did after the counsel of young men who sought to please him but had little understanding; whereby he lost the whole land of Israel except the twelfth part. In like manner, many kings of Israel and of other countries have been brought to harm through evil counsel. And, Sire, let it not displease you to be reminded of the events of your own time: for it was through evil counsel that our Sire, your father (whom God assoil), caused peers and others of his realm to be apprehended contrary to the law of his realm and the Magna Charta, and put some of them to a villainous death, of some he caused their goods and all they had to be seized, some he put to ransom; and you know, Sire, what happened to him in consequence. And then, to come to your own time, Sire, you have had some counsellors through whom you nearly lost the hearts of your people, from whom God was graciously pleased to deliver you. And from that time to the present, through good advice of the prelates, peers, great men, and wise counsellors of the realm, your affairs have been managed in such manner, that you entirely possess the hearts of all your subjects, as well clergy as laity, as much or more than any king of England ever did. So that, what with your good counsel, the aid of your people, and the favour of God toward you, you have gained the victory over your enemies in Scotland and France and everywhere: so that you are this day (glory be to God!) accounted the most noble prince in Christendom.

Good counsellors necessary about a king.

But now, set on by the evil counsels of some persons in the realm who are not so wise as could be wished, and of others who desire more their own profit than your honour or the country's welfare, you are beginning to issue writs of apprehension against clerks, peers, and other persons of the realm, and to institute improper processes contrary to the law of the land, to the keeping and maintenance whereof you are bound by your coronation oath; also contrary to the Great Charter, whereof all contraveners are excommunicated by all the

(1) Newly translated from the French in Avesbury. See Appendix.—ED.

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1341.Excom-  
munica-  
tion in  
his own  
private  
cause  
abused.

prelates of England, according to a sentence confirmed by papal bull, which we have by us: which things are done with the great peril of your soul and the disparagement of your honour. And albeit, Sire, those who now assume to be your guides and counsellors, more than their condition entitle them, give you to understand that your present doings are and will be acceptable to your people, know, Sire, for certain (and if you go on as you have begun you will find it so, and that, Sire, for a long time to come, except God interpose a remedy), know, I say, that if you pursue the course now begun you will lose the hearts of your people, as also your good and rightful enterprise, and will embroil yourself thereby in such a manner that you will be unable to accomplish your enterprise, and will rather force your enemies to destroy you and deprive you (which God forbid) of your fair fame and your kingdom.

Wherefore, Sire, as you value your honour and your kingdom, and would successfully maintain your enterprise, be pleased to take to you the noble and wise men of your realm, and to avail yourself in your affairs of them and their counsels, as hath been heretofore customary; for without their aid and counsel you can neither maintain your enterprise, nor govern well at home.

And forsomuch as some who are about you falsely surmise of us treason and unfaithfulness (who are there-for excommunicate, and for such we hold them, and as your spiritual adviser pray you also to hold them for such); while of others they say openly that they have basely and falsely served you, and that by their means you have lost Tournay and much honour else which you might there have gained—be pleased, Sire, to assemble the prelates, nobles, and peers of the land, at some convenient place whither we and other people may resort securely, and let there be (if you please) an investigation and inquiry made, into whose hands have come the wools, monies, and other things granted you in aid of your war, from the commencement thereof to this present day, and by whom they have been expended, and by whose default it was that you so departed from Tournay; and, as a good lord, let those who shall be found in any point guilty towards you be well punished according to the law. And as for ourselves, we will abide in all points the judgment of our peers, saving always (as heretofore we have done) the *status* of holy church, of ourselves, and of our order. And for God's sake, Sire, do not believe of us or of your good people otherwise than well, before you have ascertained the truth; for if men are to be punished without being permitted to answer for themselves, there is an end of all discrimination between the good and the bad.

And, Sire, be pleased to consider well the greatness of your enterprise, and the strong friendship which for this cause you have need of, also your enemies in Scotland, and the great peril of your realm thereby. For if your prelates and nobles and all the wise men of your realm were day and night of one mind, without any division among them, to deal with the multiplied business attendant on such a vast concern, there would be enough for them to think about in order to maintain your enterprise, the honour of your person, and the well-being of your realm. And be pleased, Sire, not to take it amiss, that we have in so homely a manner sent you the truth: for the great affection we ever did and shall bear you, the desire of preserving your honour and realm, and a sense of our duty as primate (however unworthy) of all England and your spiritual father, incite us to speak and even command, where your own soul and your kingdom and estate are all at stake. The Holy Spirit preserve you, body and soul, and grant you grace to hear and believe good counsel, and then—victory over your enemies.

Written at Canterbury, the first day of January, by your chaplain the archbishop of Canterbury.

Albeit the king, this yet notwithstanding, directeth his letters abroad against the said archbishop, and amongst others to the dean and chapter of Paul's, whereof the tenor here followeth:—

#### The King's Letter to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.<sup>1</sup>

Edward, by the Grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, to his well-beloved in Christ, the Dean and Chapter of the Church of St. Paul in London, greeting in the Lord:

It is manifest by authentic histories, but more clearly appears by what is

(1) Newly translated from the Latin in Rymer, Avesbury, and Walsingham. See Appendix.—Ed.

daily practised, that many men, abusing in their pride the favour of princes and the honour conferred upon them, do sometimes maliciously endeavour to deprave the laudable undertakings of kings. And that what we say may be rendered more manifest to all our liege subjects, we suppose that neither you nor they have forgotten, how we, being formerly exalted to the regal throne in the years of our tender youth, and desiring at our first undertaking that royal charge to be directed by wholesome counsels, did call unto us John, then bishop of Winchester but now archbishop of Canterbury, because we supposed him to excel others in loyalty and discretion, and made use both of his spiritual advice in matters concerning the health of our soul, and also of his temporal in affairs relating to the aggrandisement and conservation of our kingdom. Nay, he was by us received into such familiarity, and experienced so much of our favour towards him, that he was called our Father, and honoured of all men next unto the king.

*Edward  
III.*

*A.D  
1341.*

Now afterwards, when by right of succession the kingdom of France had devolved unto us and by the lord Philip de Valois was manifestly usurped, the said archbishop by his importunities persuaded us to make a league with the princes of Almain against the said Philip, and so to expose ourselves and ours to the expenses of war; promising and affirming that he would see us abundantly supplied with the necessary funds out of the profit of our lands and from other sources; adding, moreover, that we should only take care to provide men of courage and skill sufficient for the war, for that he himself would effectually procure such sums of money as should both answer our necessities and the soldiers' pay. Whereupon having passed the seas, we set our hand to great undertakings, and made an immense outlay (as it behoved us) in providing for the war, and bound ourselves in very large sums of money to our confederates, in confidence of the aid promised us as aforesaid. But alas! since we put our confidence "in the staff of a broken reed, whereon" (according to the Prophet) "if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it," being defrauded of the expected subsidy, of mere necessity we were compelled under very heavy usury to contract an insupportable load of debt, and so our expedition being staid, we were obliged to desist for that time from our enterprises so valiantly begun against our enemies, and to return into England: where having laid before the said archbishop our manifold vexations and misfortunes aforesaid, and thereupon calling a parliament, the prelates, barons, and other liege subjects of our kingdom gave us (besides a tenth granted us by the clergy) a subsidy of the ninth of their corn, lambs, and wool; which subsidy, had it been faithfully collected and obtained in due time, had not a little availed, nay would probably (in the opinion of many) have been quite sufficient for expediting the said war, for the payment of our debts, and the confusion of our enemies. The said archbishop, meanwhile, promised us zealously to do his part toward the collecting the said subsidy, and in procuring other things necessary for us. Whereupon, relying on his promises, having recruited our forces, with a navy collected for the purpose we set sail for Flanders, and upon the way had a fierce encounter at sea with our enemies, who had combined to the destruction of us and of our whole English nation; but by the merciful kindness of Him, who ruleth both the winds and the sea, and not for our own merits, we obtained over the whole multitude of those enemies a victory and triumph. Which done, passing forward with a very great army for the recovery of our rights, we encamped near the very strong city of Tournay; in the siege whereof after we had been for some time busily occupied, and were wearied with continual toils and charges, yet silently waiting for the promised aid, we hoped every day by means of the said archbishop to be relieved in our many and great necessities. At length being frustrated of our conceived hope, though by many messengers and divers letters we fully signified to the said archbishop, and other our counsellors joined in commission with him, our necessities and the sundry dangers we were exposed to for want of the aforesaid promised subsidy, as also the advantage and honour which we saw we might easily obtain by a seasonable supply of money, yet we could get no help from them; because, minding their own business, and wholly neglecting ours, and studying only their own interests, they palliated their own idleness (not to say fraud or wickedness) with frivolous excuses and a false parade of words; like those mockers, who (as Isaiah saith) deridingly scoff, saying, "Precept upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little, and there a little." Whence (alas, for

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1341.Arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury false  
to the  
king.Evil  
officers  
displaced  
by the  
king.Arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury  
odious to  
all the  
clergy.Denieth  
to come  
to the  
king.

sorrow!) it came to pass, that just when the hope of triumphing over our enemies most graciously smiled upon us, we were by absolute want constrained against our will to consent to a truce, to the shameful stoppage of our expedition, and the no small joy of our adversaries. Returning thereupon into Flanders, void of money, and loaded with debt, with nothing left in our own purses nor our friends' purses, to supply our own necessities and to pay the soldiers in our service, we were compelled to plunge into the gulf of usury, and to submit our shoulders to a fresh load of debt. At last our faithful friends, the companions of our expedition and partakers of our troubles, came round us, with whom we seriously consulted for some remedy, whereby we might get free from such a tempest of misfortunes and recover ourselves. It appeared to them all that the sad circumstance of our late stoppage, and the manifold inconveniences proceeding from our want of supply, happened all through the fault or idleness (not to say wickedness) of the aforesaid archbishop, on whose discretion, with that of others whom we placed in conjunction with him over the affairs of the realm, the whole disposal of our kingdom seemed to depend; and vehemently wondering, and secretly murmuring at us, for that our royal gentleness would so long leave unpunished the insolence of the said archbishop and the other officials, they publicly protested that, unless we would speedily apply a fit remedy to these evils, they must of necessity withdraw from our service, and go back from their alliance made with us: and this certainly would redound to the subversion of our kingdom, our own perpetual infamy, and the lasting reproach of the English nation; which God our most merciful Father, on whom the anchor of our hope is immovably fixed, of his goodness forbid should happen in our time.

Whereupon, addressing ourselves to the due correction of our said officers, some of them, whom for good reasons we suspected guilty of mal-administration, subversion of justice, oppression of our subjects, bribery and corruption, and other serious offences, we caused (as it was lawful for us to do) to be removed from their offices: others also of inferior degree, but culpable in the premises, we caused to be detained in safe custody, lest if they enjoyed their wonted liberty, the execution of justice should by their craftiness be prevented, and the inquisition of the truth cunningly eluded. And since we believed that we should elicit that truth more certainly and fully from the said archbishop than from any one else—(because it was reasonably to be expected, that nothing which could be important for our information herein would be unknown to him, seeing we had thought fit for a long time past to commit to him the administration of our whole common-weal, and the chief conduct of affairs),—therefore by our trusty Nicholas de Cantilupe we sent him our commands without delay to come to us at London, as we wished to have the pleasure of a personal interview with him. But he like himself, as timid in adversity as tumid in prosperity, fearing where no fear was, did untruly allege that he would be in imminent peril of his life, which was menaced and threatened by certain about our person, should he leave the church of Canterbury: whereas (God and our pure conscience are witnesses) no such matter ever entered into our mind, nor (as I believe) into the mind of any of our servants. Yet we suppose, he glanced herein at our cousin the earl of Derby; though not only to him, but to all others,<sup>1</sup> as well of the clergy as laity, he had become deservedly odious through his malignant character. But we, who desire that all our subjects who wish to have access to our person, especially when sent for by our letters or messengers, should be able to come with a feeling of perfect security, to confute his malicious suggestion, sent unto him our trusty and well-beloved Ralph de Stafford, high-steward of our household, to offer and give him safe conduct: nevertheless, over and above that, we caused our royal letters patent, signed with our royal seal, to be presented unto him, again commanding him personally to appear before us, to give information about the affairs of our realm, which he had conducted for a long time past, as aforesaid. Yet he, setting at nought our gentle requests and commands, answered disdainfully, that he would by no means come either to our sight or speech except in full parliament, which for good reasons it is inexpedient should be called at this time.

Thus this archbishop, whom our royal bounty hath enriched with magnificent preferments and honours, and admitted to the most intimate familiarity, even

(1) "The foregoing part of this clause is omitted by Antiq. Brit. and Walsingham. Only Mr. Foxe's copy hath it." Barnes's *Life of Edward III.*—Ep.



to the cordiality of friendship and the confidence of sworn companions; upon whom, as on a dear father, our whole spirit and soul did repose; who also, while we acquiesced altogether in his wishes, put on toward us a face of seeming affection, cloaked with a false show of benevolence, as though he were a loving father—even this man is cruelly turned to be an oppressive and severe step-father, and wholly forgetful of the benefits he hath received, with tumid arrogance pursueth his benefactor, and requiteth us just as (according to the proverb) “a mouse in a bag, a serpent in the lap, and fire in the bosom,” requite their entertainers. For, albeit ever since we were by divine grace and hereditary right raised to the throne it hath been (as it ever will be) hateful to us to abuse the greatness of our power, and we are most desirous in the government of our subjects to blend justice with mercy and gentleness, so that we may enjoy that peace which is desired of all men—yet notwithstanding, this man goeth about to defame our innocence, and the fidelity and diligence of our counsellors and officers who are pursuing only justice; publicly preaching, and by his letters patent ordering it to be declared in divers parts, “that in these latter times the laity are unjustly oppressed by the royal power, the clergy confounded, and holy church overburthened with exactions, levies, and talliages.” And whereas he is craftily endeavouring to gain the name (which he hath never yet earned) of a good shepherd, when in reality he is, both after the common opinion and even on his own public confession (as is said), no better than a hireling, he cloaketh his fox-craft with a feigned zeal for the liberties of the church; and yet if she hath experienced any vexations in our time, either in her property or clergy, they are really to be ascribed to the carelessness, and the cunning inventions, and the false counsels, of the aforesaid archbishop. And in order to damage the king’s popularity, to defame his ministers aforesaid, traitorously to stir up sedition among the people committed to our charge, and to withdraw from our royal person the attachment of our earls, lords, and barons of the realm, he wickedly pretendeth that he hath by him certain sentences of excommunication lately passed against the violators generally of the church’s liberty and the Magna Charta; and he hath by his letters commanded certain articles, in divers eminent places of resort to be published, besides and contrary to the usual means in such case provided in a provincial council.

Wherefore we, wishing (as we ought) to take heed to the integrity of our fame, to obviate the malicious designs of the said archbishop, and to avoid the snares he hath laid for us and ours, have taken measures, beside those things above rehearsed, to bring into public notice some other of his many perverse doings, forbearing to enlarge on them at present. In particular, when we were in our minority, it was by his imprudent counsel and persuasion, that we made so many prodigal donations, unlawful alienations, and excessive largesses, that our treasure was wholly exhausted thereby, and our revenues enormously diminished: and we find that he, being corrupted with bribes, without good reason forgave certain persons large sums of money which were owing to us, when neither necessity, nor any prospect of advantage, so required; and also that he hath applied to the use of himself and his friends, and other ill-deserving persons, many of our rents and revenues, which ought to have been kept for our own use and necessity. Moreover, being an acceptor of persons as well as of bribes, contrary to our wish and his oath of fidelity made to us, he hath admitted to public office in our dominions persons altogether unworthy, neglecting and putting back the deserving: and many other things out of a refractory mind he hath rashly presumed to take in hand, to the detriment of our state, the hurt of our royal dignity, and the no small damage and grievance of our subjects; abusing the authority and office committed to him. All which, if he shall still persist in his proud obstinacy and his stout and continued rebellion, we will hereafter at convenient time and place manifestly prove; in the mean while, enjoining and commanding you to publish the same, and cause it by others to be published, openly and distinctly in those places where you shall think it expedient; setting forth at the same time, as it shall seem best to your godly wisdoms, our pious resolution of redressing grievances, and promoting the comforts and advantages of our subjects; so behaving yourselves herein, that we may have just cause to commend your care and prudence. Witness myself at Westminster the twelfth day of February, in the fifteenth year of our reign over England, and our second over France.

*Edward  
III.*

*A. D.  
1311.*

*Charged  
with dis-  
sembling  
and in-  
gratitude.  
See  
Appendix.*

*A defa-  
mer of the  
king.*

*The arch-  
bishop  
abuseth  
his office.*



Edward  
III.

A. D.  
1341.

See  
Appendix.

By these aforesaid objections and accusations of the king, premised and laid against the archbishop of Canterbury, what is to be thought of the doings of the said archbishop, I leave it to thy judgment, gentle reader (as I said before), to be conjectured; forso much as our histories, somewhat bearing with the said archbishop, seem either to be uncertain of the truth of the matter, or else covertly to dissemble some part of that they knew. And especially of Polydore Virgil I marvel, who, having so good occasion to touch the matter, doth so slightly pass it over without any word mentioning. In which matter, if probable conjecture, besides history, might here be heard, it is not unlike but that some old practice of prelates hath herein been put in use, through some crafty conspiracy between the pope and the archbishop; and the rather to be gathered, for that as the pope was enemy unto the king in this his challenge to the crown of France, so the archbishop against his prince (as for the most part always they have been) was a friend, as no man need to doubt thereof, unto the pope. Which thing also more probably may be supposed, because of the coming down of the two cardinals the same time, from the pope to the king of England, about the matter of further truce. This is certain, that the archbishop, nothing abashed, replied again to the king's letters aforesaid, calling them an infamous libel, and wishing for the king's honour they had not been written or published.<sup>1</sup>

Return of  
the king's  
army  
from  
Tournay.

And thus stood the case between the archbishop of Canterbury and the king, who coming thus (as is said) in secret wise into England from the siege of Tournay, his army in the mean while by ships was conveyed to Bretagne. Of whom a great number, through unseasonable and inconvenient meats and drinks, was there consumed; to whom also no less danger happened, by the seas coming out of Bretagne into England, by tempest, thunder, and lightning, stirred up (as was thought) by the necromancers of the French king.

A. D. 1341.  
Truce  
taken for  
one year  
more  
between  
king  
Edward  
and the  
French  
king.

The year following, A. D. 1341, were sent from the pope two other cardinals to treat with king Edward for one year's truce to be concluded more with the French king, besides the former truce taken before; and all by the pope's means. For here is to be understood, that as it was not for the pope's purpose to have the king of England to reign over so many countries, so his privy supportation lacked not by all means possible, both by his archbishops and cardinals, and also by the emperor, to maintain the state of the French king, and to establish him in his possession.<sup>2</sup>

In the said histories where these things be mentioned it is also noted, that the same year such plenty there was here in the realm of victuals, that a quarter of wheat was sold for two shillings, a fat ox for a noble, and (as some say) a sheep for four-pence. And thus far endureth the history of Ranulphus Cestrensis, called 'Polychronicon.'

The same year, A. D. 1341, Louis of Bavaria, the emperor, who before had showed great courtesy to king Edward as in his first viage over, insomuch that he made him his vicar or vicegerent general, and offered him also aid against the French king; now (either turned by inconstancy, or seduced by the pope) writeth to him contrary letters, wherein he revoketh the vicegerentship granted to him, and seeketh

(1) See Appendix.

(2) Ex Thom. Walsing. Ex Chron. Albanensi. [See Appendix.—En]

all means in favour of the French king, and against king Edward; as by his letters here under written may better appear.

*Edward*  
*III.*

A.D.  
1311.

### Letter of the Emperor to the King of England.

Louis, by the grace of God emperor of the Romans, always Augustus, &c. To Edward king of England, his beloved brother, greeting and unfeigned love. Although great and urgent business of our own do oppress us, and about the same our weighty affairs we are daily encumbered, yet with the discord and variance between your kingly dignity and the renowned Philip, the king of France our cousin, for your sake, we are not a little troubled. And the rather, the great charges which may hereafter grow both to you and to your kingdom thereby considered, both of men and money, unless the same be taken up, doth more easily provoke us to give ourself to the careful study of your affairs. Wherefore we give you to understand that the aforesaid Philip, at our request, hath given unto us, by his letters, authority and power to treat and conclude a peace between you, touching the variance begun: which peace (all the state diligently considered both of yourself, your kingdom, and subjects) we take and believe to be right expedient for you; moving therewithal your charity, and earnestly desiring you, that to this also you will give your consent, whereby we may bring you both to concord and unity, and establish between you a firm peace to endure; whereunto with willing mind we would apply ourself, and bestow our painful labour in prosecuting the same. And herein if you will condescend and agree unto our counsel, as we trust you will, it may please you by your letters to give unto us the like authority as is above said, to treat of peace or for the ordering of a truce for one year or two at least to continue. Neither let it move you, that between us and the said Philip of France a truce is taken; for, seeing that you without our consent took truce with him, we, by the advice of our princes who know the bonds, deeds, and covenants betwixt us, who also thought no less but that, saving your honour, we might do the same, have also made a league with the said Philip king of France; and for certain causes do revoke and call back the lieutenantship which we assigned unto you by our letters. Nevertheless, giving you for certain to understand that in our said treaties and peace concluded, we have so brotherly considered you, that, if you will agree and condescend unto our counsel, your cause, by our mean and help, shall be brought to good pass and effect; about which things further to confer with your brotherhood herein, we have sent a devout and religious man, friar Everard, reader of the order of the Eremites of St. Augustine and chaplain of our court; whom about the premises we desire with speedy expedition to be sent unto us again.

Given at Frankfort, the twenty-fifth day of June, in the twenty-sixth year of our reign, and the fourteenth of our empire.

### Answer of the King of England to the Emperor.

To the most serene Prince Lord Louis, by the grace of God Emperor of the Romans, always Augustus, Edward, by the same grace King of France and England, and Lord of Ireland, health and prosperous success.

We have reverently received your highness' letters, amongst other things containing, that the noble Philip de Valois, to the intent a peace and concord between us and him might be concluded, hath given unto you, by his letters, full power and authority thereunto at your highness' request; and that if the same might content us to do in like sort, your highness would travail to bring the concord to pass; and that it would not move us any whit at all, that your highness and the said Philip are in league together: forasmuch as we, without your assent and consent, you say, took truce with the said Philip, you have also done the like with him (which thing you might well do saving your honour, by the counsel of all your nobles and princes), and for certain causes you revoke again the lieutenantship which you committed unto us. Doubtless the zeal and good will you have to make this concord and agreement, we much commend; letting you to understand that we always have been desirous, and still are, to have a reasonable peace with the said Philip; which peace as much

*Edward  
III.*

*A. D.  
1342.*

as to us (our honour saved) appertained, we have in justice and by law persecuted; and in very deed, it should be to us acceptable, and as we would wish, if by such a mediator as your highness is, it might be brought to pass. But, forasmuch as we understand the same our right and title to the kingdom of France to be manifest and clear enough, we purpose not to commit the same by any of our letters to doubtful arbitrement: but while we well consider and revolve with ourselves, how, upon circumspect consideration (you manifestly beholding our just and rightful doing, and the strait dealing and obstinate purpose and injury of the said Philip), your gracious highness made a special league with us, and in our behalf, against the said Philip, adopting us of your great and bountiful love towards our person to be one of your sons; wherefore, that you should thus again alter and break the same, we cannot sufficiently marvel, seeing your invincible highness, being instituted of God to the laud and commendation of good men, and revenge of evil and wicked doers, hath made a league against us with the said Philip de Valois, our notorious and injurious enemy. And as touching that which you say, that without your assignment and consent we took a truce, or days of respite, with the said Philip, which we ought not to have done; if your grace well consider the circumstance of the matter, we have done but as we might therein; for when we laid our siege to Tournay, it was requisite that we should follow their advice, whose aid and society therein we had. Besides, the sudden and imminent necessity which we there stood in, and the distance of the place betwixt your highness and us furthermore was such, as that by no means we might attain the same, nor use your assent therein. Yea and further, if your grace well remember yourself, your grant unto us was such, that whensoever opportunity thereunto should serve, we might treat of any peace, and grant what time we thought meet thereunto, without your consent therein; so that to conclude any final peace with the said Philip de Valois, without either your consent, or otherwise making your highness privy thereunto, it might not be lawful for us; which thing, without your said counsel, consent and advice, we never minded nor purposed to do, but have in all our doings done that which us beseemed, so far as by any means our power would stretch; hoping likewise that your brotherly benevolence for a time would have more lovingly supported us. It is thought also by some, that the revoking back again, or restraint of your aforesaid lieutenants, was premature or done all out of time; when, according to your promise made to us herein by your letters imperial, you ought not so to have done, before the realm and kingdom of France, or at the least the greatest part thereof, were of us obtained and quietly in peaceable wise enjoyed. These things premised, therefore, we desire you, according to your nobility, duly to consider, and hereafter to do, that which shall be thought both meet and convenient; because that (God willing) we mean to recompense and gratify both you and yours, according to the measure of your benevolence bestowed upon us. The Most High grant unto your highness so much felicity as your heart desireth.

Given at London the 14th day of July, in the second year of the reign of our kingdom of France, and of England the fifteenth. [A.D. 1341.]

*See  
Appendix.*

[May  
13th,  
A. D.  
1342.]

The following year died pope Benedict XII., mentioned a little before; after whom succeeded in that room pope Clement VI. Of whom it is reported in stories, that he was very liberal and bountiful to his cardinals of Rome, enriching and heaping them with goods and possessions not of his own, but with the ecclesiastical dignities and preferments of the churches of England;<sup>1</sup> for so recordeth the author, that he bestowed upon his cardinals the livings and promotions, such as were or should be vacant in churches of England, and went about to set up new titles for his cardinals here within this realm. But the king being offended therewith, made void and frustrate all those aforesaid provisions of the pope; charging moreover and commanding no person whatsoever to busy himself with any such provisions, under pain of prisonment and of losing his life; which law was made the next year following (A.D. 1343). Whereupon the nobles

The king  
disannul-  
leth the  
pope's  
provi-  
sions

(1) Ex Chron. Albanensi. [See Appendix.—Ed.]

and commons addressed a letter to the pope. The argument and tenor of which letter out of French we have caused to be translated into English, as ensueth :—

*Edwa-d  
III.*

A. D.  
1343.

*See  
Appendix.*

The Letter of the Nobles of England and Commons of the same to the Pope, against the Reservations and Provisions which he had in England.<sup>1</sup>

To the most holy father in God lord Clement, by divine providence of the holy church of Rome and of the universal church sovereign bishop, his humble and devout sons the princes, dukes, earls, barons, knights, citizens, burgesses, and all the commonalty of the realm of England, assembled at the parliament holden at Westminster the Quindime of Easter<sup>2</sup> [April 28th] last past, devout kissings of his most holy feet, with all reverence and humility. Most holy father! the holy discretion, government, and equity, which manifest themselves in you, and ought to reign in so high and holy a prelate, the head of holy church, by whom holy church and the people of God ought to be, as by a sun, illumined, give us strong hope that the just petitions, to the honour of Jesus Christ and holy church and of your holiness also, by us exhibited, will be of you graciously heard, and that all errors and iniquities will be taken away and removed, and that some fruitful amendment and remedy thereof (through the grace of the Holy Spirit, which you to so high a degree have received) will be by you graciously ordained. Wherefore, most holy father! all we upon full deliberation with common assent declare to your holiness, that the noble kings of England, the progenitors of his majesty that now is, and our ancestors, and ourselves, according to the grace of the Holy Spirit to them and us given, have, every one according to his devotion, established, founded, and endowed within the realm of England cathedrals, colleges, abbeys, priories, and divers other houses of religion; and have settled thereon, and given to the prelates and governors of the said places, lands, possessions, patrimonies, franchises, advowsons, and patronages of dignities, prebends, offices, churches, and many and divers other benefices unto them given; whereby the service of God and the Christian faith might be honoured, increased, and beautified, hospitality and alms-giving practised, all the sacred edifices honestly kept and maintained, devout prayers offered in the said places for the founders, and the poor parishioners aided and comforted: and such only ought to have the cure thereof, as are able to hear confessions in the native tongue, and are otherwise fully informed and instructed for their office. And forso much as, most holy father! you cannot well have knowledge of errors and defaults, nor yet understand the condition of places, so far off, unless you be informed; we, having full and certain knowledge of the errors and defaults of the places and persons above mentioned within the said realm, have thought meet to signify unto your holiness, that—in consequence of divers reservations, provisions, and collations granted by your predecessors apostolic of Rome, and by yourself, most holy father! in your own time (and that, more largely than they were wont to be granted), unto divers persons, not merely strangers and foreigners, but some of them even our enemies, having no knowledge of the language and conditions of those of whom they ought to have the government and cure—beside other sad consequences hereof, the souls of the parishioners are in peril, the service of God is destroyed, alms-giving is restrained, and hospitality perished, the churches with their appurtenances decayed, charity withdrawn, the honest persons of the realm unadvanced, the cure and government of souls neglected, the devotion of the people restrained, many poor scholars unadvanced, and the treasure of the realm carried away, and all this against the intent of the founders. The which errors, defaults, and scandals, most holy father! we neither can nor ought to suffer or endure. We, therefore, most humbly require of your holiness, that the scandals, errors, and defaults, which may thus happen, being with due discretion considered, you would be pleased totally to forbid such reservations, provisions, and collations, and ordain that from henceforth they be no more practised; and to take such order and remedy therein, that the said benefices and edifices, with their rights and appurtenances, may be (to the honour of God) by our own countrymen administered, defended, and governed. And may it further please your holiness by your letters to signify unto us without delay, what your intention is touch-

Misappropriation of ecclesiastical property to foreigners.

Decay of the church of England by the pope

(1) Revised from the French in Avesbury.—Ed.

(2) See *infra*, p. 781.—Ed.

*Edward  
III.*

A.D.  
1344.

ing this our request; but know for certain, that we shall on no account cease to apply our best efforts, to obtain a remedy for the redress of the matters above mentioned. In witness whereof, unto these letters patent we have set our seals. Given in the full parliament at Westminster, the 18th day of May, in the year of grace 1343.

The  
pope's  
procura-  
tors  
driven  
out of  
England.

It followed then, that the said pope Clement again began to make new provisions for two of his cardinals of benefices and churches that should be next vacant, besides bishoprics and abbotships, to the extent of two thousand marks; whereupon the procurators of the said cardinals were sent down for the same. But the king and nobility of the realm, not suffering that, under pain of imprisonment caused the said procurators forthwith to depart the realm; whereupon the pope writeth to the king, complaining thereof; but the king shortly after writeth a fruitful epistle to the pope, for the maintenance of the liberties of the English church; whereunto, as saith the author, the pope and the cardinals were not able to answer.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime, king Edward, to repel certain aggressions of the French king, had sailed over into Bretagne, and laid siege to Vannes, &c.; but by the mediation of the pope a truce was concluded at Malesroit this year, February 20th, to last till the following Michaelmas and for three years afterwards.<sup>2</sup>

The  
pope's  
message  
to the  
king.

After these things thus passed over, the king shortly after sent over his procurators, the earl of Lancaster and Derby, Hugh le Despencer, lord Ralph Stafford, with the bishop of Exeter, and divers other, to the pope's court, to discuss and plead about the right of his title to France before the pope: unto whom the said pope Clement VI., not long after, sent down this message, How that Louis, duke of Bavaria, the emperor, whom the pope had before deposed, had submitted himself to him in all things, and therefore deserved at his hands the benefit of absolution; and how the pope therefore had conferred and restored unto him, justly and graciously, the empire, which he before unjustly did hold, &c. This message when the king did hear, being therewith moved to anger, he answered saying, that if he did agree and compound also with the French king, he was ready to fight with them both, &c.<sup>3</sup>

The  
king's  
answer.

The  
castle in  
Windsor  
enlarged,  
and the  
round-  
table  
builded.

Within the time of this year, the castle of Windsor, where the king was born, began to be repaired; and in the same the house called the round-table was situate, the diameter whereof, from the one side to the other, contained two hundred feet; to the expenses of which house weekly was allowed a hundred pound for the maintaining of the king's chivalry, till at length, by the occasion of the French wars, it came down to nine pound a week. By the example whereof the French king being provoked, began also the like round-table in France for the maintaining of his knighthood. At which time the said French king, moreover, gave free liberty through his realm to fell down trees for making of ships and maintaining of his navy, whereby the realm of England was not a little damnified.

First  
prince of  
Wales,  
[May  
12th.]  
Tenth  
granted  
to the  
king by  
the clergy  
for three  
years

About this present time, at the setting up of the round-table, the king made prince Edward, his eldest son, the first prince of Wales.

In the year following, which was A.D. 1344, pence, halfpence, and farthings, began to be coined in the Tower.<sup>4</sup>

During the same year the clergy of England granted to the king

(1) See Appendix.

(2) See Appendix.

(3) Ex. Chron. Albanensi. [See Appendix.—Ed.]

(4) See Appendix.



tents for three years; for the which the king in recompense again granted to them his charter, containing these privileges: 'That no archbishop nor bishop should be arraigned before his justices "sive ad sectam suam, sive partis," if the said clerk do submit and claim his clergy, professing himself to be a member of holy church; who, so doing, shall not be bound to come to his answer before the justices. And if it shall be laid unto them to have married two wives, or to have married a widow, the justices shall have no power to proceed against them, to inquire for the matter; so that the cause shall be reserved to the spiritual court, &c.

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1345.By this, it  
is likely  
that  
priests  
had  
wives.See  
Appendix.

All this while yet continued the truce between the two kings, albeit it is likely to be thought that the French king gave many attempts to infringe the same. Now,<sup>1</sup> for the more evidence of the matter concerning the falling of the French king from the league, and other his wrongs and untrue dealing, it shall better in the king's letter appear; who, hearing word that the lord Philip de Valois, contrary to the form of truce taken at Vannes,<sup>2</sup> had apprehended certain of his nobles of England, and had brought them to Paris to be imprisoned and put to death; besides other slaughters and spoilings made in Bretagne, Gascony, and other places more—he therefore, seeing the truce to be broken of the French king's part, and being thereto of necessity compelled, in the year of our Lord 1345, the fourteenth of the month of June, did publish and send abroad his letters of defiance, containing this effect:—

### The King's Letters of Defiance against the French King.<sup>3</sup>

To all and singular, to whom these presents shall come, greeting. We doubt not it is publicly known, that after the decease of Charles late king of France, of famous memory, brother to the most serene lady Isabel queen of England, our mother, the realm of France having inalienably fallen unto us as the next heir male of the said king then living, nevertheless the lord Philip de Valois, being but only son to the uncle of the aforesaid king Charles, and therefore in degree of consanguinity further off removed from the same, did, we being in our minority, by force and power, contrary to God and justice, usurp and occupy, and doth yet occupy, the same; invading further and spoiling our lands in the dukedom of Aquitaine, and joining himself with our rebellious enemies the Scots, seeking our subversion both by land and by sea, to the uttermost of his endeavour. And although we, to prevent the incalculable damages which might rise by war, offered to the said Philip divers friendly ways of peace to our own disadvantage, to the intent we might better intend our purposed war against Christ's enemies the Turks; yet he, driving us off by crafty dissimulation, would do nothing effectual, but while pretended negotiations were kept pending added injury to injury. Whereupon we, not neglecting the grace and gift of God, but wishing to defend the right of our inheritance and to repulse the injuries of our enemy, did not refuse by force of arms (since we could do nothing by peaceable means) to enter Bretagne, preferring rather to sally out for the succour of our adherents and encounter with him in open field, than tamely await at home the dangers which threatened us. And so we being occupied in our wars, there repaired unto us the reverend fathers Peter and Anibald, cardinal-bishops of Palæstrine and Frascati, from pope Clement VI., to propose a truce and ultimately a peace between us; at whose request we consented to such conditions of truce as then were taken between us,<sup>2</sup> sending moreover our ambassadors to the court of Rome, specially to treat of a peace. And thus, while some hope of peace seemed between us to appear, news suddenly came unto us in England which not a little astonished our mind, of the death of certain nobles our adherents, whom the said Philip contrary to the said truce had seized in Bretagne, and had commanded to be executed

(1) See Appendix.

(2) At Malestroit: see before, p. 690.—Ed.

(3) Revised from the Latin in Avesbury.—Ed.

*Edward  
III.*

*A.D.  
1345.*

The  
pope's le-  
gate stir-  
reth up  
war.  
Like le-  
gate like  
pope.

at Paris; besides the wasting and spoiling our lands and subjects in Bretagne, Gascony, and other places; with secret intrigues to withdraw our subjects and confederates from us, and innumerable wrongs and injuries, deceitfully intended against us, both by sea and land. By reason whereof the truce on his part being notoriously broken, it is most manifest that it had been lawful for us forthwith to have re-opened the war upon him. Yet notwithstanding, to avoid those inconveniences that come by war, we thought first to prove, whether by any gentle means some reformation might be had touching the premises. And therefore sundry times we sent ambassadors to the pope's presence for a treaty of peace and for reformation to be had in those aforesaid excesses; and several times fixed for the tractation thereof certain terms of time, always reserving to ourselves, notwithstanding, the liberty to resume war at our pleasure, which the doings of the said Philip had clearly given us. And now, forsomuch as the aforesaid terms be already expired, and yet no reasonable offer of peace appeareth, neither hath the said Philip reformed his doings, notwithstanding his being required and admonished thereunto by the pope's letter (as the pope by his letter hath written unto us), but is always multiplying his conspiracies and fetches, to our utter ruin;—to say nothing of the excesses of the pope's nuncio, who being sent lately by the bishop of Rome into Bretagne for the keeping of the truce, and whose part had been rather to have quenched the discord, but instead thereof stirred up our enemy more eagerly against us; neither did the bishop of Rome (saving his reverence) provide any remedy herein, albeit he was required of us so to do (as he ought to have done)—these things, I say, being so, we ought to be excused both before God and man, if, in the defect of other remedy to be had, we proceed to repel such wrongs and injuries, especially having so righteous a cause as is notorious to all. Deeming therefore the aforesaid truce broken (as it really is) for reasons which we know and can prove to be true, and ourselves to be released from the observance of the same, we defy the aforesaid Philip, as the violator of the truce and the unjust invader of our kingdom: protesting, that this we do, not for any offence to the bishop of Rome or to the apostolic see, but only for the reasonable prosecution of our rights, and in defence of us and ours; intending always rather to have peace, if by any reasonable way it might be had. And thus much, for the stopping of slanderous fame and the mouths of backbiters, we thought good to signify, first to the high bishop of Rome, and the aforesaid cardinals; that by them, as persons indifferent, the same may be intimated to the contrary part; recommending unto you all our own innocency, and the common cause of justice. Given at Westminster the fourteenth day of June, the nineteenth year of our reign in England, and of France the sixth. [A.D. 1345.]

A.D. 1345.  
Henry,  
earl, after  
made  
duke of  
Lancas-  
ter, sent  
over to  
Gascony.  
*See  
Appendix.*

And thus much for the king's letters, showing how the French king began first to infringe the truce taken. Whereupon Henry, earl of Lancaster, with six hundred men of arms, and as many archers, was sent over to Gascony, who there so valiantly is said to behave himself, that he subdued fifty-five townships unto the king; twenty-three noble men he took prisoners, encountering with the Frenchmen at Auberoche. So courteously and liberally he dealt with his soldiers, that it was a joy to them and a preferment to fight underneath him. His manner was, in winning any town, little or nothing to reserve to himself, but to sparse the whole spoil to his soldiers. One example in the author whom I follow is touched; how the aforesaid earl at the winning of the town of Bergerac, where he had granted to every soldier for his booty the house, with all the implements therein, which he by victory should obtain, among his other soldiers, to one named Reh fell a certain house with the implements thereof, wherein were contained the mint and money coined for that country, to the value of a great substance; which when the soldier had found, in breaking up a house where first the gross metal was not yet perfectly wrought, he came to the earl, declaring to him the treasure, to know what was his pleasure therein. To whom the earl answered, that the

house was his, and whatsoever he found therein. Afterward the soldier, finding a whole mint of pure silver ready coined, signified the same to the earl, forsomuch as he thought such treasure to be too great for his portion; to whom the said earl again answering declared, that he had once given him the whole house, and that he had once given he would not call back again, as children use to play, and therefore bade him enjoy that which was granted to him; and if the money were thrice as much, it should be his own.<sup>1</sup> Which story, whether it were true or otherwise in those days, I have not to affirm. But certes, if in these our covetous wretched days now present any author should report the like act to be practised, I would hardly believe it to be true.

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1346.

The liberal heart and constant voice of a worthy captain.

As the earl of Lancaster was thus occupied in Gascony, the Scots were as busy here in England, wasting and spoiling without mercy; who were thought (and not unlike) to be set on by the French king; and therefore he was judged both by that, and by divers other ways, to have broken the covenants of truce between him and the king of England. Wherefore, the next year ensuing (A. D. 1346) king Edward, first sending his letters to the court of Rome, and therein complaining to the pope of Philip de Valois, how he had transgressed and broken the truce between them made, which by evident probations he there made manifest, about the month of July made his viage into Normandy, in such secret wise, that no man well knew whither he intended. Where first he entered the town of la Hogue, and from thence proceeded unto Caen: where, about the twenty-seventh of July, by the river Orne, which flows by Caen, he had a strong battle with the Normans and other Frenchmen, who, to stop his passage, defended the bridge; at which battle were taken of the lords of France, the earls of Eu and Tankerville; and of knights with other men of arms, to the number of one hundred; of footmen six hundred; and the town and suburbs were beaten down to the hard walls, and all that could be borne away was transported to the ships.

The Scots partly a mean of breaking truce.

A. D. 1346.  
The second viage of king Edward into France.

The battle at Caen.

Concerning the passage of the king, with the order of his acts achieved in the same, from the winning of Caen unto the town of Poissy, is sufficiently described by the king's confessor, a Dominic friar, being an eye-witness, who writeth thereof as followeth:<sup>2</sup>—

#### A Letter of the King's Confessor touching his Acts-doing from Caen to Poissy.<sup>3</sup>

Great cause we have to bless the God of heaven, and worthily to confess him before all living, for that he hath so wrought his mercy toward us. For after the conflict had at Caen, in the which very many were slain, and the town taken and sacked even to the bare walls, the city of Baieux immediately yielded itself of its own accord, fearing lest they should suffer the like. After this our lord the king directed his march towards Rouen; who being at the city of Lisieux, there came certain cardinals to him, greatly exhorting him to peace; which cardinals being courteously entertained of the king for the reverence of the pope's see and holy church, it was answered to them again, that the king being always desirous of peace, had sought it by all reasonable ways and means he could think of; and had offered manifold ways of peace (such was his desire to obtain it) to the no small prejudice of his own cause; and was ready still to admit any reasonable offer of peace. With this answer the cardinals having gone to the French king, our king's adversary, to persuade with him in like

The cardinals again entreat for peace.

The king's answer to the cardinals.

(1) Ex Chron. Albanensi.

(2) See Appendix.

(3) Revised from the Latin in Avesbury.—Ed.

*Edward*  
*III.*

A.D.  
1346.

The  
French  
king  
showeth  
no careful  
study of  
peace.

The  
king  
coming to  
Poissy.

manner, returned to king Edward, offering him in the French king's name the dukedom of Aquitaine, on the same tenure as his father before him had held it; besides further hope also of obtaining more through matrimonial alliance, if treaty of peace might be obtained. But forso much as that proposal contented not the king's mind, neither did the cardinals find the French king at all tractable, the cardinals returned in despair to Avignon, leaving the matter as they found it. And so the king, speeding forward, won all the large towns by which he passed, without any resistance of the inhabitants, who all fled away. For God so agitated them, that they seemed quite to have lost heart. In the same viage, the king also subdued castles and munitions very strong, and that with little stress. His enemy assembled at the same time a great army at Rouen; who, notwithstanding his being well manned, ever kept on the other side of the river Seine, breaking down all the bridges, that we should not come over to him. And although the country round about was continually spoiled and with fire consumed by the circuit of twenty miles round about, to within the space of only one mile of him; yet the French king either would not, or else durst not (when he might easily have passed over the river), make any resistance for defence of his country and people. And so our king, journeying forward, came to Poissy, where likewise he found the bridge broken down, and the enemy keeping on the other side of the river would rest in no place.

After the king's coming to Poissy, a certain clerk, named Michael Northburgh, an able man and one of the king's council, who accompanied him all through his journey, describing the king's viage and the acts of the Englishmen from the town of Poissy to his coming to Calais, in his letters writeth in this wise:¹—

A Letter of Michael Northburgh, the King's Councillor, describing the King's Viage through France.

[Aug.  
14th.]

Salutations premised, we give you to understand, that our lord the king came to the town of Poissy on the eve of the Assumption of our Lady, where was a bridge over the water of Seine which had been broken down by the enemy: but the king tarried there till that the bridge was repaired; and while the bridge was in repairing, there came a great number of men of arms, and of the commons of the country and burghers of Amiens well armed, to hinder the same; but the earl of Northampton issued out against them and slew of them more than five hundred (thanks be to God); the rest fled away. At another time our men passed the water, and slew a great number of the commons of France and of the city of Paris and country adjoining, being part of the French king's army, and thoroughly well appointed; so that our people have now made other good bridges upon our enemies (thanks be to God) without any great loss of our people. On the morrow after the Assumption of our Lady the king passed the water of Seine, and marched toward Pontoise, which is a strong town, and surrounded with walls, and a very strong castle within the same, which our enemies kept; and when our vanguard and second guard were passed the town, our rear-guard gave an assault thereunto, and took the same, where were slain more than three hundred men of arms on our enemies' part. The next day following, the earl of Suffolk and Sir Hugh le Despencer marched forth upon the commons of the country who were assembled and well armed, and discomfited them, and slew of them more than two hundred, and took above sixty gentlemen prisoners. After that, the king marched toward Grand Villers, and while he was there encamped, the king's vanguard was descried by the men of arms of the king of Bohemia; whereupon our men issued out in great haste, and joined battle with them, but were overthrown. Notwithstanding, (thanks be to God) the earl of Northampton issued out, and rescued the knights with the other soldiers, so that none of them were either taken or slain except only Thomas Talbot, and he had the enemy in chase to within two leagues of Amiens, of whom he took eight, and slew twelve of their men of arms: the rest, being well horsed, took to the town of Amiens. After this, the king of England marched toward Ponthieu on St. Bartholomew's day, and came

(1) See Appendix. The following translation is revised from the French in Avesbury.—Ed.

unto the water of Somme, which floweth by Abbeville to the sea, where the French king had laid five hundred men of arms, and three thousand armed commons, to keep the passage; but (thanks be to God) the king of England and his host took the said water of Somme, where never man passed before, without the loss of any of our men, and encountered with the enemy, and slew of them more than two thousand men of arms, chasing the rest to the gate of Abbeville, in which chase were taken many knights, squires, and men of arms. The same day Sir Hugh le Despencer took the town of Crottoy, where he and his soldiers slew four hundred men of arms, and kept the town, where they found great plenty of victuals. The same night encamped the king of England in the forest of Cressy upon the same water, for that the French king's host arrived from the other side of the town [Abbeville] after our passage; however, he would not take the water upon us, but returned toward Abbeville. Upon the Friday following, the king lay still encamped in the said forest of Cressy. On the Saturday morning he moved toward Cressy, when our scurriers descried the French king, who marched toward us in four great battalions; and having then understanding of our enemies (as God's will was), a little before the hour of vespers we drew unto the plain field, and set our battels in array; and immediately the fight began, which was very sore, and endured long, for our enemies behaved themselves right nobly. But (God be praised) our enemies were discomfited and the king, our adversary, was put to flight; where also were slain the king of Bohemia, the duke of Lorraine, the earl of Alençon, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Blois, the earl of Harcourt with his two sons; the earl of Aumale, the earl of Nevers and his brother, the lord of Tronard, the archbishop of Nismes, the archbishop of Sens, the high prior of the Hospital of France, the earl of Savoy, the lord of Morles, the lord de Guise, the lord de St. Venant, the lord de Rosinburgh, with six earls of Almain, and divers other earls, barons, knights, and squires, whose names are unknown. Philip de Valois himself, with the marquis, who is called king elect of the Romans, escaped from the battle. The number of the men of arms who were found dead in the field, besides the common soldiers and footmen, was one thousand five hundred and forty-two. All that night the king of England, with his host, remained under arms in the field where the battle was fought. On the morrow, before the sun rose, there marched toward us another great and strong host of the Frenchmen; but the earl of Northampton and the earls of Suffolk and Warwick<sup>1</sup> issued out against them, and them in like wise they discomfited; where they took of knights and squires a great number, and slew above two thousand, pursuing the chase three leagues from the place where the battle was fought. The same night also the king encamped at Cressy, and on the morrow marched toward Boulogne, and by the way he took the town of Etaples; and from thence he marched toward Calais, where he intendeth (as I have heard) to plant his siege, and lay his battery to the same; and therefore our sovereign lord the king willesh and commandeth you, in all that ever you may, to send to the said siege victuals convenient; for, since the time of our departing from Caen, we have travelled through the country with great toil and loss of our people, but yet always had of victuals plenty, thanks be to God there-for! But now, as the case standeth, we partly need your help to be refreshed with victuals. Thus fare you well.

Written before the town of Calais, the fourth day of September.

After the battle and victory of Cressy, the twenty-sixth day of August, A.D. 1346, the king directed his passage unto Calais, as by the tenor of this letter you hear, and besieged the same;<sup>2</sup> which siege he continued from the third of September in the year aforesaid, till the third day of August the year next following, upon the which day it was rendered up unto the said king Edward III., and subdued unto the crown of England; as after, the Lord willing, shall more appear.

In the mean time, during the siege of Calais, David the Scottish king, at the request of the French king, with a great army brast into the north parts of England; and first besieging the town of Liddell,

Edward  
III.

A. D.  
1346.

(1) See Appendix.

(2) Ibid



*Edward  
III.*

A. D.  
1347.

The Scots  
over-  
thrown[at  
Neville's  
Cross.]

The Scot-  
tish king  
taken  
prisoner.

within six days obtained the greatest part of the town; and there taking all that he could find, with Sir Walter Salby, a valiant knight, who was the keeper of the hold, he caused him uncourteously to be put to the sword; and so from thence he proceeded further into England, till at length being met withal by William Surch, archbishop of York, and the lord Percy, and the lord Nevil, with other nobles of those parts (calling and gathering their men together) in the plain near to Durham, the seventeenth day of October in the year above mentioned, through the gracious hand of Christ, there they were subdued and conquered. In that conflict, the earls of Murray and Strathern, with the flower of all the chivalry, and the principal warriors of Scotland, were slain. Also the aforesaid king David, with the earls of Mentife and Fife, and other lords, and William Douglas Masklime a Fleming, and William Douglas, and many more men at arms were taken prisoners; and so the mischief which they intended to others, fell upon their own heads.

Moreover, during the said siege of Calais, the aforesaid pope Clement VI., writing to the king of England, went about under the pretence of peace to stop his proceedings; whose letters here follow.

*See  
Appendix.*

### Letter of the Pope to the King of England, in the behalf of the Frenchmen.

The pope  
recom-  
mends  
peace  
between  
England  
and  
France.

Clement the bishop, servant of God's servants, to his well-beloved son in Christ, Edward the puissant king of England, salutation and apostolical blessing. If you diligently consider, dear son! as ought a catholic prince to do, the slaughter of such an innumerable sort, bought with the precious blood of Christ our Redeemer; the loss of their substance and souls, and the lamentable perils which the dissensions and wars stirred up between you and our well-beloved son Philip, the noble king of France, have brought upon us, and yet daily do without intermission; and also the bewailing of so many poor people, crying out of orphans and pupils, lamentation of widows, and other miserable people who be robbed and spoiled, and almost famished; what exclamation they make with tears running down their cheeks, yelling and crying unto God for help; as also the destruction of churches, monasteries, and holy places, holy vessels, and other ornaments unto God's service dedicated; the sacrilegious robberies, sackings, and imprisonings, the spoiling of holy churches, and religious persons, with many other such innumerable, detestable, execrable mischiefs, offending the eyes of the Divine Majesty; all which, if your princely heart would consider and well remember, with this also, that catholic faith (especially in the east parts) and the Christians there abiding, by means of the same dissensions and wars, destitute of the helps of such catholic men as are in the west parts, are so afflicted of the infidels; seeing the other parts of Christendom so troubled with cruel persecutions, yea, and more cruel than ever it hath been (although in these times to amplify this our faith in the said east parts is cruel persecution showed, more than hath been of many years past), doubtless we believe it would pity your heart. And to the end that such and so great evils should no further proceed; nor yet that so great good as might be done by dilating of our aforesaid faith, in these times, should be let and hindered, we desire you that you would apply your mind to make some agreement and peace with the aforesaid king. For if, my well-beloved son! God hath given unto you prosperous success and fortune, ye ought rather to humble than to extol yourself; and be so much the more ready to incline to his peace, and to endeavour yourself to please God, who loveth peace, and delighteth in peaceable men; and to eschew the aforesaid evils, which without doubt do grievously offend him. Furthermore, we marvel greatly, that unto our reverend brother Anibald, bishop of Frascati, and our beloved son Stephen, priest-cardinal of the apostolical see, by the title of St. John and St. Paul, being sent as legates by us and the

same see apostolic, to entreat a peace, who diligently and faithfully labouring for the same, as lovers of verity, justice and equity, and therewithal regards of your honour, could not be suffered, touching the entreaty of the same peace, to come unto your grace's presence.

Wherefore we desire your kingly highness more earnestly, and, for the mercy of God, with more vehemency we require the same, that you, taking up the aforesaid horrible evils, and preventing the sweetness of piety and compassion, may escape the vengeance of God's indignation, which were to be feared, if you should persevere in your former evils; as God forbid! And as touching the entreaty for peace, for which our aforesaid cardinals were sent unto you (howbeit secretly, lest it should be any derogation to your honour), we desire you to condescend thereunto, and that with all your affection you will incline your mind to the same, so pleasant unto God, so desired of the world; as also to you, the aforesaid king, and unto the catholic faith, profitable. And that the same peace by God's help and grace established and made perfect, you might essay your puissant strength about God's business in the aforesaid east parts (such good occasion serving, as before is said, in these our times), being such apt advancements of your honour, and happy increasing of your princely name; for we have heard it of you reported, that you behave yourself fervently in all your attempts. Thus we doubt not but that you will write unto us again touching the premises, and the purpose of your intention touching the same. Given at Avignon, the fifteenth day of January, and the fifth year of our papacy. [A.D. 1347.]

*Edward  
III.*

A.D.  
1347.

### Answer of the King of England, to the aforesaid Letter of the Pope.

*See  
Appendix*

Most holy father! we understand by the letters of the reverend fathers in God, the bishop of Frascati, and Stephen of the title of St. John, priest, cardinals, and legates of the court of Rome, as also by the letters of your holiness sent unto us, that ye marvel greatly for that your said legates were of purpose sent unto us, and commanded to treat of a peace between our adversary of France and us, that we would not suffer them secretly to talk with us, for the safeguard of our honour, the intention of your heart being to make the aforesaid peace; complaining and bemoaning therein the death of christian men, the loss of their goods, the peril of their souls, the lamentable wailings of the poor, of orphans, of widows, and the destruction of other pitiful persons, the pillage and robberies of churches, and other mischiefs innumerable; and especially, the diminishing of christian faith in the east parts, which, by the war between our adversary of France and us, is sore decayed, as the said letters plainly do import. And that forasmuch as God hath given us triumphant fortune, so much the more we ought to abase and humble our heart, and to be the readier to make and incline to a peace. As touching these things, holy father! we give your holiness to understand, that as well unto your aforesaid legates, as other messengers sent from you unto us, we have offered unto every one of them reasonable ways of peace, and every day declare the same, and that not secretly, but openly. For we doubt not to let our purpose be understood; for he that is the high Judge both of him and us, in whose disposition all things lie, hath given unto us the crown of France to our right and proper heritage; the which right our aforesaid adversary hath, by force, of long time detained from us, we seeking to obtain the same in peaceable wise; and yet do, if we might obtain the same in any good manner, rather for the benefit of christian men, and that the aforesaid evils might cease, which by his wrongful means only have increased and grown. Yet notwithstanding, as before this time you know, we assented to a truce, with certain articles contained in the same writing; all this he hath infringed; neither doth the wrong suffice him which he offereth us in our aforesaid heritage, but he endeavoureth himself, during the said truce, to invade our realm of England, and our other lands; and furthermore, maintaineth the Scots, and aideth them to the utter destruction of us, our people and lands aforesaid; wherein we were enforced, for the safeguard of our people and lands, by such lawful means as we may, to defend ourselves, and put him from his wicked purpose. And furthermore for the same, our quarrel being in the hands of God, have we come against him to conquer our inheritance of France; over whom God hath given us divers victories, as we have

King  
Edward  
exul-  
pates  
himself

*Edward  
III.*

*A. D.  
1346.*

The king  
appealeth  
from the  
pope to  
God.

trusted he would, by his right wise judgment and power: which thing he hath showed upon us (all chance of fortune set apart), in respect of our rightful title therein, and without our deserts; wherefore, with all humility of heart we give him thanks always therefore, most devoutly night and day praising his holy name; for we acknowledge the same cometh not by our strength and force. Wherefore, most holy father! we desire your holiness, and, so much as in us lieth, require the same, that you that supply the place of the Son of God on earth, and have the government of the souls of all christian men, and ought to be upright and equal towards all men, without exception of persons, that ye, I say, will receive good information and true, of the objections above said, and will put to your holy helping hand, as much as in you is, that our said adversary of France may acknowledge his wrong which he hath done to us herein, and that it may be by your aid redressed; and that he, in this his wrong, have no maintenance and aid at your hand. For if it be so, we then appeal unto the Judge of judges, who suffereth wrongs to be done for a time, for the sinful default of man, but in the end redresseth the same, leaving no good deed unrewarded, nor evil unpunished; most humbly requiring him to be to us a true and upright judge of all our controversies, for his mercies' sake, as in the mean time we repose our full trust and confidence in him. The Holy Spirit of God, &c.

Moreover, during the siege of Calais, the French king had sent certain offers to the men of Flanders, that if they would relinquish the king of England, and adhere to him:

Offers  
made to  
the men  
of Flan-  
ders to  
forsake  
king Ed-  
ward.

I. He would remit all their former transgressions.

II. He would unburden them of their interdict.

III. He would send unto them such plenty of corn, that what was sold for twelve shillings with them, should be sold for four shillings, and that for six years.

IV. He would store them with plenty of French wool to make cloth for a small price; and that they might sell the said cloths at their own price, both in Flanders and in France, and that the Frenchmen should use the same cloth, forasmuch as all other manner of cloth should be forbidden to be sold in France, so long as any of that (made of French wool) might be found for sale.

V. He would restore to them these three cities, Lisle, Douay, and Bethune.

VI. He would defend them from all their adversaries; and in pledge of the same would send them money beforehand.

VII. Such as were able and forward men among them, he would retain and promote them, &c.

But these offers, seeming to proceed more of fair words to serve the present turn, than of any hearty truth, were not received. Then the lord John, prince and heir to the French king, during the aforesaid siege of Calais above mentioned, coming with a mighty army of Frenchmen, set upon the men of Flanders and Englishmen in the town of Cassel; in which conflict, enduring from morning to noon, the Frenchmen were vanquished, and the young dauphin driven back from whence he came. Of their number divers were slain and taken prisoners; where, on the other side, through the Lord's defence, not one is reported to have been grievously wounded.

The dau-  
phin with  
the  
French  
discomfit-  
ed at Cas-  
sel June  
8th.

A. D. 1347.

*See  
Appendix.*

As this passed on, not long after, about the twenty-seventh day of July, A. D. 1347, king Edward still continuing his siege against Calais, Philip the French king came down with a mighty army, purposing to remove the siege; where, not far off from the English host, he encamped himself. Which done, two cardinals, Anibald and Stephen, procured for the same purpose, going between the two kings, gave to the king of England thus to understand; that if he would condescend to any reasonable way of peace, the French king was ready to offer such

honest proffers unto him, as to reason and to his contentation should seem agreeable : but, in conclusion, when it came to talk, the nobles could not agree upon the conditions ; wherefore the French king, seeing no other remedy, caused it to be signified to king Edward, that between that present Tuesday and the next Friday, if he would come forth into the field, he should have battle given him. Thus the place being viewed by four captains of either host for the battle to be fought ; it so fell out, that the French king, on Wednesday at night, before the battle should join, secretly by night setting his pavilions on fire, returned back with his army out of the sight of the Englishmen.

Edward  
III.A.D.  
1350.The  
French  
king flieth  
before the  
battle.

Upon the Friday following, those who were besieged in the town of Calais, seeing the king to be retired, upon whose help they trusted (being also in great penury and famine for lack of victuals, and otherwise, in much misery, vehemently distressed), surrendered the town to the king's hands ; who, like a merciful prince, only detaining certain of the chief, the rest with the whole commons he let go with bag and baggage, diminishing no part of their goods, showing therein more princely favour to them, than they did of late in queen Mary's days unto our men, in recovering the said town of Calais again.

The  
town of  
Calais  
won  
[Aug. 3d.]

After the winning thus of Calais, as hath been premised, king Edward, remaining in the said town a certain space, was in consultation concerning his voyage and proceeding further into France. But by means of the aforesaid cardinals, truce for a certain time was taken, and instruments made (so provided) that certain noblemen as well for the French king, as for the king of England, should come to the pope, there to debate upon the articles ; unto which king Edward, for peace' sake, was not greatly disagreeing : which was A.D. 1347.<sup>1</sup>

Truce  
between  
England  
and  
France.

The next year following, which was A.D. 1348, fell a sore plague, which they call the first general pestilence in the realm of England. This plague, as they say, first springing from the east, and so spreading westward, did so mightily prevail here in this land, beginning first at Dorchester and the countries thereabout, that every day lightly twenty, some days forty, some sixty and more, dead corpses were brought and laid together in one pit. This beginning the first day of August, by the first of November it came to London ; where the vehement rage thereof was so hot, and did increase so much, that the next year after, A.D. 1349, from the first day of February till about the beginning of May, in a churchyard then newly made by Smithfield, above two hundred dead corpses every day were buried, besides those which in other churchyards of the city were laid also. At length, by the grace of Christ ceasing there, it proceeded from thence to the north parts ; where also about Michaelmas following it suaged.

A.D.1348.  
Vehement  
pes-  
tilence in  
England.See  
Appendix.  
Burial-  
place,  
now called  
the  
Charter-  
house  
church-  
yard.

After this, in the next year ensuing (A.D. 1350) the town of Calais was by treason of the keeper of the castle almost betrayed and won from the Englishmen. Within the compass of which year died Philip the French king ; after whom king John his son succeeded in the crown, who, the next year after, under false pretence of friendship caused the constable of France, the earl of Eu, to be beheaded ; who, being taken prisoner before in war by Englishmen, and long

A.D.1350.  
Calais al-  
most lost  
by trea-  
son.  
Death of  
the  
French  
king.  
A.D.1351.

*Edward III.* detained in prison in England, was licensed by king Edward to visit his country of France. In the same year the town of Guines was taken by Englishmen, while the keepers of the hold were negligent and asleep.

*First duke of Lancaster.*  
*Mar. 6th.* In the year after, was Henry first made duke of Lancaster, who before was earl of Derby and Lancaster; also divers good ordinances were appointed in the parliament at Westminster, which after by avarice and partial favour of the head men were again undone.

*A.D. 1352.*  
*Victory of Sir Roger Bentele, [at Mauron, Aug. 14.]* The year next following, the marshal of France with a great army was put to flight by Sir Roger Bentele, knight, and captain in Bretagne, having but only six hundred soldiers with him. In this battle were taken nine knights, esquires and gentlemen one hundred and forty. The Frenchmen and Bretons by this victory were exceedingly discouraged and their pride cut down.

*A.D. 1354.* Concord and agreement about A.D. 1354, began to come well forward, and instruments were drawn upon the same between the two kings; but the matter being brought up to pope Innocent VI., partly by the quarrelling of the Frenchmen, partly by the winking of the pope, who ever held with the French side, the conditions were repealed, which were these: That to the king of England, all the dukedom of Aquitaine, with other lands there, should be restored, without homage to the French king; and that king Edward again should surrender to him all his right and title, which he had in France. Upon this rose the occasion of the great war and tumult which followed after between the two realms.

*A.D. 1355.*  
*[October.]* It followed after this (A.D. 1355),<sup>1</sup> that king Edward hearing of the death of Philip the French king, and that king John his son had granted the dukedom of Aquitaine to Charles his eldest son and dauphin of Vienne, sent over prince Edward with the earls of Warwick, Salisbury, and Oxford, and with them a sufficient number of able soldiers into Aquitaine, where he, being willingly received of divers, the rest partly by force of sword he subdued, partly received, submitting themselves to his protection.

*Third viage of king Edward into France.*  
*[November.]*  
*The French king refuseth to join in battle with king Edward.* Not long after this, in the same year, word being brought to king Edward, that John the French king was ready to meet him at St. Omer, there to give him battle, he gathered his power, and set over to Calais with his two sons, Lionel earl of Wilton, and John of Gaunt earl of Richmond, and with Henry duke of Lancaster, &c., who being come to St. Omer, the French king, with a mighty army of his Francklings, hearing of his coming, the nearer he approached to them, the further they retired back; wasting and destroying behind them, to the intent that the English army in pursuing them, should find no victuals. By reason whereof, King Edward, following him by the space of nine or ten days unto Hesdin, when neither he could find his enemy to fight, nor victuals nor forage for his army, returned to Calais; where war again being offered in the name of the king, upon unstable conditions, and yet the same not performed, king Edward seeing the shrinking of his enemy, from Calais crossed the seas into England, where he recovered again the town of Berwick, which the Scots before, by subtle train, had gotten. At that time

(1) *Cæsar. Adam Merimouth canonici D. Pauli de gestis Edw. 3.*



was granted unto the king in parliament, fifty shillings for every sack or pack of wool that should be carried over, for the space of six years together; by the which grant, the king might dispend every day by estimation above one hundred marks sterling. And forasmuch as every year one hundred thousand sacks of wool were thought to be exported out of the realm, the sum thereof for six years' space was estimated to amount to £1,500,000 sterling.

The same year, when king Edward had recovered Berwick and subdued Scotland, prince Edward being in Gascony, made towards the French king; who, notwithstanding all the bridges in the way were cast down, and great resistance made, yet the victorious prince making way with his sword, after much slaughter of the Frenchmen, and many prisoners taken, at length joining with the French king at Poitiers, with scarcely two thousand, gave the overthrow to the French king with seven thousand men at arms and more. In that conflict, the French king himself, and Philip his son, with Lord James of Bourbon, the archbishop of Sens, eleven earls, and twenty-two lords were taken; of other warriors and men at arms two thousand. Some affirm that in this conflict were slain two dukes; of lords and noblemen twenty-four; of men at arms two thousand and two; of other soldiers about eight thousand. The common report is, that more Frenchmen were there taken prisoners, than was the number of those who took them. This noble victory, gotten by the grace of God, brought no little admiration to all men.

It were too long, and little pertaining to the purpose of this history, to comprehend in order all the doings of this king, with the circumstances of his victories, of the bringing in of the French king into England, of his abode there, of the ransom levied on him, and on David the Scottish king; of whom, the one was rated at three millions of scutes, the other at a hundred thousand marks, to be paid in ten years: how the staple was after translated to Calais, with such like. I refer them that would see more, to the chronicles of Thomas Walsingham, of St. Alban's, of John Froysard, and of Adam Merimouth, who discourse all this at large.

Thus having discoursed at large all such martial affairs and warlike exploits, incident in the reign of this king betwixt him and the realms of France and Scotland; now, to return again to our matters ecclesiastical, it followeth, in order, to recapitulate and notify the troubles and contentions growing between the same king and the pope, and other ecclesiastical persons, in matters touching the church, taken out of the records remaining in the Tower, in order of years, as followeth. As where first, in the fourth year of his reign, the king wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury to this effect: that whereas Edward I., his grandfather, did give to a clerk of his own, being his chaplain, the dignity of treasurer of York, the archbishopric of York being then vacant and in the king's hands; in the quiet possession whereof the said clerk continued, until the pope misliking therewith would have displaced him, and promoted to the same dignity a cardinal of Rome, to the manifest prejudice of the crown of England; the king therefore straitly chargeth the archbishop of Canterbury not to suffer any matter to pass, that may be prejudice to the

*Edward  
III.*

*A.D.  
1356.*

*Fifty shil-  
lings for  
every  
sack of  
wool car-  
ried out of  
England.*

*[Sep.  
19th.]*

*The  
French  
king  
taken  
prisoner  
by prince  
Edward.*

*See  
Appendix.*

*Every  
sente va-  
luing six  
shillings  
and eight  
pence.*

*Ecclesi-  
astical  
affairs.*

*A.D.  
1330  
to  
1364.*

*Edward  
III.*

A.D.  
1330  
to  
1364.

The  
pope's  
usurpa-  
tions  
made the  
subject of  
frequent  
remon-  
strance.

donation of his grandfather, but that his own clerk should enjoy the said dignity accordingly, upon pain of his highness' displeasure.<sup>1</sup>

The like precepts were also directed to these bishops following, namely, to the bishop of Lincoln, the bishop of Worcester, the bishop of Sarum, Monsieur Marmion, the archdeacon of Richmond, the archdeacon of Lincoln, the prior of Lewes, the prior of Lenton, to Master Rich of Bentworth, to Master Iherico de Concoreto, to the pope's nuncio, to Master Guido of Calma. And withal, he wrote his letters unto the pope, as touching the same matter, consisting in three parts: first, in the declaration and defence of his right and title to the donation and gift of all manner of temporalities, of offices, prebends, benefices and dignities ecclesiastical, holden of him 'in capite,' as in the right of his crown of England: secondly, in expostulating with the pope for intruding himself into the ancient right of the crown of England, intermeddling with such collations, contrary to right and reason, and the example of all his predecessors who were popes before: thirdly, entreating him that he would henceforth abstain and desist from molesting the realm with such novelties and strange usurpations; and so much the more, for that, in the public parliament lately holden at Westminster, it was generally agreed upon, by the universal assent of all the estates of the realm, that the king should stand to the defence of all such rights and jurisdictions as to his regal dignity and crown any way appertained.<sup>2</sup>

A.D.1336. After this, in the ninth year of the reign of this king, pope Benedict XII. sendeth down letters touching his new creation, with certain other matters and requests to the king; whereunto the king answering again, declareth how glad he is of that his preferment; adding, moreover, that his purpose was to have sent unto him certain ambassadors for congratulation of the same; but that, being otherwise occupied by reason of wars, he could not attend his holiness' requests: notwithstanding, he minded to call a parliament about the feast of Ascension next, where, upon the assembly of his clergy and other estates, he would take order for the same, and so direct his ambassadors to his holiness accordingly.

A.D.1337. The next year after, which was the tenth year of his reign, the king writeth another letter to the pope: that forasmuch as his clergy had granted him one year's tenth for the supportation of his wars, and for that the pope also had the same time to take up the payment of six years' tenths granted him by the clergy a little before, therefore the pope would vouchsafe, at his request, to forbear the exaction of that money for one year, till his tenth for the necessities of his wars were despatched.

The same year he wrote also to the pope to this effect: that whereas the prior and chapter of Norwich did nominate a clerk to be bishop of Norwich, and sent him to Rome for his investiture, without the king's knowledge; therefore the pope would withdraw his consent, and not intermeddle in the matter appertaining to the king's peculiar jurisdiction and prerogative.

The pope  
sends le-  
gates to  
deter-  
mine the  
patronage  
of benef-  
ices.

After this, in the sixteenth year of this king, it happened that the pope sent over certain legates to hear and determine matters appertaining to the right of patronages of benefices; which the king perceiving to tend to the no small derogation of his right and of the

liberties of his subjects, writeth unto the said legates, admonishing and requiring them not to proceed therein, nor attempt any thing unadvisedly, otherwise than might stand with the lawful ordinances and customs of the laws of his realm, and the freedom and liberties of his subjects.

Moreover he writeth the same year to other legates on their being sent over by the pope to treat of peace between the king and the French king, with request that they would first make their repair to the French king, who had so often broken with him, and prove what conformity the French king would offer, which, if he found reasonable, they should soon accord with him; otherwise he exhorted them not to enter into the land, nor to proceed any further in that behalf.

The year following, which was the seventeenth of his reign, ensueth another letter to the pope, against his provisions and reservations of benefices, worthy here to be placed and specified, but that the sum thereof is before set down, to be found in page 689.

The year following, another letter likewise was sent by the king to the pope, upon occasion taken of the church of Norwich, requiring him to surcease his reservations and provisions of the bishoprics within the realm, and to leave the elections thereof free to the chapters of such cathedral churches, according to the ancient grants and ordinances of his noble progenitors.

Proceeding now to the nineteenth year of this king's reign, there came to the presence of the king certain legates from Rome, complaining of certain statutes passed in his parliament, tending to the prejudice of the church of Rome, and the pope's primacy: viz. That if abbots, priors, or any other ecclesiastical patrons of benefices, should not present to the said benefices within a certain time, the lapse of the same should come to the ordinary or chapter thereof; or if they did not present, then to the archbishop; if the archbishop likewise did fail to present, then the gift to pertain not unto the lord pope, but unto the king and his heirs. Another complaint also was this. That if archbishops should be slack in giving such benefices as properly pertained to their own patronage in due time, then the collation thereof likewise should appertain to the aforesaid king and his heirs. Another complaint was: That if the pope should make void any elections in the church of England, for any defect found therein, and so had placed some honest and discreet persons in the same, that then the king and his heirs were not bound to render the temporalities unto the parties placed by the pope's provision. Whereupon the pope being not a little aggrieved, the king writeth unto him, certifying that he was misinformed, denying that there was any such statute made in that parliament. And further, as touching all other things, he would confer with his prelates and nobles, and thereof would return answer by his legates.

In the twentieth year of his reign, another letter was written to the pope by the king, the effect whereof, in few words to express it, was this: to certify him that, in respect of his great charges sustained in his wars, he hath by the counsel of his nobles, taken into his own hands the fruits and profits of all his benefices here in England.

To proceed in the order of years: in the twenty-sixth year of this king, one Nicholas Heath, clerk, a busy-headed body, and a troubler

*Edward  
III.*

A.D.

1330

to

1364.

A.D. 1344.

He complains of certain statutes passed in this reign.

A.D. 1347.

A.D. 1353.

*Edward  
III.*

A.D.  
1330  
to  
1364.

Nicholas  
Heath, a  
troubler  
of the  
realm.

of the realm, had procured divers bishops, and others of the king's council, to be cited up to the court of Rome, there to answer such complaints as he had made against them. Whereupon commandment was given by the king to all the ports of the realm, for the restraint of all passengers out, and for searching and arresting all persons bringing in any bulls or other process from Rome, tending to the derogation of the dignity of the crown, or molestation of the subjects; concerning which Nicholas Heath, the king also writeth to the pope his letters, complaining of the said Heath, and desiring him to give no ear to his lewd complaints.

The same year the king writeth also to the pope's legate resident in England, requiring him to surcease from exacting divers sums of money of the clergy, under the name of first fruits of benefices.

A.D.1358.  
Nicholas  
Stanway  
cites ma-  
ny honest  
men to  
Rome.

The thirty-first year of this king's reign, the king, by his letters, complaineth to the pope of a troublesome fellow named Nicholas Stanway, remaining in Rome, who, by his slanderous complaints, procured divers citations to be sent into the realm, to the great disturbance of many and sundry honest men; whereupon he prayeth and adviseth the pope to stay himself, and not to send over such hasty citations upon every light occasion.

To pass further, to the thirty-eighth year of the same king, thus we find in the rolls: that the king the same year took order by two of his clergy, to wit, John à Stock, and John of Norton, to take into their hands all the temporalities of all deaneries, prebends, dignities, and benefices, being then vacant in England, and to answer the profits of the same to the king's use.

The same year an ordinance was made by the king and his council, and the same was proclaimed in all port-towns within the realm, as follows:—

Order of  
council.

That good and diligent search should be made, that no person whatsoever, coming from the court of Rome, &c., do bring into the realm with him any bull, instrument, letters-patent, or other process, that may be prejudicial to the king, or any of his subjects; nor that any person, passing out of this realm towards the court of Rome, do carry with him any instrument or process that may redound to the prejudice of the king or his subjects; and that all persons passing to the said court of Rome, &c., with the king's special license, do notwithstanding promise and find surety to the lord chancellor, that they shall not in any wise attempt or pursue any matter to the prejudice of the king or his subjects, under pain to be put out of the king's protection, and to forfeit his body, goods, and chattels, according to the statute thereof made, in the twenty-seventh year, &c.

The pope  
charac-  
terised.

And thus much concerning the letters and writings of the king, with such other domestic matters, perturbations, and troubles, passing between him and the pope, taken out of the public records of the realm; whereby I thought to give the reader to understand the horrible abuses, the intolerable pride, and the insatiable avarice of that bishop, more like a proud Lucifer than a pastor of the church of Christ, in abusing the king, and oppressing his subjects with exactions unmeasurable; and not only exercising his tyranny, in this realm, but raging also against other princes, both far and near, amongst whom neither spared he the emperor himself. In the story and acts of that emperor Louis, mentioned a little before (p. 663), whom the pope did most arrogantly excommunicate upon Maundy-Thursdaiy, and the

self-same <sup>1</sup> day placed another emperor in his room, relation was made of certain learned men who took the emperor's part against the pope. In the number of them was Marsilius of Padua, William Ockam, John de Janduno of Ghent, Lupold of Bamberg, Andrew of Lodi, Ulric Hangenor, treasurer to the emperor, Dante Aligerio, &c.; <sup>2</sup> of whom Marsilius of Padua compiled and exhibited unto the emperor Louis a worthy work, intituled 'Defensor Pacis,' written in the emperor's behalf against the pope. Wherein (both godly and learnedly disputing against the pope) he proveth the bishop and the priest to be originally and essentially equal, and that the pope hath no superiority above other bishops, much less above the emperor; that the word of God ought to be only the chief judge in deciding and determining causes ecclesiastical; <sup>3</sup> that not only spiritual persons, but laymen also, being godly and learned, ought to be admitted into general councils; that the clergy and the pope ought to be subject unto magistrates; that the church is the university of the faithful, and that the foundation and head of the church is Christ, and that he never appointed any vicar or pope over his universal church; that bishops ought to be chosen every one by their own church and clergy; that the marriage of priests may lawfully be permitted; that St. Peter was never at Rome; that the synagogue of the pope is a den of thieves; that the doctrine of the pope is not to be followed, because it leadeth to eternal destruction; and that the corrupt manners of Christians do spring and flow out of the wickedness of the spirituality, &c. He disputeth, moreover, in another work, of free justification by grace; and extenuateth merits, saying, that they are a cause of our salvation 'sine qua non,' that is to say, that works be no cause efficient of our justification, but yet our justification goeth not without them. For the which his doctrine most sound and catholic, he was condemned (A.D. 1327) by the pope's decree 'Extravagant'; <sup>4</sup> concerning the which man and his doctrine, I thought good thus much to commit to history, to the intent men may see that they who charge this doctrine now taught in the church with the note of novelty or newness, how ignorant and unskilful they be in the history and order of times forepast. <sup>5</sup>

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1330  
to  
1360.Articles  
of Mar-  
silius  
against  
the pope.Merits,  
not a  
cause of  
salvation,  
but only a  
'sine qua  
non.'  
Marsilius  
condemned  
of the  
pope,  
[Oct. 23d,  
A. D.  
1327.]

In the same part of condemnation, at the same time, was also Johannes de Janduno of Ghent, A.D. 1330, and contained also in the afore-said 'Extravagant' with Marsilius of Padua. Which Johannes wrote much upon Aristotle and Averroes, which is yet remaining and valued; and no doubt but he wrote also works of divinity, and that they were excellent, but it is not unlike that these works have been abolished. <sup>6</sup>

In the same number and catalogue cometh also William Ockam, who flourished A.D. 1326, as is before mentioned, and who wrote, likewise, in defence of Louis the emperor against the pope; and also in defence of Michael Cesenas, general of the Grey-friars, whom the pope had excommunicated and cursed for a heretic. Divers treatises were by the said Ockam set forth, as his Questions, and the Dialogue

Michael  
Cesenas  
general of  
the Grey-  
friars, ex-  
communi-  
cated for a  
heretic.

(1) The next ten pages are from Illyricus, and have been collated and revised. The reader will find a list of these Witnesses in Foxe's Prefaces to his "Acts and Monuments," *suprà*, vol. i.—Ed.

(2) See Illyricus, "Cat. Test." (Ed. 1603) cols. 1707, 1794.—Ed.

(3) See the "Defensor Pacis," Sec. Dict., cap. 19, Illyricus, col. 1758, and the Appendix.—Ed.

(4) Cap. "licet juxtà doctrinam" [printed in Martene's Thes. tom. xi. col. 704, dated Avignon, 10 Cal. Nov. 12th year of the pontificate. The 'Defensor Pacis' is in Goldasti de Mon. tom. ii.]—Ed.

(5) The above account of Marsilius is from Illyricus, col. 1758.—Ed.

(6) Illyricus, col. 1759.—Ed.

(7) See a list of his works in Cave's Hist. Litt.—Ed.



Edward  
III.

A.D.

1330

to

1360.

Dialogue  
between  
the sol-  
dier and  
the clerk,  
of Ock-  
am's  
making.  
Eight  
questions  
disputed.

between a master and his scholar, whereof part is extant and in print, part is extinct and suppressed, as Ascentius reporteth,<sup>1</sup> being reckoned somewhat too sharp. Some again he published under no name of the author, being of his doing, as, the dialogue between the soldier and the clerk.<sup>2</sup> From a passage which occurs in the prologue to his "Dialogus" it is to be conjectured, that many learned works had already appeared against the pope.<sup>3</sup> Of this Ockam John Sleidan in his history inferreth mention to his great commendation, whose words be these: "William Ockam, in the time of Louis IV., emperor, did flourish about A.D. 1326, who, among other things, wrote of the authority of the bishop of Rome; in which book he handleth these eight questions very copiously:—First, whether the pontiff's office and the emperor's may both at the same time be administered by the same man; secondly, whether the emperor taketh his power and authority only from God, or else of the pope also; thirdly, whether the pope and church of Rome have power by Christ to set up and place kings and emperors, and to commit to them their jurisdiction to be exercised; fourthly, whether the emperor, being elected, hath full authority, upon the said his election, to administer his empire; fifthly, whether other kings besides the emperor and king of the Romans, in that they are consecrated of priests, receive of them any part of their power; sixthly, whether the said kings in any case be subject to their consecrators; seventhly, whether if the said kings should admit any new sacrifice, or should take to themselves the diadem without any further consecration, they should thereby lose their kingly right and title; eighthly, whether the seven prince-electors give as much right to the emperor elected, as legitimate succession giveth to other kings.—Upon these questions he disputeth and argueth with sundry arguments and reasons on both sides; at length he decideth the matter on the part of the civil magistrate, and by occasion thereof entereth into the mention of the 'Extravagants' of pope John XXII., declaring how little regard was had thereunto by sound men, as being heretical and utterly false."<sup>4</sup>

Gregorius  
Ariminensis.

Trithemius maketh mention of one Gregorius Ariminensis, a man famous both for his learning and piety; who, not much differing from the age of this Ockam, about A.D. 1350 thought the same on the doctrines of grace and free-will as we do now, and dissented therein from the sophists and papists, counting them only Pelagians under new names.<sup>5</sup>

Andreas  
de Castro  
and Jo-  
hannes  
Buridanus.

Of the like judgment, and in the same time, was also Andreas de Castro,<sup>6</sup> and Johannes Buridanus upon the ethics of Aristotle;<sup>7</sup> who both maintained the grace of the gospel, as it is now in the church received, above two hundred years since.<sup>8</sup>

Eudes,  
duke of  
Burgun-  
dy.

And what should I speak of the duke of Burgundy, named Eudo, who at the same time (A.D. 1350) persuaded the French king not to suffer the new found constitutions, called 'Extravagantes Communes,' within his realm; whose sage counsel then given yet remaineth among the French king's records, as witnesseth Carolus Molinaus.<sup>9</sup>

Dante, an  
Italian.

Dante, an Italian writer, a Florentine, lived in the time of Louis, the emperor, about A.D. 1300, and took his part with Marsilius of Padua.

(1) Jodocus Badius] Ascentius [Regius Professor of Divinity at Paris] in præfatione [ad Dialogum] ejus autoris. [Goldasti de Mon. tom. ii. pp. 392, 957.—Ed.] (2) Goldasti, tom. i. p. 13.—Ed.

(3) Goldasti, tom. ii. p. 398.—Ed.

(4) Illyricus, cols. 1759, 1760.—Ed.

(5) Illyricus, col. 1809.—Ed.

(6) Super lib. i. Sent. dist. 45.

(7) Super, lib. 3. Ethic.

(8) Illyricus, col. 1809.—Ed.

(9) Ib. col. 1665. Eudo, or Eudes, was duke of Burgundy A.D. 1315—1350.—Ed.

Certain of his writings be extant abroad, particularly his ‘De Monarchia;’ wherein he proveth the pope not to be above the emperor, nor to have any right or jurisdiction in the empire, and confuteth the Donation of Constantine as a forged and a feigned thing, and as what could not stand with any law nor right; for which he was taken by many for a heretic: three sorts of men, he also saith, were enemies to the truth respecting the imperial supremacy; first, the pope and some of the Greek bishops, being jealous of the right of the keys and the honour of mother church; secondly, the democrats, who hated the very term “most sacred majesty,” and yet counted themselves sons of the church, though they were the children of their father the devil; thirdly, the decretalists, who in their doting fondness for the decrees would settle every thing thereby, to the damage of the imperial state. He complaineth somewhere, moreover, very much of the preaching of God’s word being omitted; and that instead thereof, the vain fables of monks and friars were preached and believed by the people, and that so the flock of Christ was fed not with the food of the gospel, but with wind. “The pope,” saith he, “of a pastor is made a wolf, to waste the church of Christ, and with his clergy careth not for the word of God, but only for his own decrees.” In canto the thirty-second of his “Purgatory” he declareth the pope to be the whore of Babylon; and as to her ministers, *i. e.* the bishops, to some he applieth two horns, and to some four, to the patriarchs one; whom he noteth to be the tower of the said whore Babylonical.<sup>1</sup>

Edward  
III.

A. D.  
1330  
to  
1360.

Donation  
of Con-  
stantine,  
a thing  
forged.

The pope  
the whore  
of Baby-  
lon.

Hereunto may be added the saying out of the book of Jornandus,<sup>2</sup> imprinted with the aforesaid Dante; that forso much as Antichrist cometh not before the destruction of the empire, therefore such as go about to have the empire extinct, are in so doing forerunners and messengers of Antichrist. “Therefore let the Romans,” saith he, “and their bishops beware, lest, their sins and wickedness so deserving, by the just judgment of God the priesthood be taken from them. Furthermore, let also the prelates and princes of Germany take heed,” &c.<sup>3</sup>

Also Anti-  
christ.

An admo-  
nition to  
the Ro-  
mans.

And because our adversaries, who object unto us the newness of our doctrine, shall see the cause and form of this religion now received not to have been either such a new thing now, or a thing so strange in times past, I will add to these above recited Master John Tauler, a preacher at Strasburg, in Germany, A. D. 1350; who, contrary to the pope’s proceedings, taught openly against human merits, and against the invocation of saints, and preached sincerely of our free justification by grace, referring all man’s trust only to the mercy of God, and was an enemy to all superstition.<sup>4</sup>

Tauler  
of Ger-  
many.

With whom also may be adjoined Francis Petrarch, a writer of the same age, who in his works and his Italian metre, speaking of the court of Rome, calleth it Babylon, and the whore of Babylon sitting on the waters, the mother of idolatry and fornication, the spouse of error, the temple of heresy, the nest of treachery, growing rich and powerful by the oppressing of others; and saith further, that she (meaning the pope’s court) extolleth herself against her founders, that is, the emperors who first set her up, and did so enrich her; and

Francis  
Petrarcha.

Rome the  
mother  
and school  
of error.

(1) Ex libris Dantis Italice. [Illyricus, cols. 1763, 1764, 1767.]

(2) “De translatione imperii.” Goldasti de Mon. tom. ii., p. 1462.—ED.

(3) Illyricus, ibidem.—ED.

(4) Ibidem.

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1330  
to  
1360.Johannes  
de Rupe  
Scissa  
cast into  
prison.The  
church of  
Rome the  
whore of  
Babylon.

seemeth plainly to have thought that the pope was Antichrist; and he often declared that no greater evil could happen to any man, than to be made pope. This Petrarch was about A.D. 1350.<sup>1</sup>

And if time would serve us to seek out old histories, we should find plenty of faithful witnesses, of old and ancient time, to give witness with us against the pope, besides the others above rehearsed: as Johannes de Rupe-Scissa, A.D. 1340; who, for rebuking the spirituality for their great enormities and for neglecting their office and duty, was cast into prison. Illyricus, a writer in our days, testifieth that he found and read in an old pamphlet, that the said Johannes asserted the church of Rome to be the whore of Babylon, and the pope to be the minister of Antichrist, and the cardinals to be false prophets. Being in prison, he wrote a book of prophecies, bearing the title, 'Vade mecum in tribulatione:' in which book (which also I have seen) he prophesied affliction and tribulation to hang over the spirituality, and plainly foreshowed, that God would purge the clergy, and have priests that would be poor and godly, and that should faithfully feed the Lord's flock; moreover, that the goods of the church should return again to the laymen. He had prophesied also (as he himself saith in the same book), that the French king and his army should have an overthrow; which likewise had come to pass during the time of his imprisonment. Of this Johannes de Rupe writeth Froysart about his time, and also Wickliff; of whose prophecies much more may be said at more leisure, Christ willing, hereafter.<sup>2</sup>

The mass  
no sacrifice.Conrad  
Hager  
cast into  
prison.

About the same year (A.D. 1340) in the city of Wurtzburg lived one named Master Conrad Hager; who, as appeareth by some old bulls and registers of Otho, bishop of the said city, confessed to have thought and taught, for the space of twenty-four years together, the mass to be no manner of sacrifice, neither that it profiteth any man either quick or dead, and that it ought to be abolished; and that the money left by the dying for masses was very robbery and sacrilege of priests, which they wickedly did intercept and take away from the poor; and he said, moreover, that if he had a stove full of gold and silver, he would not give one farthing for any mass. For this doctrine this good preacher was condemned and shut up in prison; what afterwards became of him we do not find.<sup>3</sup>

The pope  
and his  
spiritual-  
ty confe-  
derate  
against  
the laity.

There is among other old and ancient records of antiquity belonging to this present time a certain monument in verses poetically compiled, but not without a certain moral, intituled, 'Pœnitentiarius Asini,' 'The Ass's Confessor,' bearing the date, 'Completus, A.D. 1343.' In this treatise are brought forth the wolf, the fox, and the ass, coming to shrift and doing penance. First, the wolf confesseth him to the fox, who easily doth absolve him from all his faults, and also excuseth him in the same. In like manner the wolf, hearing the fox's shrift, sheweth to him the like favour in return. After this cometh the ass to confession, whose fault was this; that he, being hungry, took a straw out from the sheaf of one that went in peregrination unto Rome. The ass, although repenting of this fact, yet,

(1) Vide epistolam vigesimam Francisci Petrarchæ. [Illyricus, col. 1769.—Ed.]

(2) Illyricus, col. 1785. See infra, p. 711, 747.—Ed.

(3) Ex bullis quibusdam Othonis Epis. Herbipolensis. [Illyricus, col. 1775.—Ed.]

because he thought it not so heinous as the faults of the other, the more he hoped for his absolution. But what followed? After the silly ass had uttered his crime in auricular confession, immediately the discipline of the law was executed upon him with all severity; neither was he judged worthy of any absolution, but was apprehended upon the same, slain, and devoured. Whosoever was the author of this fabulous tale, he had a mystical understanding in the same, for by the wolf no doubt was meant the pope; but the fox represented the prelates, courtesans,<sup>1</sup> priests, and the rest of the spirituality. Of the spirituality the lord pope is soon absoyled; as, contrary, the pope doth soon absoyle them in like manner. By the ass is meant the poor laity, upon whose back the strait censure of the law is sharply executed; especially when the German emperors come under the pope's inquisition, to be examined by his discipline, there is no absolution nor pardon to be found, but in all haste he must be deposed, as in these stories may partly appear before. And though the matter be not the weight of a straw, yet what saith the holy father, the wolf, if it please him to make any matter of it?—

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1330  
to  
1360.The pope  
maketh  
the empe-  
ror and  
laymen  
asses.

“Immensum scelus est injuria quam peregrino

Fecisti, stramen subripiendo sibi.

Non advertisti quod plura pericula passus,

Plurima passurus, quod peregrinus erat.

Non advertisti, quod ei per maxima terræ

Et pelagi spatia sit peragrandia via.

Non advertisti sanctos, nec limina sancta,

Sanctorum sanctam sed nec Hierusalem.

Es fur, ignoto cum feceris hoc peregrino,

Scis bene fur quali debet honore mori.

Cum sis confessus, cum sis convictus, habesne

Quo tales noxas occuluisse queas?

(Ille retransivit eadem loca, tam violentum

Ex inopinato sensit adesse malum.)<sup>2</sup>

De papa taceo, cujus protectio talem

Conduxit, cujus tu vilipendis opem.

Totius ecclesiæ fuerit cum nuncius iste,

Pertulit abstracto gramine damna viæ.” &c.

And thus they, aggravating and exaggerating the fault to the uttermost, fly upon the poor ass and devour him. By the which apology, the tyrannical and fraudulent practices of these spiritual Romanists are lively described.<sup>3</sup>

Not long after these above rehearsed (about A.D. 1350) Gerard Ridder wrote also against the monks and friars a book intituled, ‘Lacrymæ Ecclesiæ:’ wherein he disputeth against the aforesaid religious orders, namely, against the begging friars; proving that kind of life to be far from christian perfection, for that it is against charity to live upon others, when a man may live by his own labours; and he affirmeth them to be hypocrites, and filthy livers, and such as for man’s favour and for lucre’s sake do mix with true divinity apocryphal fables and dreams of vanity. Also that they, under pretence of long prayer, devour widows’ houses, and with their confessions, sermons, and burials, do trouble the church of Christ manifold ways. And therefore persuadeth he the prelates to bridle and keep short the inordinate license and abuses of these monastical persons, &c.<sup>4</sup>

(1) “Curtesani,” Expectants, “qui in curia papæ versantur.” Ducange. See p. 767, line 2.—Er.

(2) This couplet describes the ass’s walking backwards and forwards through agitation.—Ed.

(3) Illyricus, col. 1789.—Ed.

(4) Ib. col. 1785.—Ed.

Edward  
III.A.D.  
1330  
to  
1360.Michael  
Cesenas,  
and Pe-  
trus de  
Corbaria,  
condemn-  
ed by  
the pope.Opinion  
of Mi-  
chael  
against  
the pope.Michael  
deprived  
and con-  
demned.Martyrs  
Johannes  
de Casti-  
lione,  
Fran-  
ciscus de  
Arcatara,  
burned.Johannes  
de  
Poliaco.New Col-  
lege in  
Oxford  
founded.

I have as yet made no mention of Michael Cesenas, general of the Grey-friars, nor of Petrus de Corbaria, of whom writeth Antoninus 'in quarta parte Summæ.' They were condemned in the Extravagants of pope John XXII., with Bonagratia, Ockam, and others.<sup>1</sup> Their opinions, as saith Antoninus, were these: that Peter the apostle was no more the head of the church, than the other apostles; that Christ left no vicar behind him or head in his church; and that the pope hath no such authority to correct and punish, to institute or depose the emperor: Item, 'That all priests, of what degree soever, are of equal authority, power, and jurisdiction, by the institution of Christ; but that by the institution of the emperor, the pope is superior, which supremacy by the same emperor also may be revoked again: Item, That neither the pope, nor yet the whole church, may punish any man 'punitiōe coactiva,' that is, by extern coaction, unless they receive license of the emperor. This aforesaid Michael, general of the Grey-friars, wrote against the tyranny, pride, and primacy of the pope, accusing him to be Antichrist, and the church of Rome to be the whore of Babylon, drunk with the blood of saints. He said there were two churches; one of the wicked, flourishing, wherein reigned the pope; the other of the godly, afflicted: Item, that the verity was almost utterly extinct: and for this cause he was deprived of his dignity, and condemned of the pope. Notwithstanding, he stood constant in his opinions. This Michael was about A.D. 1322, and left behind him many fautors and followers of his doctrine, of whom a great part were slain by the pope; some were condemned, as William Ockam; some were burned, as Johannes de Castilione, and Franciscus de Arcatara.<sup>2</sup>

Besides these, was condemned in the Extravagant 'Vas electionis'<sup>3</sup> Johannes de Poliaco, whose assertions were these: 'That the pope could not give license to hear confessions to whom he would, but that every one ought to confess to the pastor of his parish: Item, that pastors and bishops had their authority immediately from Christ and his apostles and disciples, and not from the pope: Item, That the constitution of pope Benedict XI. "Inter cunctas,"<sup>4</sup> wherein he granteth larger privileges to the friars against the pastors, was no declaration of the law, but a subversion: and for this he was by the said friars and the pope oppressed, about A.D. 1322.

After Simon Mepham, archbishop of Canterbury before mentioned, who lived not long, succeeded John Stratford. After whom came John Offord, who lived but ten months; in whose room succeeded Thomas Bradwardin, and remained but two months, A.D. 1349; and after him Simon Islip was made archbishop of Canterbury by pope Clement VI., who sat sixteen years, and built Canterbury college in Oxford. After which Simon Islip succeeded the bishop of Ely, named Simon Langham, who within two years was made cardinal. In whose stead pope Urban V. ordained William Wittlesey, bishop of Worcester, to be archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1368. In the same year,<sup>5</sup> William Wickham was elected bishop of Winchester, who founded the New College in Oxford.

Again, in the order of the popes, next unto pope Clement VI. before mentioned, about the same time (A.D. 1352), succeeded pope

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Illyricus, col. 1793.—Ed.

(3) In Extravag. Joan. 22. [Extrav. Commun. lib. v. tit. 3. Illyricus, col. 1794.]

(4) Extrav. Commun. lib. v. tit. 7.—Ed. (5) Rather A.D. 1367; see Richardson's Gogwin.—Ed.



INNOCENT VI.; in the first year of which pope two friars Minors or Franciscans were burned at Avignon, “pro opinionibus,” as mine author saith, “erroneis, prout D. Papæ et ejus cardinalibus videbatur,” that is, “for certain opinions (as seemed to the pope and his cardinals) erroneous.”<sup>1</sup> Of the which two friars I find in the history of Petrus Premonstratensis (cited in John Bale’s “Acta Rom. Pontificum”) that the one was named Johannes Rochtaylada, or rather (as I find his name cited by Illyricus in his “Catalog. Testium,” out of the Chronicle of Henry of Herford) Hayabalus; who being (as that writer recordeth) a friar Minorite, began first in the time of pope Clement VI. (A.D. 1345) to preach and affirm openly, that he was by God commanded to preach, that the church of Rome was the whore of Babylon, and that the pope and his cardinals were very Antichrists; and that popes Benedict and John, his predecessors, were damned; with many other such like things, tending much against the pope’s tyrannical majesty; and that the aforesaid Hayabalus being brought before the pope’s face constantly did stand in the same, saying, that he was commanded by God in a vision so to say, and that he would still preach the same if he might. To whom it was then objected, that he had some heretical books, and so he was committed to prison for life. In the time of his accusation, and just as he was charging the pope with injustice, it happened that a certain priest, coming before the pope, cast the pope’s bull down before his feet, saying: “Lo here, take your bull unto you, for it doth me no good at all. I have been begging and praying here now these three years withal, and yet notwithstanding, for all this your bull, I cannot get my rights restored.” The pope hearing this, and stung at this confirmation of the friar’s charge, commanded the poor priest to be scourged, and after to be laid in prison with the aforesaid friar. What became of them afterwards the aforesaid writer, Henry of Herford, maketh no mention;<sup>2</sup> but I may probably conjecture that this priest and this friar Rochtaylada (or rather Hayabalus) were the two, whom mine author, Thomas Walsingham, writeth to be burned at this time in Avignon, about the first beginning of this pope Innocent VI.<sup>3</sup> Of this Rochtaylada I thought good here to infer the testimony and mention of John Froysard,<sup>4</sup> written of him in his first volume, chap. 211, in these words:—

There was, saith Froysard, in the city of Avignon, a friar minor called John dela Roche Taillade [Anglicè, Cutcliffe], full of great clergy;<sup>5</sup> the which friar pope Innocent VI. held in prison in the castle of Baignour, for showing of many marvels about to come (as he said), principally on the prelates and chief men of the church, on account of the great luxury and ambition to which they were addicted; and he also foretold many things as about to fall on the realm of France, and of the more powerful princes of Christendom, for the miserable oppression that they did to the poor common people. This friar said, he would prove all his sayings by the authority of the Apocalypse, and by the ancient books of the holy prophets, the which were opened to him by the grace of the Holy Ghost: so that he showed many things hard to believe. And sure enough, many remarkable things afterwards befel as he had said. Nor yet did he say them as a prophet, but he showed them by authority of ancient Scriptures and by the grace of the Holy Ghost, who gave him understanding to expound all the ancient prophecies, and to show to all christian people the years and times when such things should fall. He made divers books founded on great sciences

Edward III.

A. D. 1330 to 1360.

Two Franciscans burned at Avignon.

The church of Rome declared to be the whore of Babylon by God’s revelation.

Rochtaylada, with another friar, martyrs. A priest, for casting the pope’s bull before the pope’s feet, scourged, cast into prison, and after, burned at Avignon. A.D. 1354.

(1) Ex Chron. Wals.

(2) Ex Chron. Henrici de Herfordia [cited by Illyricus, col. 1720.—ED.]

(3) See Appendix.

(4) Ex Johanne Froysardo, vol. i cap. cexi.

(5) “Præditus ingenio et eruditione summâ.” Illyricus.—ED.

*French History.*

A. D.  
1281.

and clergy,<sup>1</sup> whereof one was made A.D. 1346, wherein were written such marvels, that it were hard to believe them; howbeit we have seen many of them come to pass. And when he was interrogated concerning the war of England against France, he said that all that had been seen was nothing to that should be seen after; for that the war in France should not be ended, till the realm were utterly wasted and exiled in every part. All which was afterwards seen so to befall, for the noble realm of France was afflicted and prostrated by every kind of misfortune, and specially in the term that the said friar had said, which was in 1356, and the three years following.<sup>2</sup> He said that in those years the princees and gentlemen of the realm should not, for fear, show themselves against the people of low estate, assembled of all countries without head or captain; and they should do as they list in the realm of France: the which fell after, as ye have heard, how the companions assembled them together, and by reason of their robbery and pillage waxed rich, and became great captains.

Contention in France between the prelates and the friars, A.D. 1281.

*See Appendix.*

Sermon against the friars, Dominic and Franciscan.

About the same time<sup>3</sup> happened in France a certain contention between the French prelates and the friars of Paris, testified and recorded by Godfridus de Fontanis; the brief effect of which story is this. The prelates of France conventing together in the city of Paris, after long deliberation among themselves, caused by the beaules to be called together all the masters, bachelors, and students of every faculty, with the chief friars also of all the religious orders, in the hall of the bishop of Paris: who all there congregated together on the morrow, being St. Nicholas' day; where there were present four archbishops, and twenty bishops. First stood up the archbishop of Bourges,<sup>4</sup> who there made a sermon concerning charity, taking for his theme the place of St. Paul (Eph. iii. 17—19), "*Ut sciatis quæ sit longitudo, latitudo, altitudo, et profunditas charitatis,*" &c. and concluded thereupon, first, that true charity compelled them to provide for the flock committed to them; secondly, that the vigour of charity armed them to withstand errors; thirdly, he concluded, that by duty of charity they were bound to give their lives, if needs be, for the souls of the flock committed to their charge; fourthly, that by the same charity every man ought to be content with his own, and not to intermeddle with another's office. "For there," saith he, "all ecclesiastical order is confounded, unless men contain themselves in their own precincts. But alas! this charity," saith he, "now-a-days is waxed cold, and all ecclesiastical order is utterly confounded. For many there be, who now-a-days presume to thrust in their sickle into another man's harvest; so that now the church may be called a monster. For as in a natural body it is deemed a monster, when one member doeth the office of another; so is it in the spiritual body, which is the church, when our learned and wise brethren, to wit the friars Major and Minor, do take upon them the office specially committed to us, doing unrighteously therein, seeing none ought to take upon him any office, except he be called thereunto of the Lord, as Aaron was. Whereas, then, we have oftentimes procured the said friars, both by the king himself in his own person, and also by other great men, to be requested to surcease from doing our office; and yet they have not; but against our wills preach and hear confessions all about our dioceses, saying, that they have the pope's privileges to bear them out therein:—for this cause we who are here present, having also the proxies of all our absent brother-bishops of the king-

(1) "*Magna doctrinâ bene fundatos.*"—Ed.

(2) This seems to be the prophecy in Browne's Appendix to the Fasciculus. See Appendix.—Ed.

(3) Ex scripto Godfri. de Fontanis. [Illyricus, col. 1721. Foxe post-dates this dispute by many years: see Appendix.—Ed.]

(4) Simon de Beaulieu, abp. A.D. 1281—1297. See Appendix.—Ed.

dom of France, are come to complain to you of this so great insolence of the friars : for that as we are, so you shall be : for I believe there is not a prelate among us to-day who was not taken from this university.<sup>1</sup> We have requested, moreover, and have caused to be requested of the said friars, that they would send their said privileges to the see apostolic, to be more clearly interpreted by the lord pope : which in like manner they have refused to do. Wherefore, to the intent you may the better understand and see what right their privileges really give them, we have resolved that they shall be here openly read to you."

*French History.*  
A. D.  
1281.

Then stood up another in the public tribune, and there read the privileges, and afterwards read also the constitution of pope Innocent III., written in the fifth book of the Decretals, and beginning, "Omnis utriusque sexus," &c. ; which constitution was contradictory to the aforesaid privileges, as he there showed, declaring how both the said privileges were derogatory to that constitution.

Constitution of pope Innocent III.

This done, up rose the bishop of Amiens,<sup>2</sup> a very great jurist, who running from article to article, there clearly proved by good law, that the said constitution might in no respect be infringed by the said privileges, and that it was not lawful for the friars to intrude themselves in hearing confessions and in enjoining penances, without the special license of the bishop of the diocese and curate of the parish : unto whom never a friar at that time answered a single word. And so the bishop proceeding to his conclusion, begged the university to deign to assist them in that case, for that they had all unanimously determined (said he) to resist such injury even unto blood.—This happened on a Saturday, the sixth day of December, which they dedicate to St. Nicholas.

By the pope's constitution, friars not to preach in churches without special license of them to whom the church belonged.

The next day (being a Sunday), one of the order of the Minorites, or Franciscans, made a sermon at the church of the Majorites or Preaching friars (a thing which I believe was never before seen, the one order to come and resort to the other), and finishing his subject in a few words, he began to speak of the aforesaid matter, and in reply expounded in order every article as well as he could for the better ; adding, moreover, that had they wished, they might lawfully have gone much further in the use of their privileges. And he said moreover, that what time the said privileges were in obtaining at Rome, the bishop of Amiens was there present himself, and resisted the same with all his might ; yea all the prelates of France sent and wrote up to the court against the same, and yet did not prevail. For when the friars there explained to the pope in what manner and how far they had used their privileges, the pope said "Placet," that is, "I am satisfied." "And now," saith he, "the prelates again wish and require us to send up our privileges to the Roman court, as if to solicit them again ; which would be great folly in us, for so we should be giving place and occasion for revoking the authority which is so given us already. Furthermore, our Master is just dead, and the Master of the Dominic friars is not now present. Wherefore, we dare not determine for the whole order in such a weighty cause, without their presence. And therefore we beg you to hold us therein excused, and not to be so lightly stirred against us, for that we are not members of any university," &c.

The friars' reply against the prelates.

(1) See Appendix.

(2) Guillaume de Maçon, bp. A.D. 1278—1308. See Appendix.—Ed.

*French History.*

A. D. 1281.

Herod and Pilate made friends in crucifying of Christ.

Another sermon against the friars.

Bishop of Amiens in veritate, etc.

Verity consisteth in three parts.

The friars proved with a lie.

The friars' privileges confuted in disputation at Paris.

*see A. pendix.*

The next day, being the eighth of the same month, which is dedicated to the conception of St. Mary, the feast was kept at the friars Minors, when, behold! one of the Dominic friars preached in the church of the Franciscan or Grey-friars, a sermon, tending to the same end as the other. And doubtless the Scripture was there fulfilled which saith, "On that day Herod and Pilate were made friends together."

Not long after, on the vigil of the feast of St. Thomas, all the university were again warned to congregate together on the morrow (being a Sunday) in the church of St. Bernard at the sermon time.<sup>1</sup> Which being done, a sermon was made by a divine of the university, who took for his theme, "*Prope est Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum in veritate*," &c.; wherein, with many words and authorities he censured generally those who would not be obedient unto their superiors and prelates, &c. The sermon being ended, then rose up again the bishop of Amiens (the only other prelate there being the archbishop of Rheims), who, going on with the same theme, dwelt on the word "*veritate*," dividing verity into three parts, according to the verses often inserted in the common gloss of the Decretals:—

"*Est verum vitæ, doctrinæ, justitiæque :*

*Primum semper habe ; duo propter scandala linque :"*

showing and declaring by many authorities, both in theology, and the canons, and the laws, and by plain facts, that the friars first had no verity of life, because they were plainly convicted of hypocrisy; neither had they verity of doctrine, because they carried gall in their heart, and honey on their tongue; neither verity of justice, because they usurped other men's offices. And in conclusion, he caused the said privileges again to be read, with the said constitution, "*Omnis utriusque sexûs*." And so, comparing sentence with sentence, he clearly showed that the said constitution in no part was made void or infringed by the privileges aforesaid. He added, moreover, that "whereas the friars say," said he, "that I was present in the obtaining of the privileges, I grant it to be true; and when word came to me thrice thereof, I went to the pope reclaiming and begging the said privileges might be revoked; but the next day after I was sent by the lord pope to a distant part upon weighty affairs, so that he did not wish then to make up the matter. After that, we sent also our messengers for the same object to the court of Rome, whom the friars assert not to have prevailed, but they lie therein; for the said messengers brought back letters sealed with the seals of the chief of the court of Rome (which letters we have often presented to our lord the king, and will shortly show them to you all), in the which letter the lord pope hath promised us either wholly to revoke the said privileges, or else more clearly to explain them by an interpretation, which we trust shortly to have from the pope in a public bull."<sup>2</sup>

At last, the said bishop requested all there present, of what nation soever they were, to copy out the aforesaid privileges, and send them to their respective countries, that all men might see what was really conceded to the friars by the aforesaid privileges. The matter was afterward brought into open disputation by Master friar Gilles, of the Augustine order, who is esteemed altogether the best person in

(1) See Appendix.

(2) This bull was granted by pope Martin IV., Jan. 10th, 1282: Labbe, tom. xi. col. 1143.—Ed.

all Paris ; who gave it as his determination, that the prelates had by far the best of the argument. Godfridus saith that he had not yet got a copy of this determination, on account of the recency of the affair.

*Edward III.*

A.D.

1331

to

1360.

Concerning this wrangling contention between the university and friars of France here before mentioned, whereof partly the original cause may be understood, by that which hath been said, to arise upon certain privileges granted by popes to the friars, to intermeddle in matters of parish churches ; as to hear confessions, to preach and teach, with power thereunto annexed to gather for their labour, to bury within their houses, and to receive impropriations, &c., because it were too long here to describe the full circumstances thereof, also because the said contention did not only endure a long time in France, but also came over into England ; the whole discourse thereof more amply (Christ willing) shall be declared in the beginning of the next book, when we come to the story of Armachanus.

About the time and year that this brawl was in the university of Paris between the friars and prelates there, as hath been declared, the like contention happened also in the university of Oxford in the year above prefixed (A.D. 1354), save only that the strife among the masters of Paris, as it rose upon friarly ceremonies, so it went no further than brawling words and matter of excommunication ; but this tumult, rising out of a drunken cause, proceeded further unto bloody stripes. The first origin of it began in a tavern, between a scholar and the good man of the house ; who, falling together into altercation, grew to such height of words, that the student (*contra jus hospitii*) poured the wine upon the head of the host, and brake his head with the quart pot. Upon this occasion given, eftsoons parts began to be taken between the townsmen and the scholars, insomuch that a grievous sedition and conflict followed upon the same ; wherein many of the townsmen were wounded, and to the number of twenty slain ; and divers of the scholars also were grievously hurt. For the space of two days this hurly-burly continued. On the second day certain religious and devout persons ordained a solemn procession general, to pray for peace ; yet, notwithstanding, all that procession, holy as it was, would not bring peace. In the which procession, the skirmish still waxing hot, one of the students, being hardly pursued by the townsmen, for succour in his flight came running to the priest or friar, who carried about, as the manner was, the pix ; thinking to find refuge at the presence of the transubstantiated God of the altar there carried and imboxed. Notwithstanding, the god being not there present, or else not seeing him, or else peradventure being asleep, the scholar found there small help ; for the townsmen, in the heat of the chase, forgetting belike the virtue of the pope's transubstantiation, followed him so hard, that in the presence of the pix they brake his head, and wounded him grievously. This done, at length some peace or truce for that day was taken. On the morrow, other townsmen in the villages about, joining with the townsmen of Oxford, confederated together in great force and power to set upon the students there, and so did, having a black flag borne before them, and so invaded the university men ; whereupon the scholars, being overmatched, and compelled to flee into their halls and hostels, were so pursued by their enemies, that twenty of the doors of their halls and chambers

Seditionous commotion between the townsmen and scholars of Oxford.

Procession for peace, would bring no peace.

Transubstantiation will not help in time of need.

Conquest of the scholars of Oxford.



Edward  
III.A.D.  
1362.The uni-  
versity  
of Oxford  
dissolved  
for a  
time.

were broken open, and many of them wounded, and, as it is said, slain and thrown into the draughts; their books with knives and bills cut all in pieces, and much of their goods carried away. And thus the students of that university, being conquered by the townsmen of Oxford, and of the country about, departed and left the university, so that for a time the schools there, and all school acts, did utterly cease from all exercise of study, except only Merton college-hall, with a few others remaining behind.

The town  
of Oxford  
inter-  
dicted.

This being done the twelfth day of February, the queen at the same time being at Woodstock was brought to bed, and purified on the first Sunday in Lent with great solemnity of justing.<sup>1</sup> About which time the bishop of Lincoln, their diocesan, hearing of this excessive outrage, sendeth his inhibition to all parsons and priests, forbidding them throughout all Oxford, to celebrate mass or any divine service in the presence of any lay person within the said town of Oxford, interdicting withal the whole town; which interdiction endured the space of a whole year and more.

Assize of  
bread and  
ale grant-  
ed to the  
commis-  
sary of  
Oxford.

The king also sent thither his justices to examine and inquire into the matter, before whom divers of the laymen and clergy were indicted, and four of the chief burgesses of the said town were indicted, and by the king's commandment sent to the Tower of London, and were there imprisoned. At length, through much labour of the nobles, the king so took up the matter, that sending his writings unto all sheriffs in England, he offered pardon to all and singular the students of that university, wheresoever dispersed, for that transgression; whereby the university in a short time was replenished again as before. Moreover, it was granted to the vice-chancellor or commissary, as they term him, of the town and university of Oxford, to have the assize of bread, ale, wine, and all other victuals; the mayor of the said town being excluded. Also it was granted and decreed, that the commons of Oxford should give to the university of Oxford two hundred pounds sterling, in part of satisfaction for their excesses; there being reserved, notwithstanding, to every one of the students his several action against any several person of the townsmen, &c.

About A.D. 1354, the king, with the consent of his council, called home again out of Flanders the staple of wool, with all things thereunto appertaining, and established the same in sundry places within the realm, namely, in Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Bristol, Lincoln, and Hull; which staple, after A.D. 1362, was translated over to Calais.

Not to ab-  
stain  
from bo-  
dily la-  
bour  
upon cer-  
tain holy  
days.A Parlia-  
ment

Of Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, mentioned a little before, page 710, I read in the said author above specified, that he, by his letters patent, directed to all parsons and vicars within his province, straightly charged them and their parishioners, under pain of excommunication, not to abstain from bodily labour upon certain saints' days, which before were wont to be hallowed and consecrated to unthrifty idleness. Item, that to priests should be given no more for their yearly stipend, but three pounds, six shillings, and eight pence, which made divers of them to rob and steal, &c. A.D. 1362.

In the year following, king Edward kept his parliament at London

(1) "Great solemnity of justing" (or jousting), a magnificent tournament.—Ed

in the month of October; wherein it was prohibited that either gold or silver should be worn in knives, girdles, brooches, rings, or in any other ornament belonging to the body, except the wearer might dispend ten pounds a year. Item, That none should wear either silks or costly furs, except such as might dispend one hundred pounds a year. Also that merchant adventurers should not export any merchandise out of the realm, or seek for wines in other countries; whereby other nations should be constrained rather to seek to us, &c. But none of this did take any great effect.

After this Simon Islip, as is above recorded, followed Simon Langham, then William Wittlesey; after whom next in place succeeded Simon Sudbury.

Much about the same time the nuns of St. Bridget's order first began; about which time also was builded Queen's College in Oxford, by queen Philippa of England, wife to king Edward III., about A.D. 1360.

Moreover, in the time of pope Innocent VI., friar John Lyle, bishop of Ely, moved with certain injuries, as he thought, done to him by the lady Blanch Wake, made his complaint to the pope; who, sending down his curse to the bishop of Lincoln and other prelates, to be executed upon the adversaries of the bishop of Ely, commanded them, that if they did know any of the said adversaries dead and buried, that notwithstanding, they should cause the same to be taken up: which also they performed accordingly, of whom some had been of the king's council; wherefore the king being displeased, and not unworthily, did again trouble and molest the said prelates. This coming to the pope's hearing, certain were directed down from the court of Rome, in behalf of the aforesaid bishop of Ely; who, meeting with the bishop of Rochester, the king's treasurer, delivered unto him, being armed, letters from the bishop of Rome, the tenor whereof was not known. This done, they incontinently voided away, but certain of the king's servants pursuing did overtake them; of whom some they imprisoned, some they brought to the justices, and so they were condemned to be hanged. Herein may appear what reverence the pope's letters in this king's days, had in this realm of England.<sup>1</sup> This pope Innocent ordained the feast of the Holy Spear, and of the Holy Nails.

And here, to make an end of this Fourth Book, now remaineth, after our order and custom before begun, to prosecute the race of the archbishops of Canterbury, in this aforesaid Fourth Book contained; beginning where before we left off,<sup>2</sup> at Lanfranc.

#### A TABLE OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY IN THE FOURTH BOOK CONTAINED.

34. Lanfranc was archbishop of Canterbury for nineteen years. Polydore Virgil, lib. 9, numbereth this Lanfranc to be the thirty-third archbishop; but by the account of other authors, namely, by the chronicle of the monk of Dover, he seemeth to be deceived; as he was in the twenty-eight years of Dunstan, who indeed did sit but nineteen or twenty at the most. This error of Polydore seemeth to

Edward  
III.

A.D.  
1360.

Nuns of  
St. Brid-  
get's  
order.

This lady  
Blanch  
was  
daughter  
of Henry,  
earl of  
Lancaster.

Dead  
men ex-  
commu-  
nicated  
by the  
pope.

The  
pope's  
messen-  
gers  
hanged.  
The feast  
of the  
Spear and  
of the  
Holy  
Nails.

(1) Ex Chro. Walsin g.

(2) Page 104.

*Edward*  
*III.*

A.D.  
1360.

come by leaving out either Elsius, who was the twenty-third, or by leaving out Elfrie, who was the twenty-sixth, as in some authors I find.

Moreover, here is to be noted, that although the said Elfrie were left out, yet Lanfranc cannot be the thirty-third.

Note also, that in the previous table of the third book, after Siricius, you must put in St. Alured, whom, in the order of archbishops, I left out in the end of the third book, page 104.

This Lanfranc was an Italian, and a stout champion of the pope. After his stubborn dissension with Thomas, archbishop of York, he wrote against Berengarius, entitling his book ‘*Opus Scintillarum*,’ page 114.

Also the same Lanfranc builded the new church at Canterbury, and plucked down the old. By him was builded the church of St. Gregory. At length he was expelled by king William Rufus.

35. Anselm, for twenty years. Of this Anselm, and the strife between him and the king, look in page 144.

36. Radulph for eight years. Under Radulph the order of Cistercians began.

37. William Curboil, for thirteen years. By this William the new work of the church of St. Martin’s, at Dover, was built.

38. Theobald, for twenty-four years. By this Theobald monks were first brought into the church of Dover. He was expelled by king Stephen. In his time the church of St. Gregory at Canterbury was burned.

39. Thomas Becket, for nine years. For the life and death of this Becket, see page 196.<sup>1</sup>

40. Richard, for ten years. This Richard was a monk. In his time Christ’s Church, at Canterbury, was burned.

41. Baldwin, for seven years. Between this Baldwin and the monks was great discord. He suspended the prior from his priorship, and two and twenty monks from all service. He caused the sub-prior, with all his adherents, to be excommunicated through all Kent.

42. Hubert, for fourteen years. In the time of this Hubert the chapel of Lambeth was plucked down. Also the church of Dover was burned.

43. Stephen Langton, for twenty-two years. This Stephen, with the monks of Canterbury, was expelled by king John.

This Stephen, intending to give orders in the chapel of Lambeth, was stopped by the monks of Canterbury, through their appeal and prohibition. Wherefore he required Eustace, bishop of London, to minister the same orders in the church of St. Paul.

In his time fell great variance between the monks of Rochester and the monks of Canterbury, for the election of their bishop, which election the monks of Canterbury would not admit before the Rochester monks had presented the bishop’s staff in the church of Canterbury; so that both the churches sent their messengers to the court of Rome.

44. Richardus Magnus, for four years. At the consecration of

(1) Ex Crickeladensi: Magnates in Anglia interdixerunt, ne quis Martyrem Thomam nominaret, ne quis ejus miracula predicaret, interminantes minas mortis seu maximarum poenarum omnibus confitentibus eum fuisse Martyrem, et miracula ejus praedicantibus, &c.

this Richard, contention arose between the bishop of Rochester and the bishop of Bath, who should consecrate him. *Edward III.*

Item, between the said Richard and the monks of Canterbury fell a grievous discord, about certain liberties belonging to the archbishop. A. D. 1360.

The said archbishop, for certain quarrels against the king, went up to Rome, who died in Tuscia.

After this Richard, the election of three archbishops was disannulled at Rome; namely, of Radulphus de Nova Villa, of John, prior of Canterbury, and of John Blund.

45. Edmund of Abingdon for seven years. This Edmund was called St. Edmund, at whose election the prior of Dover, thinking to be present, as at the marriage of his mother, was not permitted by the monks of Canterbury. For that injury he appealed and went to Rome to complain, not against the elect, but against the election; where he obtained of the pope, for all the priors and successors of Dover, to have full interest in the election of the archbishops, besides other privileges which he obtained; percase not without some good store of money. Afterwards the monks of Canterbury accused him to the archbishop as though he stood against the person of the elect, and so obtained of the archbishop, being angry with him, to have brought him under the chapter of Canterbury, there to be punished. Whereupon the prior, seeing himself so destitute of all help of lawyers, was constrained in the aforesaid chapter to cry 'peccavi.' Then, being suspended from his priorship, he was at length sent home from Dover, being compelled first to set his hand to a certain composition between him and the aforesaid monks.

The said Edmund, archbishop, having also some quarrel against the king, went up to Rome, and died before his coming home.

46. Boniface, for twenty-five years. In the time of this Boniface, Pope Gregory wickedly granted to king Henry III. (for the getting of the kingdom of Sicily, which belonged not to him to give, nor to the other to take) tenths of goods, temporal and spiritual, for five years. Item, All the first year's fruits of churches that should be vacant for five years. Item, Half of all the goods of beneficed men, not resident on their benefices. Item, All legacies not distinctly given. And yet the kingdom of Sicily never came into his hands, which belonged to Manfred, son of Frederic the emperor. Strife there was between this Boniface and the prior of Canterbury, Item. Between him and the bishop of Rochester. Item, Between him and the chapter of Lincoln: all which was after agreed.<sup>1</sup>

Strife in Winchester about choosing the bishop after the death of Adomar or Ethelmar, the king's brother.

Strife also in the convocation which Boniface did hold at Lambeth; in the which council were recited the statutes of Octobonus, and other new statutes made, against which John Hemelingford, the king's chaplain, with others besides, and Prince Edward on the king's behalf, did appeal.<sup>2</sup>

Under this Boniface, Tunbridge and Hadlow first came under the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury.

Master John of Exeter bought the bishopric of Winchester for

(1) Chron. Doverens. fol. 20, p. 2.

(2) Ibid. fol. 21.

*Edward  
III.*

six thousand marks; which being known he was fain to pay the same sum again to the pope, and so was sent home.

A.D.  
1360.

Boniface the archbishop being in the parts of Savoy (A.D. 1262), fell another altercation between the prior and chapter of Canterbury on the one part, and the prior and chapter of Dover on the other; which two houses were almost never in quiet, and all about certain liberties and privileges; as, for making the sub-prior, for receiving in of monks, and for visitations of the church of Dover.

A.D. 1268. Boniface, archbishop, interdicted the city of London, because in the same city the archbishop of York did hold up his cross, the archbishop of Canterbury being there present, the king holding then his parliament at Westminster.

This archbishop died in the parts of Savoy.

John, prior of Canterbury, was elected by the monks against the king's mind, but by the pope refused.

Adam Chilinden was elect, but he resigned his election to the pope.

47. Robert Kilwarby, friar, for six years. In the time of this Robert Kilwarby, appeal was taken against the chapter of Canterbury by the bishops of Winchester, Worcester, and Exeter; for which cause the said bishops went up to Rome to prosecute the appeal. The matter was, because they did not their obedience to the monks of Canterbury, the see being empty.

Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, going toward the general council, bore up his cross through the middle of Kent, in the time of this Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1272.

By pope Gregory X. in the general council at Lyons, all the orders of friars were put down, four orders only excepted, that is, Dominics, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustines.

This Robert Kilwarby, by the commandment of pope Nicholas, was made cardinal of Rome and bishop of Porto.

An un-  
truth in  
Polydore  
Virgil.

Here is to be noted an untruth in Polydore Virgil, who saith, that he was made cardinal by pope Gregory, which could not be.

Robert Burnel, bishop of Bath, was elected, but by the pope refused; for whom John Peckham, a Grey-friar, was placed in by pope Nicholas.

48. John Peckham, for thirteen years. In the first year of this friar Peckham, W. Wikewane, archbishop of York, coming from his consecration at Rome to Dover, bore up his cross through the midst of Kent, wherewith was no little ado.

Robert Gernemine,<sup>1</sup> archdeacon of Canterbury, went to law at Rome for the liberties and possessions of his archdeaconship two years, and there died.

In this time also another wrangling occurred between the monks of Canterbury and the monks of Dover, in the time of this John Peckham, for admitting certain novices of Dover into orders.<sup>2</sup>

This Peckham, holding a council at Lambeth, ordained divers statutes, and caused the ordinances of the council of Lyons, and of Boniface archbishop of Canterbury, and his predecessor, to be observed.

Great grief and hatred existed between this Peckham, and Thomas

(1) "Gernemine," i. e. of Yarmouth.—F D.

(2) Ex Chr. Monach. Dover. fol. 42.



bishop of Hereford, who, being excommunicated by Peckham, appealed to Rome, and went to the pope.

*Edward  
III.*

The prior and covent of Canterbury made their appeal against this archbishop Peckham, that he should not consecrate Walter le Schamele, the newly elect bishop of Salisbury, in any other place, except only in the church of Canterbury, but by their leave and license first obtained. Notwithstanding, the archbishop, nothing regarding their appeal, proceeded in the consecration of the said bishop near to the town of Reading, whereupon the prior and covent ceased not to prosecute their appeal against the archbishop.

*A. D.  
1360.*

Between Richard Ferrings, archdeacon of Canterbury, of the one part, and the barons of Dover of the other part, the same year fell out another like wrangling, for that the archdeacon claimed to visit the church of Dover: contrary the barons affirmed, that none had, nor should have, to do thereto, or order or dispose in spiritual matters, but only the archbishop, and the prior and covent of St. Martin.<sup>1</sup>

After the death of William Wicwane, archbishop of York, John de Roma succeeded; and coming from his consecration at Rome to Dover, bare his cross through the middle of Kent, contrary to the inhibition of John Peckham.

49. Robert Winchelsey was archbishop for nineteen years. This Robert, who was archbishop in the latter time of king Edward I., for certain displeasure the king had conceived against him, departed the realm, and in his banishment remained two or three years; and, about the beginning of the reign of king Edward II., he was restored again. (A.D. 1309.)<sup>2</sup> Thus few archbishops of Canterbury we find, with whom kings have not had some quarrel or other. "The cause between the king and him," saith mine author, "was this: That the king accused him to pope Clement of disturbing his realm, and of taking part with rebels," &c.<sup>3</sup>

This Robert also excommunicated Walter, bishop of Coventry, for holding with the king and Peter Gaveston against the ordinances of the barons; wherefore the said bishop appealed to the pope, against whom the archbishop sent Adam Mirimouth.

In the time of this Robert, archbishop, the order of Templars was abolished by pope Clement V. in the council of Vienne, with this sentence definitive: "Quoniam de jure non possumus, tamen ad plenitudinem potestatis dictum ordinem reprobamus."

This  
Adam  
Miri-  
mouth  
was com-  
piler of  
the story  
of king  
Edward.

50. Walter Reynald for fifteen years. After the decease of Robert Winchelsey, who departed A.D. 1313, Thomas Cobham, a learned man, was elected by full consent of the monks, who came to Avignon to have his election confirmed; but the pope reserving the vacant seat in his own hands, put in Walter Reynald, bishop of Worcester, chancellor of England, who governed the see fifteen years.

The chronicler of St. Alban's recordeth also, how in the days of this archbishop (A.D. 1319), certain lepers conspiring with the Turks and Jews went about to impotionate, and infect all Christendom, by envenoming their fountains, lakes, pits, barrells, and such other places; of the which crime divers of them being convicted, were worthily burned in France. About the same year, the said author maketh

(1) Ex eod. Chron. fol. 46.

(2) Ex Chron. Rich. 2.

(3) Ex Chron. St. Albani.

*Event.*  
11

A. D.  
1360.

also relation, how, in the realm of England, much murrain prevailed among the beasts; insomuch that the dogs, feeding upon their flesh (infected belike by the waters and fountains), fell down dead incontinently; neither durst men, for that cause, almost taste of any beef. (A.D. 1318, 1319.)<sup>1</sup>

This Walter, archbishop, taking part with the queen Isabel against king Edward her husband, died the same year in which he was deposed. (A.D. 1327.)<sup>2</sup>

After Walter the archbishop, as affirmeth the chronicle of St. Alban, succeeded Simon Mepham; of whom I marvel that Polydore maketh no word nor mention; belike he sat not long; after him followed,

51. John Stratford, for twenty-nine years. In the story of Adam Merimouth, it is recorded that this John Stratford, intending to visit the diocese of Norfolk, was not received by the bishop, the chapter and clergy there alleging that he observed not the ordinary canon therein. To whom the archbishop said again, he had the pope's letters, and showed the same. But the other answered, that those letters were falsely obtained, and tended to the suppression of the clergy, and therefore they would not obey: wherefore the archbishop excommunicated the bishop, suspended the prior, and interdicted the covent. (A.D. 1343.)

52. John Offord, ten months. Master John Offord, chancellor of England, was elected and confirmed archbishop of Canterbury, but not consecrated, and sat but ten months, dying A.D. 1349, the time of the pestilence in England.

The first  
great  
plague  
England.

53. Thomas Braidwarden, archbishop for one year. This Thomas Braidwarden following after John Stratford, sat not long, but died within ten months, of the plague, as they say. This was called the first great plague in England, raging so sore in all quarters, that it was thought scarcely the tenth part of men to be left alive.

The vest-  
ments  
wherein  
St. Peter  
said  
mass, or  
else the  
papists  
do lie.

54. Simon Islip, for seventeen years. In the time of Simon Islip, who followed after Braidwarden, king Edward (A.D. 1362) is reported, after the blind superstition of those days, to offer in the church of Westminster the vestments wherein St. Peter did celebrate mass; which belike were well kept from moths, to last so long.<sup>3</sup>

The same Simon Islip, among other constitutions, ordained through all churches and chapels, under pain of excommunication, that no man should abstain from bodily labours upon certain saints' days, as is before mentioned; which fact of his is not a little noted in our monkish histories.

This Simon built Canterbury College in Oxford.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE CONCLUSION OF THIS FOURTH BOOK.

Anti-  
christ in  
his pride.  
The loos-  
ing out  
of Satan.

Forasmuch as Satan, being chained up all this while for the space of a thousand years, beginneth about this time to be loosed and to come abroad, according to the forewarning of St. John's Revelation: therefore, to conclude the Fourth Book, wherein sufficiently hath been described the excessive pride and pomp of Antichrist, flourishing in

(1) Ex Chro. Alban.

(2) Ex Chro. Alban.

(3) Ex Chro. Alban.

(4) See the Table of Archbishops in the opposite page — Ep.

his ruft and security, from the time of William the Conqueror hitherto: now (Christ willing and assisting us thereunto) we mind in these latter books hereafter following, in order of history to express the latter persecutions and horrible troubles of the church, raised up by Satan in his minister Antichrist; with the resistance again of Christ's church against him. And so to prosecute, by the merciful grace of Christ, the proceeding and course of times, till we come at length to the fall and ruin of the said Antichrist; to the intent that if any be in such error as to think that Antichrist is yet to come, he may consider and ponder well the tragical rages, the miserable and most sorrowful persecutions, murders, and vexations, of these latter three hundred years now following; and then, I doubt not but he will be put out of all doubt, and know that not only Antichrist is already come, but also know where he sitteth, and how he is now falling apace (the Lord Christ be thanked for ever!) to his decay and confusion.

Edward  
III.A.D.  
1360.

The following Table is a continuation of that given at p. 104, note (1); it contains the dates of the election or consecration, and death, of each archbishop, taken from Richardson's edition of "Godwin De Præsulibus, &c." It will be found to agree with the list given by Sir Harris Nicholas in his "Synopsis of the Peerage," and it will serve to correct several errors in Foxe's text, derived from the chronicles which he consulted.

		CONSECRATED		DIED	
34	Stephen Lanfranc . . . . .	Aug. 29th,	A.D. 1070	Jan. 4th,	A.D. 1089
35	Anselm . . . . .	Dec. 4th,	A.D. 1093	April 21st,	A.D. 1109
36	Radulph (elected April 26th) . . . . .	June 14th,	A.D. 1114	Oct. 20th,	A.D. 1122
37	William Corbyl (elected Feb. 2d) . . . . .	March 19th,	A.D. 1123	Nov. 30th,	A.D. 1136
38	Theobald (elected in December) . . . . .		A.D. 1138	April 18th,	A.D. 1161
39	Thomas Becket . . . . .	May 27th,	A.D. 1162	Dec. 28th,	A.D. 1170
40	Richard (elected A.D. 1171) . . . . .		A.D. 1174	Feb. 16th,	A.D. 1183
41	Baldwin . . . . .	May,	A.D. 1185		A.D. 1190
42	Walter Hubert (elected May 30th) . . . . .		A.D. 1193	July 13th,	A.D. 1205
43	Stephen Langton . . . . .	June 17th,	A.D. 1207	July 9th,	A.D. 1228
44	Richard Wethershed . . . . .	June 10th,	A.D. 1229	Aug. 3d,	A.D. 1231
45	Edmund of Abingdon . . . . .	April 2d,	A.D. 1234	Nov. 16th,	A.D. 1242
46	Boniface of Savoy (elected A.D. 1241) . . . . .	Jan. 15th,	A.D. 1245	July 18th,	A.D. 1270
47	Robert Kilwardby . . . . .	Feb. 26th,	A.D. 1273	Sep. 13th,	A.D. 1277
48	John Peckham . . . . .	March 6th,	A.D. 1278	Dec. 8th,	A.D. 1292
49	Robert Winchelsey (elected Feb. 13th, A.D. 1293) . . . . .	Sept. 12th,	A.D. 1294	May 11th,	A.D. 1313
50	Walter Reynolds (transl. from Winton, Oct. 1st) . . . . .		A.D. 1313	Nov. 16th,	A.D. 1327
51	John Stratford (transl. from Winton, Dec. 1st) . . . . .		A.D. 1333	Aug. 23d,	A.D. 1348
52	John Oford (nominated by a bull, Sept. 24th) . . . . .		A.D. 1348	May 20th,	A.D. 1349
53	Thomas Braidwarden (nom. by a bull, June 19th) . . . . .		A.D. 1349	Aug. 26th,	A.D. 1349
54	Simon Islip (nominated by a bull, Oct. 7th) . . . . .	Dec. 20th,	A.D. 1349	April 26th,	A.D. 1366

In addition to the above, Godwin inserts after Nos. 41, 50,

Reginald Fitz-Joceline (translated from Wells) . . . . .	A.D. 1191	Dec. 25th,	A.D. 1191
Simon Mepbam (elected Dec. 11th) . . . . .	A.D. 1327	Oct. 12th,	A.D. 1333

No. 52. John Oford or Ufford, having never been consecrated, is not included by Godwin in the list.—E.D.

END OF BOOK THE FOURTH.

# ACTS AND MONUMENTS

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## BOOK V.

CONTAINING

THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT  
OF SATAN.<sup>1</sup>

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*Edward  
III.*

A. D.  
1360.

The years  
and time  
of loosing  
out  
Satan ex-  
amined.  
Apoc. xx.

Thus having discoursed in these former books of the order and course of years, from the first tying up of Satan unto the year of our Lord 1360, I have a little overpassed the stint of time in the Scripture appointed for the loosing out of him again. For so it is written by St. John [Apoc. xx.], that “after a thousand years, Satan, the old dragon, shall be let loose again for a season,” &c.

For the better explanation of the which mystery, let us first consider the context of the Scripture; afterwards let us examine, by history and the course of times, the meaning of the same. And first, to recite the words of the Apocalypse; the text of the prophecy is this:—“And I saw an angel descending from heaven, having a key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand. And he took the dragon, the old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years, and put him in the bottomless dungeon and shut him up, and signed him with his seal, that he should no more seduce the Gentiles, till a thousand years were expired. And after that he must be loosed again for a little space of time. And I saw seats, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and the souls I saw of them which were beheaded for the testimony of Jesus.” By these words of the Revelation, here recited, three special times are to be noted.

First, The being abroad of Satan to deceive the world.

Secondly, The binding up of him.

Thirdly, The loosing out of him again, after a thousand years consummate, for a time.

The place  
of the  
Apoc. xx.  
expound-  
ed, for the  
loosing  
out of  
Satan.

Concerning the interpretation of which times, I see the common opinion of many to be deceived by ignorance of histories, and the state of things done in the church; they supposing that the chaining up of Satan for a thousand years, spoken of in the Revelation, was meant from the birth of Christ our Lord. Wherein I grant that spiritually the strength and dominion of Satan, in accusing and condemning us for sin, was cast down at the passion and by the passion of Christ our Saviour, and locked up, not only for a thousand years,

(1) Edition 1563, p. 74. Ed. 1570, p. 493. Ed. 1576, p. 401. Ed. 1583, p. 397. Ed. 1596, p. 365. Ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 452.—Ed.

but for ever and ever. Albeit, as touching the malicious hatred and fury of that serpent against the outward bodies of Christ's poor saints (which is the heel of Christ), to afflict and torment the church outwardly; that I judge to be meant in the Revelation of St. John, not to be restrained till the ceasing of those terrible persecutions of the primitive church, at the time when it pleased God to pity the sorrowful affliction of his poor flock, being so long under persecution, the space of three hundred years, and so to assuage their griefs and torments; which is meant by the binding up of Satan, worker of all those mischiefs: understanding thereby, that forasmuch as the devil, the prince of this world, had now, by the death of Christ the Son of God, lost all his power and interest against the soul of man, he should turn his furious rage and malice, which he had to Christ, against the people of Christ, which is meant by the heel of the seed [Gen. iii.], in tormenting their outward bodies; which yet should not be for ever, but for a determinate time, when it should please the Lord to bridle the malice, and snaffle the power, of the old serpent, and give rest unto his church for the term of a thousand years; which time being expired, the said serpent should be suffered loose again for a certain or a small time. [Apoc. xx.]

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1360.What the  
loosing of  
Satan  
doth  
mean in  
Scripture.

And thus to expound this prophetical place of Scripture, I am led by three reasons:

Three  
reasons.

The first is, for that the binding up of Satan, and closing him in the bottomless pit by the angel, importeth as much as that he was at liberty, raging and doing mischief before. And, certes, those so terrible and so horrible persecutions of the primitive time universally through the whole world, during the space of three hundred years of the church, do declare no less. Wherein it is to be thought and supposed that Satan, all that time, was not fastened and closed up.

The first  
reason.

The second reason moving me to think that the closing up of Satan was after the ten persecutions of the primitive church, is taken out of the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse; where we read, that after the woman, meaning the church, had travailed forth her man-child, the old dragon, the devil, the same time being cast down from heaven, drawing the third part of the stars with him, stood before the woman with great anger, and persecuted her (that is, the church of God) with a whole flood of water (that is, with abundance of all kinds of torments), and from thence went, moreover, to fight against the residue of her seed, and stood upon the sands of the sea; whereby it appeareth that he was not as yet locked up.

The  
second  
reason.

The third reason I collect out of the Apocalypse, chapter xiii., where it is written of the beast, signifying the imperial monarchy of Rome, that he had power to make war forty and two months; by which months is meant, no doubt, the time that the dragon and the persecuting emperors should have in afflicting the saints of the primitive church. The computation of which forty-two months (counting every month for a Sabbath of years; that is, for seven years, after the order of Scripture), riseth to the sum (counting from the passion of the Lord Christ) of three hundred years, lacking six; at which time Maxentius, the last persecutor in Rome, fighting against Constantine, was drowned with his soldiers, like as Pharaoh, persecuting the children of Israel, was drowned in the Red Sea. Unto the which forty-two

The third  
reason.  
Apoc. xiii.Forty-two  
months  
in the  
Apoc. xiii.  
exa-  
mined.



Edward  
III.A. D.  
1360.What  
time Sa-  
tan was  
tied up.

months, or Sabbaths of years, if ye add the other six years wherein Licinius persecuted in the East, ye shall find just three hundred years, as is specified before in the first book (vol. i. page 291).

After the which forty and two months were expired, manifest it is that the fury of Satan, that is, his violent malice and power over the saints of Christ, was diminished and restrained universally throughout the whole world.

Thus then, the matter standing evident that Satan, after three hundred years, counting from the passion of Christ, began to be chained up, at which time the persecution of the primitive church began to cease, now let us see how long this binding up of Satan should continue, which was promised in the Book of the Revelation to be a thousand years; which thousand years, if ye add to the forty-two months of years, that is, to two hundred and ninety-four years, they make one thousand two hundred and ninety-four years after the passion of the Lord. To these, moreover, add the thirty years of the age of Christ, and it cometh to the year of our Lord 1324, which was the year of the letting out of Satan, according to the prophecy in the Apocalypse.

About  
what time  
and year  
Satan was  
let out  
by the  
coun' of  
the Apo-  
calypse.

A TABLE CONTAINING THE TIME OF THE PERSECUTION BOTH OF THE PRIMITIVE, AND OF THE LATTER CHURCH, WITH THE COUNT OF YEARS FROM THE FIRST BINDING UP OF SATAN, TO HIS LOOSING AGAIN, AFTER THE MIND OF THE APOCALYPSE.

per  
secution.

The first persecution of the primitive church, beginning at the thirtieth year of Christ, was prophesied to continue forty-two months; that is, till A.D. 294.

Ceasing  
of the  
last per-  
secution.

The ceasing of the last persecution of the primitive church by the death of Licinius, the last persecutor, began in the three hundred and twenty-fourth year from the nativity of Christ; which was from the thirtieth year of his age, two hundred and ninety-four years.

Binding  
up of  
Satan.

The binding up of Satan after peace given to the church, counting from the thirty years of Christ, began A.D. 294, and lasted a thousand years, that is, counting from the thirtieth year of Christ, to the year 1294.

About which year, pope Boniface VIII. was pope, and made the sixth book of the Decretals, confirmed the orders of friars, and privileged them with great freedoms; as appeareth by his constitution, 'Super Cathedram.' A.D. 1294.

Time of  
loosing  
him.

Unto the which count of years doth not much disagree that which I found in a certain old chronicle prophesied and written in the latter end of a book; which book was written, as it seemeth, by a monk of Dover, and remaineth yet in the custody of William Cary, a citizen of London; alleging the prophecy of one Hayncard, a Grey-friar, grounded upon the authority of Joachim the abbot, prophesying that Antichrist should be born the year from the nativity of Christ 1260; which is, counting after the Lord's passion, the very same year and time when the orders of friars, both Dominies and Franciscans, began first to be set up by pope Honorius III. and by pope Gregorius IX., which was the year of our Lord, counting from his

The time  
of Anti-  
christ  
exa-  
mined.

passion, A.D. 1226; and counting from the nativity of our Lord, was the year 1260. Whereof these verses, prophesying the coming of Antichrist, in the author were written:—

*Edward  
III.*

A.D.  
1360.

“Cum fuerint anni completi mille ducenti  
Et decies seni post partum virginis almæ,  
Tunc Antichristus nascetur dæmone plenus.”

And these verses were written, as appeareth by the said author, A. D. 1285.

These things thus premised for the loosing out of Satan, according to the prophecy of the Apocalypse, now let us enter (Christ willing) upon the declaration of these latter times which followed after the letting out of Satan into the world; describing the wondrous perturbations and cruel tyranny stirred up by him against Christ's church, and also the valiant resistance of the church of Christ against him and Antichrist, as in these our books here under following may appear, the argument of which consisteth in two parts: first, to treat of the raging fury of Satan now loosed, and of Antichrist, against the saints of Christ fighting and travelling for the maintenance of truth, and the reformation of the church. Secondly, to declare the decay and ruin of the said Antichrist, through the power of the word of God; being at length, either in a great part of the world overthrown, or, at least, universally in the whole world detected.

Argu-  
ment of  
the books  
after fol-  
lowing.

Thus then to begin with the year of our Lord 1360, wherein I have a little, as is aforesaid, transgressed the stint of the first loosing out of Satan: we are come now to the time wherein the Lord, after long darkness, beginneth some reformation of his church, by the diligent industry of sundry his faithful and learned servants, of whom divers already we have fore-touched in the former book; as Galiel. de Sancto Amore, Marsilius Patavinus, Oekam, Robertus Gallus, Robertus Grossthead, Petrus de Cugneriis, Johannes Rupescissanus, Conradus Hager, Johannes de Poliac, Cesenas, with others, who withstood the corrupt errors and intolerable enormities of the bishop of Rome, besides those who about these times were put to death by the said bishop of Rome, as Castilio and Franciscus de Arcatara in the book before recorded; also the two Franciscans, martyrs, who were burned at Avignon, mentioned p. 710.

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A brief  
rehearsal  
of faithful  
learned  
men,  
which  
withstood  
the pro-  
ceedings  
of the  
pope.

Now to these (the Lord willing) we will add such other holy martyrs and confessors, who following after in the course of years with like zeal and strength of God's word, and also with like danger of their lives, gave the like resistance against the enemy of Christ's religion, and suffered at his hands the like persecutions. First, beginning with that godly man, whosoever he was, the author of the book (his name I have not) entitled 'The Prayer and Complaint of the Ploughman;' written, as it appeareth, about this present time.

The au-  
thor of the  
Plough-  
man's  
Prayer  
not  
known.

This book, as it was faithfully set forth by William Tindal, so I have as truly distributed the same abroad to the reader's hands; neither changing any thing of the matter, nor altering many words of the phrase thereof. Although the oldness and age of his speech and terms be almost grown now out of use, yet I thought it best, both for the utility of the book to reserve it from oblivion, as also in his

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own language to let it go abroad, for the more credit and testimony of the true antiquity of the same; adding withal in the margin, for the better understanding of the reader, some interpretation of certain difficult terms and speeches, which otherwise might perhaps hinder or stay the reader. The matter of this complaining prayer of the ploughman thus proceedeth:—

An olde Booke intituled, the Ploughmans Prayer,<sup>1</sup> written as it seemeth about Wickliffe's time.

The complain-  
t of  
Christ  
applied to  
these  
times.

Iesu Christ that was ybore of the mayde Marye, haut on thy poore seruantes mercy and pitie, and helpe them in their great nede to fighte agaynst synne, and against the diuil that is autor of synne, and more nede nes ther neuer to cry to Christ for help, then it is right now. For it is fulfilled that God sayd by Isay the prophet: Ye ryseth vp erlich to folow dronkennees, and to drinke tyll it be euen, the harpe and other minstrelsyes beeth in your feastes and wyne. But the worke of God ye ne beholdeth not, ne taketh no kepe to the workes of hys hands: And therefore my people is take prisoner, for they ne had no cunnyng. And the noble men of my people deyeden for hunger, and the multitude of my people weren drye for thyrst, and therefore hell hath drawen abroad their soule, and hath yopened hys mouth withouten any ende. And eftsones sayth Isay the prophet: The word is floten away, and the hyghnes of the people is ymade sycke, and the earth is infect of his wonnyers, for they haue broken my lawes, and ychaunged my ryght, and han destroyed myne euerlastyng bonde and forward<sup>2</sup> betwene them and me. And therefore cursing shall deuoure the earth, and they that wonneth on the erthly shullen done synne. And therefore the earth tilyars shullen waxe woode, and fewe men shullen ben yleft vpon the earth. And yet sayth Isay the prophet, this sayth God, for as much as this peple nigheth me with their mouth, and glorifieth me with their lips, and their hart is farre from mee. And they han ydrad more mens commaundement, then myne, and more drawe to their doctrines, then myne. Therefore will I make a great wondring vnto this people, wisdom shall perish away from wise men, and vnderstanding of ready men shal bee yhid. And so it seemeth that an other saying of Isay is fulfilled, there as God bade him goe teach the people, and sayd goe forth and say to this people: Eares haue ye, and vnderstand ye not, and eyes yee haue sight ne know ye not. Make blynde the hart of this people, and make their cares heauy, and close their eyen, least he see with his eyen, and yheare with his eares, and vnderstande with his hart, and by yturned, and ych heale hym of hys sicknesse. And Isay sayd to God: How long Lord shal this be? And God said: For to that the cities ben desolate withouten a wonnier, and an house wythouten a man.

Here is mychel nede for to make sorow, and to crye to our Lord Iesu Christ hertilich for helpe and for succour, that hee wole forgeue vs our synnes, and geue vs grace and conning to seruen him better here after. And God of hys endles mercy geue vs grace and conning trulich to tellen which is Christes law in helping of mens soules, for we beth lewde men, and sinneful men, and vneunning, and if he woll be our helpe and our succor, we shullen wel perfourme our purpose. And yblessed bee our Lorde God that hideth his wisdom from wise men, and fro ready men, and teacheth it to small children, as Christ teacheth in the gospel.

The law  
of Christ  
standeth  
on two  
parts

Christen men haue a law to keepe, the which law hath two parties. Beleue in Christ that is God, and is the foundment of theyr law, and vpon this foundement, as he sayd to Peter, and the gospel beareth witnes, he woll byelden his church, and this is the first partie of Christes law. The second partie of this law beth Christes commaundmentes that beth written in the gospel, and more verilich in Christen mens hartes.

And as touching the beleue, we beleuen that Christ is God, and that there ne is no god but he. We beleuen neuerthelesse that in the Godhead there bene three persons, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, and al these bene three persons ben one God, and not many gods, and al they beth ylich mightie,

(1) This interesting document is given in every Edition but the First and the Third.—Ed.

(2) "Forward," that is, covenant

yllich good, and ylich wise, and euer haue ben, and euer shullen ben. We beleuen this God made the world of nought, and man he made after hys owne likenesse in Paradise that was a lande of blisse, and gaue him that land for his heritage, and bad him that he shoulde not eate the tree of knowledge of good and euil, that was a-midde Paradise.<sup>1</sup> Then the diuell that was fallen out of heauen for his pride, had enuie to man, and by a false suggestion he made man eate of this tree, and breake the commaundement of God, and tho was man ouercome of the deuill, and so he lost his heritage, and was put out thereof into the world that was a land of trauel, and of sorow vnder the feends thraldome, to be punished for his trespasse. There man followed wickednesse and sinne, and God for the sinne of man sent a floud into this world, and drownd al mankinde saue eight soules. And after this flud he let men multiply in the world, and so hee assayed whether man dread him or loued him, and among other he found a man that hight Abraham: this man he proued whether he loued him and drad him, and bad him that hee should offeren Isaac his son vppon an hil, and Abraham as a true seruant fulfilled the Lords commaundment: and for this buxumnesse and truth, God sware vnto Abraham that he would multiplie his seed as the grauel in the sea, and as the stars of heauen, and he behight to him and to his heires the land of behest for heritage for euer, gif they wolden ben his true seruantes and keepe his hestes. And God helde him forward,<sup>2</sup> for Isaac Abraham's son begat Iacob and Esau: and of Iacob that is ycleped Israel, comen Gods people that he chose to be his seruants, and to whom he behight the land of behest. This people was in great thraldom in Egypt vnder Pharao that was king of Egypt: and they crieden to God that hee shoulde deliueren them out of that thraldome, and so hee did: for he sent to Pharao, Moses and his brother Aaron, and bad him deliuer his people to done him sacrifices: and to fore Pharao he made Moses done manie wonders, or that Pharao would deliuer his people, and at the last by might hee deliuered his people out of thraldome, and led them through a desert towarde the land of behest, and there he gaue them a lawe that they shulden lyuen after, when they comen into their country, and in their way thither ward, the ten commaundementes God wrote himselfe in two tables of stone: the remnant of the law he taught them by Moses his seruant how they shoulde doe euery chone to other, and gif they trespassed again the law, he ordeined how they shoulde be punished. Also he taught them what maner sacrifices they should do to him, and he chose him a people to been his priests, that was Aaron and his children, to done sacrifices in the tabernacle, and afterward in the temple also. He chese him the remnant of the children of Leuy to ben seruants in the tabernacle to the priestes, and he said: When ye come into the land of behest, the children of Leuy they shullen haue none heritage amongst their brethren, for I would be their part, and their heritage, and they shullen serue me in the tabernacle by dayes and by nightes, and he ordeined that priestes should haue a part of the sacrifices that wer offred in the tabernacle, and the first begotten beastes, both of men and beastes and other things as the lawe telleth. And the other children of Leuy that serued in the tabernacle, should haue tythings of the people to their lyuelode, of the which tythings they should geuen the priestes the tenth partie in forme of offeryng. The children of Leuy both priestes and other, should haue houses and crofts, and lesewes for their beastes in the land of behest, and none other heritage: and so God gaue them their land of behest, and bade them that they ne should worship no other God then him. Also he bade that they should kepe his commaundementes, and gife they did so, all their enemies about them shuld drede them and be their seruantes. And gife they worshipped false gods, and so forsaken his lawes, he behight them that he would bring them out of that land and make them serue their enemies, but yet hee said hee would not benemen his mercie away from them, if they would cry mercie and amend their defautes, and all this was done on Gods side.

And here is much loue showed of God to man. And who so looketh the bible, hee shall finde that man showed him little loue againeward: for when they were come into their heritage, they forgotten their God, and worshipped false gods. And God sent to them the prophetes and his seruants feile times<sup>3</sup>

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Abraham.

Gods  
loue to  
man.

(1) "A midde Paradise," in the midst of Paradise.  
with him.

(3) "Feile times," oft times.

(2) "Helde him forward," kept promise

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to hid them withdrawen them from their sinnes, and other they haue slowned them, or they beaten them, or they led them in prison: and oft times God tooke vpon them great vengeance for their sinnes, and when they cried after helpen to God, he sent them helpe and succour. This is the generall processe of the Old Testament, that God gaue to his people by Moses his seruant. And all this testament and this doing ne was but a shadow and a figure of a new Testament that was ginen by Christ. And it was byhoten by Ieremie the prophet, as S. Paul beareth witnes in the epistle that he writeth to the Iewes. And Ieremie saith in this wise: Loe dayes shall come, God saith, and I will make a newe bande to the house of Israel, and to the house of Iuda, not like the forward that I made with their fathers in that day that I tooke their hande to led them out of the lande of Egypt, the which forward they maden vein, and I had lordship ouer them. But this shal be the forward that I wold make with them after those daies: I will giue my lawes with them in their inwardnesse, and I wil wryten them in their harts, and I wil be their God, and they should be my people, and after that a man shall not teach his neighbour ne his brother, for all (God saith) from the least to the most, should know me, for I will forgeuen them their sinnes, and will no more thinke on theyr sinnes.

This is the newe testament, that Christ, both God and man borne of the mayd Mary, he taught here in this world, to bring man out of sinne and out of the deuils thraldome and seruice, to heauen, that is land of blisse and heritage to all tho that beleuen on him and kepen his commaundementes, and for his teaching he was done to the death. But the third day arose againe from death to life, and sette Adam and Eue and many other folke, out of hell, and afterward hee came to his disciples and comforted them. After he stied vp to heauen to his father, and tho he sent the Holy Ghost amonges his disciples: and in time comming he wold come and demen all mankinde after their workes, and after the word she spake vpon earth: some to blisse, within body and in soul euer withouten end, and some to paine withouten end, both in body and in soule.

This is our beleue and all Christen mens, and this beleue is the first poynt of the newe Testament that yeh christen man is holde stedfastly to beleue, and rather to suffer the death than forsaken this beleue, and so this beleue is the bread of spiritual life, in forsaking sinne, that Christ brought vs to life.

But for as much as mannes living ne stondeth not all onlych by bread, he hath y-giuen vs a draught of water of life to drinke. And who that drinketh of that water, he ne shall neuer afterward ben a thurst. For this water is the clere teaching of the gospel, that encloseth seven commaundementes.

The furst is this: Thou shalt loue thy God ouer all other things, and thy brother as thy selfe, both enemy and frend.

The second commaundement is of meekenesse, in the which Christ chargeth vs to forsake lordship vpon our brethren and other worldly worships, and so he did himselfe.

The third commaundement, is in standing stedfastlich in truth and forsaking all falsenesse.

The fourth commaundement, is to suffer in this world diseases and wrongs withouten ageinstondinges.

The fifth commaundement is mercie, to forgeuen our brethren their trespasse, as often time as they gylteth, without asking of vengeance.

The sixth commandement is poornenes in spirite, but not to ben a begger.

The seuenth commaundement, is chastitie: that is a forsaking of fleshylych likinges displeasing to God. These commaundementes enclosen the ten commaundementes of the old law, and somewhat more.

This water is a blessed drinke for christen mens soule. But more harme is, much folke would drink of this water, but they mowe not come thereto: for God saith by Ezechiel the prophet: When iche geue to you the most cleane water to drinke, ye troubled that water with your feete, and that water is so defouled, ye geue my shepe to drinke. But the cleane water is yhid fro the shepe, and but gif God cleare this, it is dread least the shepe dyen for thurst. And Christ that is the wisdom of the father of heauen, and wold of this wisdom that come from heauen to earth to teach man this wisdom,

Speciall  
precepts  
or lessons  
of the gos-  
pell.

Christes  
sheepe  
stopped  
from  
cleane  
water and  
compelled  
to drinke  
p. ddell.



thorow the which man should ouercome the sleighes of the deuill that is principall enemy of mankind: haue mercy and pitye of his people, and shew if it be his wil how this water is troubled, and by whom: and sith<sup>1</sup> clere this water that his shepe mowne drinke herof, and kele the thirst of their soules. Blessed mote our Lord ben, for he hath itaught vs in the gospell, that ere than hee woulde come to the vniuersall dome, then should come manie in his name and sayen, that they weren Christ; and they shoulde done many wonders, and begilen manie men. And manie false prophets shoulde arisen and begylen much folke.

A Lord, yblessed mote thou ben of euerich creature: which ben they that haue ysaid that they weren Christ and haue begiled thus thy people? Trulich Lord I trow, thilke that sayen that they ben in thy steed, and oinemen<sup>2</sup> thy worship, and maken thy people worshippen them as God, and haue hid thy lawes from the people. Lord, who durst syt in thy steede and benemen thee thy worship and thy sacrifice, and durst maken the people woorschip them as gods? The Sauter telles, that God ne wole not in the day of dome demen men for bodilich sacrifices and holocaustes: But God saith, yeld to me sacrifice of heryng, and yeld to God thine auowes, and clepe me in the day of tribulation, and ych wole defend thee, and shalt worship me.

The heryng<sup>3</sup> of God standeth in three things. In louing God ouer all other things; in dreading God ouer all other thinges; in trusting in God ouer all other things.

These three points Christ teacheth in the gospel. But I trow men louen him but a little. For who so loueth Christ, he wole kepen his wordes. But men holden his wordes for heresie and follie, and kepeth mens wordes. Also men dreden more men and mens lawes and their cursings, then Christ and his lawes and his cursings. Also men hopen more in men and mens helpes, than they doe in Christ and in his helpe. And thus hath he that setteth in God's stede, bynomen God these three herynges, and maketh men louen him and his lawes, more then Christ and Christes law, and dreden him also. And there as the people shulden yelde to God their vovwes, he saith he hath power to assoylen them of their avowes, and so this sacrifice he nemeth<sup>4</sup> away from God. And there as the people should cry to God in the day of tribulation, he letteth them of their crying to God and bynemeth God that worship. This day of tribulation is whan man is fallen thorowe sinne into the deuils seruice, and than we shulden cry to God after help, and axen forgeuenes of our sinne, and make great sorrowe for our sinne, and ben in full will to doe so no more ne none other sin, and that our Lord God wole forgeuen vs our sinne, and maken our soule cleane. For his mercie is endles.

But Lord, here men haue bynomen thee much worship: for men seyn that thou ne might not cleane assoylen vs of our sinne. But if we knowlegen our sinnes to priestes, and taken of them a penance for our sinne gif we mowen speake with them.

A Lord! thou forgaue sometime Peter his sinnes and also Mary Magdaleine, and manie other sinfull men withouten shriungs to priestes, and taking penance of priests for their sinnes. And Lord thou art as mightie now as thou were that tyme, but gif any man haue bynomen thee thy might. And wee lewed men beleuen, that there nys no man of so great power, and gif any man maketh himselfe of so great power he heighteth<sup>5</sup> himselfe aboute God. And S. Paul speaketh of one that sitteth in the temple of God and highten him aboute God, and gif any such be, he is a false Christ.

But hereto seyn priests, that when Christ made clean leproous men, he bade them go and shewe them to priestes. And therefore they seyn that it is a commaundement of Christ, that a man should shewen his sinne to priestes. For as they seyn, lepre in the old lawe betokeneth sinne in this new law. A Lord God! whether thine apostles knew not thy meaning as well as men done now? And gif they hadden yknow that thou haddest commanded menne to shriuen them to priests, and they ne taught not that commaundement to the people, me thinketh they hadden ben to blame: But I trow they knewen well that it was none of thy commaundemens, ne needfull to heale of mannes soule. And as me

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The honouring  
of God  
standeth  
in three  
things.

Against  
auricular  
confession.

Sinnes  
forgiue  
without  
shrift.

Obiection  
of the  
priestes  
to main-  
tain  
shrift.  
Answer  
to the  
obiection.

(1) "Sith," that is, afterwards.

(3) "Heryng," that is, worshipping.

(5) "Heighteth," that is, exalteth.

(2) "Binemen," that is, take away.

(4) "Nemeth," that is, taketh.

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thinketh the law of lepre, is nothing to the purpose of shriuing: for priestes in the old lawe hadden certaine points and tokens to know whether a man were leprous or not: and gif they were leprous, they hadden power to putten them away from other cleane men, for to that they weren cleane, and then they hadden power to receiuen him among his brethren, and offeren for him a sacrifice to God.

This nys nothing to the purpose of shriuing. For there nis but one priest, that is Christ, that may knowe in certaine the lepre of the soule. Ne no priest may make the soule cleane of her sinne, but Christ that is priest after Melchisedekes order: ne no priest here beneath may ywit for certaine whether a man be cleane of his sinne or cleane assoyled, but gif God tell it him by reuelation. Ne God ordeined not that his priests shuld set men a penance for their sinne, after the quantitie of the sin, but this is mans ordinaunce, and it may well bee that there commeth good thereof. But I wote wel that God is much vnworshipped thereby. For men trust more in his absolutions, and in his years of grace, than in Christs absolutions, and thereby is the people much apayred. For now, the sorrow a man should make for his sin, is put away by this shrift: and a man is more bold to doe sinne for trust of this shrift, and of this bodilich penance.

Penance  
for sin, is  
mans or-  
dinance,  
not Gods.

Mis-  
chiefes  
that come  
by auricu-  
lar con-  
fession.

Popish  
priestes  
charged  
with  
simony.

An other mischief is, that the people is ybrought into this beleefe, that one priest hath a great power to assoylen a man of his sinne and clenner, then another priest hath.

An other mischief is this, that some priest may assoilen them both of sinne and paine, and in this they taken them a power that Christ graunted no man in earth, ne he ne vsed it nought on earth himselfe.

An other mischief is, that these priests sellen forgeuenes of mens sinnes and absolutions for mony, and this is an heresie accursed that is ycleped simonie and all thilke priests that axeth price for graunting of spirituall grace, beth<sup>1</sup> by holy lawes depriued of their priesthood, and thilke that assenteth to this heresye. And be they ware, for Helyse the prophet toke no money of Naaman when he was made cleane of his lepre, but Giesi his seruaut: and therefore the lepre of Naaman abode with him and with his heires euermore after.

Here is much matter of sorowe, to see the people thus far ylad away from God and worshupn a false god in earth, that by might and by strength hath ydone away the great sacrifice of God out of hys temple: of which mischief and discomfort, Daniel maketh mention, and Christ beareth thereof witnesse in the gospell. Whoe that readeth it vnderstand it. Thus wee haue ytold apertlie, how he that saith he sitteth in Christes stede binemeth<sup>2</sup> Caris his worship and his sacrifice of his people and maketh the people worshepen hym as a God on earth.

Cry we to God, and knowledge we our sinnes euerichone to othe as Seint Iames teacheth, and pray we hartilich to God euerichone for othe, and then we shulen hopen forgeuenes of our sinnes. For God that is endlesse in mercy saith, that he ne will not a sinfull mans death, but that he be turned from [his sin and liuen. And therefore, when he came downe to saue mankind, he gaue vs a law of loue and of mercie: and bade, gif a man doe a trespasse, amend him priuilich, and gif he leue not his sinne, amend him before witnesse: and gif he ne amendeth not, men should tell to the church; and gif hee ne amendeth not than, men shuld shone his company as a publicane, or a man that is misbeleued, and this law was yfigured in the lawe of lepre, who that readeth it, he may see the sooth.

The pope  
breaketh  
the law of  
loue, and  
mercy.

But Lord God, he that sitteth in thy stede, hath vndoe thy lawe of mercy and of loue; Lord, thou biddest louen enemyes as our self; and thou shewest in the gospell, there as the Samaritane had mercy on the Iewe. And thou biddest vs also prayen for them that cursen vs, and that defamen vs, and pursuen vs to death. And so Lorde thou didst, and thine apostles also. But he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar on earth, and head of thy church, he hath vndone thy lawe of loue and mercie. For gif we spoken of louing our ennemys, hee teacheth vs to fight with our enemyes, that Christ hath forboden. Hee curseth and desireth vengeaunce to them that so dooth to him. Gif any man pursueth him hee curseth him, that it is a sorowe a christen man to hearken the cursinges that

(1) "Beth," that is, be.

(2) "Binemeth," taketh away.

they maken, and blasphemies in such cursing. Of what thing that I knowe, I may beare true witnesse.

But gif we speake of louing of our brethren, this is vndone by him that saith he is Gods vicar in earth. For Christ in the gospel biddeth vs, that we shoulde clepen vs no father vpon earth: but clepen God our father, to maken vs loue perfittich together. And he clepeth himself father of fathers and maketh many religions, and to euerich a father. But whether is loue and charity increased by these fathers and by their religions, or els ymade lesse? For a friar ne loueth not a monke, ne a secular man neither, nor yet one frier another that is not of the order, and it is agaynward.

A Lord! me thinketh that there is litle perfection in these religions. For Lord, what charitie haue such men of religion, that knowen how they mowen against and sin, and fleen away fro their brethren that ben more vncunning then they ben, and suffren them to trauelen in the world withouten their counsel as beastes? Trulich Lord, me thinketh that there is but litle charitie, and then is there litle perfection. Lord God, when thou were on earth, thou were among sinfull men to drawen them from sin, and thy disciples also. And Lord, I trow thou ne grauntest not one man more cunning then another all for himselfe: and I wote well that lewd men that ben laborers, ne trauell not alonlich for him self. Lord our belief is, that thou ne were not of the world, ne thy teaching neither, ne thy seruants that lyueden after thy teaching. But all they forsaken the world, and so euerie christen man must. But Lord, whether thou taughtest men forsake their brethrens companie and trauell of the world, to lyuen in ease and in rest, and out of trouble and anger of the world, by their brethrens trauell and so forsaken the world?

A Lord! thou ne taughtest not a man to forsake a pore estate and trauel, to ben afterward a lord of his brethren, or ben a lords fellow and dwelling with lords, as doth men of these new religions. Lord thou ne taughtest not men of thy religion thus to forsake the world, to lyuen in perfection by them selfe in ease, and by other mens trauell. But Lord they sayen they ben ybound to thy seruise, and seruen thee both night and day in singing their praiers, both for them selfe and for other men, that done them good both quick and dead, and some of them gone about to teach thy people when they haue leisure.

A Lord! gif they ben thy seruantes: whose seruants ben we that cannot preyen as they done? And when thou were here on earth, for our neede thou taughtest thy seruants to preyen thy father priulich and shortlich: And gif there had ben a better maner of praying, I trow thou wouldest haue taught it in help of thy people. And Lord thou reprocuest hypocrits that preyen in long prayer and in open places, to ben yholden holy men. And thou seyst in the gospel, wo to you Pharises hypocrites. And Lord thou ne chargedest not thy seruants with such maner seruise: But thou seyst in the gospel, that the Pharises worshopen thee with their lippes, and their hart is farre from thee. For they chargen<sup>1</sup> more mens traditions than thy commaundementes.

And Lord, we lewed men han a beleefe, that thy goodnesse is endles: and gif we kepen thine hestes, than ben we thy true seruants. And though we preyen thee but a litle and shortlich, thou wilt thinke on vs, and granten vs that vs nedeth, for so thou behited<sup>2</sup> vs somtime: And Lord I trow, that pray a man neuer so many quaint praiers, gif he ne keep not thine hests he ne is not thy good seruant. But gif he kepe thine hestes, than he is thy good seruant, and so me thinketh. Lord that prayeng of long praiers ne is not the seruice that thou desirest, but keeping of thine hestes: and then a lewd man may serue God as well as a man of religion. \*And so Lord our hope is that thou wilt assone heare a plowmans prayer and he keepe thyne hestes as thou wilt do a mans of religion,\*<sup>3</sup> though that the plowman ne may not haue so much siluer for his prayer, as men of religion. For they kunnen<sup>4</sup> not so well preysen their prayers as these other chapmen: But Lord our hope is, that our praiers be neuer the worse though it be not so well sold as other mens praiers.

Lord, Ezechiel the prophet saith that whan he spake to the people thy words, they turned thy wordes into songs and into tales: And so Lord men done now: they singin merilich thy words, and that singing they clepen thy seruice. But Lord I trow that the best singers ne herieth thee not most: But

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1360.

The pope  
would be  
a father,  
but he  
beareth  
no loue.

To for-  
sake the  
world is  
not to  
liue in  
ease from  
company.

True ser-  
uice of  
God  
standeth  
not in  
long prai-  
ers, but in  
keeping  
Gods  
co-  
mmande-  
ments.

Singing in  
churches  
falsly  
called  
Gods ser-  
uice.

(1) "Chargen," care for.

(2) "Behited," promised.

(3) These words have been inadvertently omitted in every Edition since that of 1570, in which this document first appeared.—Ed.

(4) "Kunnen," they can.

Edward  
III.A.D.  
1369.Weeping  
for sins  
better  
service  
then sing-  
ing in  
church.

he that fulfilleth thy words he heryeth<sup>1</sup> thee ful wel, though he wepe more then sing. And I trow that weeping for breaking of thy commaundements, be more pleasing service to thee, than the singing of thy words. And would God that men would serve him in sorrow for their sinnes, and that they shoulde afterward serve thee in mirth. For Christ saith, yblessed ben they that maken sorrow, for they shoulde ben ycomforted. And wo to them that ben merry and haue their comfort in this worlde. And Christ said that the world should ioyen, and his seruants shulde be sory, but their sorrow should be turned into joy.

A Lord! he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar vpon earth, hath yordained an order of priestes to doe thy service in church to fore thy lewd people in singing matens, enensong and masse. And therefore he chargeth lewd men in paine of cursing, to bring to his priests thythings and offeringes to finden his priestes, and he clepeth that Gods part, and due to priestes that sernen him in church.

But Lord, in the old law, the tithings of the lewd people ne wer not due to priestes, but to that other childer of Lenye that serueden thee in the temple, and the priest hadden their part of sacrifices, and the first bygetten beastes and other things as the lawe telleth. And Lord, S. Paul thy seruauant saith, that the order of the priesthood of Aaron ceased in Christes comming and the lawe of that priesthood. For Christ was end of sacryfices yoffered vpon the crosse to the father of heauen, to bring man out of sinne and become himselfe a priest of Melchisedeekes order. For he was both king and priest without beginning and end, and both the priesthoode of Aaron, and also the law of that priesthood, ben ychaunged in the comming of Christ. And S. Paul seyth it is reproued, for it brought no man to perfection. For bloud of gotes ne of other beasts ne myght done away sinne, for to that Christ shadde his bloud.

The order  
of  
priestes,  
not made  
to offer  
Christs  
bodie.

A Lord Iesu, wether thou ordenest an order of priestes to offren in the auter thy flesh and thy bloud to bringen men out of sinne, and also out of peine? And whether thou geue them alonelych a power to eate thy flesh and thy bloud, and wether none other man may eate thy flesh and thy bloud with outen leue of priestes? Lord, we belenen, that thy flesh is very meate, and thy bloud very drinke, and who eteth thy flesh and drinketh thy bloud dwelleth in thee, and thou in him, and who that eateth this bread shall liue without end. But Lord thyne disciples seyde, this is an hard worde, but thou answerest them and seydest: when ye seeth mans soone stiuen vp there he was rather, the spirit is that maketh you liue, the words that yeh haue spoken to you ben spirit and lyfe. Lord, yblessed mote thou be, for in this word thou teachest vs that he that kepeth thy wordes and doth after them, eateth thy fleshe and drynketh thy bloud, and hath an euerlasting life in thee. And for we shoulde haue minde of this liuing, thou gauest vs the sacrament of thy flesh and bloud, in forme of bread and wine at thy supper, before that thou shuldest suffer thy death, and took bread in thine hand, and saydest: take ye this, and cate it, for it is my body: and thou tookest wyne, and blessedst it, and saidest: this is the bloud of a newe and an euerlasting testament, that shall be shed for many men in forgiuenesse of sinnes: as oft as ye done this, doe ye this in mynde of me.

The sac-  
rament  
of the  
bodie of  
the Lord  
abused.Priests  
principal-  
ly sent to  
preach,  
not to say  
maise, or  
to make  
the Lords  
bodie.

A Lord! thou ne bede not thine disciples maken this a sacrifice, to bring men out of paynes, gif a priest offred thy bodie in the auter: but thou bede them goe and fullen<sup>2</sup> all the folke in the name of the father, and the sonne, and the holy ghost, in forgiueness of their sinnes: and teach ye them to keepe those things that yeh haue commaunded you. And Lord, thine disciples ne ordained not priestes principallich to make thy bodie in sacrament, but for to teach the people, and good husbandmen that wel gouern their houtholdes, both wiues and children, and their meiny, they ordeind to be priests to teachen other men the law of Christ, both in word, in deede, and they liuedeyn as true christian men, euery day they eaten Christs body, and drinken his bloud, to the sustenance of liuing of their soules, and other whiles they taken the sacrament of his bodie in forme of bread and wyne, in mind of our lord Iesu Christ.

He that  
speaketh  
Gods  
teaching,  
is holden  
an here-  
tike.

But all this is turned ypsedowne: for now who so wil liuen as thou taughtest, he shal ben holden a foole. And gif he speake thy teaching, he shal ben holden an heretike, and accursed. Lord yhaue no longer wonder hereof, for so they seiden to thee when thou were here some time. And therefore wee moten take in pacience their words of blasphemie as thou didest thy selfe, or else we

(1) "Heryeth," worshippeth

(2) "Fullen," baptise, from the Anglo-Saxon *fullian*.

weren to blame. And truelich Lord I trowe, that if thou were nowe in the worlde, and taughtest as thou dyddest some time, thou shuldest ben done to death. For thy teaching is dammed for heresie of wise men of the world, and then moten they nedes ben heretikes that teachen thy lore, and all they also that trauellen to liue thereafter.

And therefore Lord, gif it be thy will, help thine vnkunning and lewd seruaunts, that wolen by their power and their kunning, helpe to destroy sinne. Leue Lord, sith thou madest woman in helpe of man, and in a more frayle degree then man is, to be governed by mans reason: what perfection of charitie is in these priests and in men of religion, that haue forsaken spoushod that thou ordeynedst in Paradise betwixt man and woman, for perfection to forsaken traueile, and liuen in ease by other mens traueile? For they mow not doe bodilich workes for defouling of theyr handes, wyth whom they touchen thy precious bodye in the aulter.

Leue Lord, gif good men forsaken the companye of woman, and needes they moten haue the gouernaile of man, then moten they ben ycoupled with shrewes, and therefore thy spoushode that thou madest in clennes from sinne, it is now ychaunged into liking of the flesh. And Lord, this is a great mischiefe vnto thy people. And yong priests and men of religion, for default of wiues maken many women horen, and drawn through their euel ensample many other men to sin, and the ease that they liuen in, and their welfare, is a great cause of this mischiefe. And Lord me thinketh, that these ben quaint orders of religion and none of thy sect, that wolen taken horen, whilke God forfends, and forsaken wiues that God ne forfendeth not. And forsaken tranail that God commands, and geuen their selfe to idlenes, that is the mother of all noughtines.

And Lord, Mary thy blessed mother and Ioseph, touched oftentimes thy body, and wroughten with their hands, and liuedé in as much clenness of soule, as our priests done now, and touched thy body, and thou touchedst them in thy soules. And Lord our hope is, that thou goen not out of a poore mans soule that traueileth for his liuelode with his hands. For Lorde, our beliefe is, that thine house is mans soule, that thou madest after thine owne likenesse.

But Lord God, men maketh now great stonen houses full of glasen windowes, and clepeth thilke thine houses and churches. And they setten in these houses mawmets of stocks and stones, to fore<sup>1</sup> them they knelen priuily and apert, and maken their prayers, and all this they sayen is thy worship, and a great heryng<sup>2</sup> to thee. A Lord! thou forbiddest sometime to make such mawmets, and who that had yworshipped such, had be worthy to be dead.

Lord in the gospel thou sayst, that true heriers<sup>3</sup> of God ne herieth him not in that hill beside Samaria, ne in Hierusalem neyther, but true heriers of God herieth him in spirite and in trueth. And Lord God what heryng is it to bylden thee a church of deed stones, and robben thy quicke churches of their bodylich lyueloode? Lord God what heryng is it, to cloth mawmettes of stocks and of stones in siluer and in gold, and in other good colours? And Lord I see thine image gone in colde and in hete in clothes all to broken, without shone and hosen, an hungred and a thrust. Lord what heryng is it to teende tapers and torches before blinde mawmets that mowen not I seyen? And hide thee that art our light and our lanterne toward heauen, and put thee vnder a bushell that for darknesse we ne may not seene our way toward blisse? Lord what heryng is it to kneele tofore mawmettes that mowe not yheren, and worshepen them with preyers, and maken thine quick images knele before them, and asken of them absolutions and blessings, and worshepen them as gods, and putten thy quicke images in thraldom and in traueil euermore as bestes, in cold and in heate, and in feeble fare to finden them in liken of the worlde? Lord what herieng is it to fetch deed mens bones out of the ground there as they shoulde kindeliche rotten, and shrinen them in golde and in siluer: and suffren the quicke bones of thine images to rot in prison for default of clothings? And suffren also thy quicke images to perish for default of sustenance, and rooten in the hoorehouse in abhominable lecherie? Some become theeues and robbers, and manquellers that mighten ben yholpen with the gold and siluer that hongeth about deed mens bones and other blind mawmets of stocks and stones.

Lord here ben great abhominations that thou shewdist to Ezechiel thy

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III.

A. D.  
1360.

What inconuenience by the unmarried liues of priestes.

He complaineth of the idlenes of priestes.

What is the true church of Christ.

He complaineth of images in churches.

(1) "To fore," that is, before.

(2) "Heryng," worshipping.

(3) "Heriers," worshippers.



Edward  
III.A. D.  
1360.He com-  
playneth  
of false  
pastors  
that liue  
by their  
flocke,  
but feede  
not them.Against  
hirelings.Popish  
priesters  
neither  
teach  
them-  
selues,  
nor will  
suffer  
others  
besides  
them-  
selues to  
teach.

prophet, that priests done in thy temple, and yet they clepen that thine heryeng. But leue Lord, me thinketh that they louen thee litle that thus defoulen thy quick inages, and worshippen blinde mawmets.

And Lord another great mischief there is now in the world, an hunger that Amos thy prophet speaketh of, that there shall comen an hunger in the earth, not of bread ne thrust of drink, but of hearing of God's worde. And thy sheepe woulde be refreshed, but their shepheardes taken of thy shepe their liuelode, as tythings, &c. and liuen themselfe thereby where them liketh.

Of such shepheardes thou speaketh by Ezechial thy prophet and seist: wo to the shepheardes of Israel that feden themselfe, for the flocks of sheepe shoulde be yfed of their shepheardes: but ye eaten the milke and clothen you with their wolles, and the fat sheep ye slow, and my flock ye ne fede not, the sicke sheep ye ne healed not, thilk that weren to broken ye ne knit not together, thilke that perished ye ne brought not againe: but ye ratled them with sternship and with power. And so the sheepe be sprad abroad in deuouring of all the beasts of the field. And Ieremie the prophet sayth: wo to the shepheardes that disappeareth abroad and teareth the flocke of my lesew.<sup>1</sup>

A Lord, thou were a good shepheard, for thou putttest thy soule for thy sheep: but Lord thou teldest that thilk that come not in by the dore ben night theeuus and day theeuus, and a thefe as thou seest commeth not but for to steale, to slein, and to destroy. And Zacharie the prophet saith, that thou wouldest rerren vp a shepheard vnkunning, that ne wol not hele thy sheep that beth<sup>2</sup> sick, ne seeke thilke that beth lost. Vpon his arme is a swerd, and vpon his right eye: his arme shal waxe dry, and his right eye shal lese his light. O Lord, help, for thy shepe beth at great mischife in the shepheardes defaute.

But Lord, there commeth hired men, and they ne feden not thy sheep in thy plenteous lesew, but feeden thy sheepe with sweuens<sup>3</sup> and false miracles and tales. But at thy trewth they ne comen not: For Lord, I trow thou sendest them neuer. For haue they hire of thy sheepe they ne careth but little of the feding and the keping of thy shepe. Lord of these hired men speaketh Ieremie the prophet, and thou seyst that worde by him. I ne send them not, and they ronne bliuc:<sup>4</sup> I ne speake vnto them, and they propheciden. For if they hadden stonden in my counsell, and they had made my wordes knowen to the puple, ech would haue turned them away from their yuell way and from their wicked thoughts. For Lord, thou seyst that thy words ben as fire, and as an hammer breaking stones. And Lord, thou saist: Lo I to these prophets meeting sweuens of lesing, that haue ytold her sweuens, and haue begyled my puple in their lesing and in their false miracles, when I neither sent ne bede them. And these haue profitet nothing to my puple. And as Ieremie saith, from the lest to the mest<sup>5</sup> all they studien couetise, and from the prophet to the priest, all they done gyle.

A Lord! here is much mischife and matere of sorow, and yet there is more. For gif a lewd ma wol teach thy people trewth of thy words as he is y hold by thy commandement of charity, he shal be forboden and put in prison gif he do ::. And so Lord, thilke that haue the key of conning, haue y lockt the trewth of thy teaching vnder many wardes, and yhid it from thy children. But Lorde, sith thy teaching is ycome from heauen aboue, our hope is, that with thy grace it shall broken these wardes, and show him to thy puple, to kele both the hunger and the thrust of the soule. And then shall no shepheard, ner no false hiridman begile thy puple no more. For by thy lawe I write, as thou ihighest<sup>6</sup> sonetime, that fro the lest to the mest, all they shullen knowen thy will, and weten<sup>7</sup> how they shullen please thee cuer more in certaine.

And leue Lord, gif it be thy will helpe at this nede, for there is none helpe but in thee. Thus Lord, by hym that maketh himselfe thy viker in earth, is thy commaundement of loue to thee and our brethren ybroken, both to him and to thy puple. But Lord God, mercy and patience that beth tweyne<sup>8</sup> of thy commaundements, beth destroyed, and thy puple hath forsake mercy. For Lord, Dauid in the Sauter saith: Blessed beth they that done done and rightfulness in euerich tyme.

(1) "Lesew," that is, pasture.

(2) "Beth," that is, bee.

(3) "Sweuens," that is, dreames.

(4) "Bliuc," quickly.

(5) "Mest," most.

(6) "Ihighest," promisedst.

(7) "Weten," know.

(8) "Tweyne," that is, two.

O Lord, thou hast itaught vs as rightfulness of heauen, and hast ybeden vs forgoen our brethren as oft as they trespassen against vs. And Lord, thine olde law of iustice was, that such harme as a man did his brother, such he should suffer by the lawe, as eye for an eye, and tooth for a tooth. But Christ made an ende of this law, that one brother should not desire wracke of an other: but not that he would that sinne should ben vnpunished, for thereto hath he ordained kings and dukes and other lewd officers vnder them, whilke as Saint Paule saith, ne carien not the swerd in vaine, for they ben the ministers of God, and wrakers to wrath, to them that euil done. And thus hath Christ ymade an ende of this olde law, that one brother may not suen another himselfe, for that<sup>1</sup> to wren without sinne, for breaking of charitie. But this charitie Lord hath thy vicar ybroke, and says that we sinnen, but gif we suen for our right. And we see I wot that thou taughtest vs some time to giue our mantell also, euer that we shoulde suen for our coate. And so Lord beleuen we, that we ben ybouden to don by thy law, that is all charitie, and officers duty is to defenden vs from thilke theuery though we complainen not. But Lord, thy law is turned vpsedowne.

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A Lord! what dome is it to slea a theefe that take a mans cattell away from him, and sufferen a spousebreaker to liue, and a lecherour that killeth a womans soule? And yet thy law stoned the spousebreakers and leachours, and let the theenes liuen and haue other punishment.

He complaineth  
for punishing  
little  
faults  
and to let  
great  
fautes  
escape.

A Lord! what dome is it to slea a thefe for stealing of a horse and to let him liue vnpunished, and to maintaine him that robbeth thy poore people of their liuelod, and the soule of his food?

If he be  
an heri-  
like that  
breaketh  
mans law,  
what is  
the Pope  
that  
breaketh  
Gods  
lawe?

Lord, it was neuer thy dome to sayen, that a man is an heretike and cursed for breaking of mans law, and demen him for a good man for breaking thine hestes.

Lord, what dome is it to curse a lewd man<sup>2</sup> if he smite a priest, and not curse a priest that smiteth a lewde man and leeseth his charitie.

Lord, what dome is it to curse the lewd people for tythings, and not curse the parson that robbeth the people of tythings, and teacheth them not Gods law, but feedeth them with painting of stone walles, and songes of Latin that the people knowen not?

Lord, what dome is to punish the poore man for his trespasse, and suffer the rich to continue in his sinne for a quantitie of money?

Lord, what dome is it to slayn an vncunning lewed man for his sinne, and suffer a priest, other a clearke that doth the same sin, scape aliuie? Lord the sinne of the priest or of the clearke is greater trespasse then it is of a lewd vncunning man, and greater ensample of wickednesse to the common people.

Lord, what maner people be we, that neither keep thy domes and thy rightfulness of the olde testament that was a lawe of drede, nor thy domes and thy rightfulness of thy new testament that is a law of lone and of mercy: but haue an other law, and taken out of both thy lawes that is liking to vs, and the remnant of heathen mens lawes, and Lord this is a great mischiefe.

Against  
the canon  
law.

O Lord thou sayest in thy lawe, deme ye not and ye should not be demean: for the same mesure that yee meten to other men, men shall meten to you againeward. And Lord thou sayst that by their worke we should know them. And by that we know that thou commaunded vs not to demen mens thoughts, nor their works, that were not against thy lawe expresly. And yet Lord he that sayth he is thy vicar, will demen our thoughts and aske vs what we thinke: not of the Lord, of thy hestes, for they caren little for them, but of him and of his whilke they set about thine, and maken vs accusen our selfe, or else they willen accursen vs, for our accusers mowen<sup>3</sup> we not knowne. And Lord thou saydest in thine old law, that vnder two witnes at the least or three, should stand euery matter. And that the witnes shoulde euer be the first that shoulde helpe to kil them.

The popes  
lawe  
against  
Gods  
lawe, in  
causing  
men to  
accuse  
them-  
selues.

And when the Seribes and the Pharises some tyme brought before thee a woman that was ytake in spousebreaking, and axeden of the a dome, thou didst write on the earth, and then thou gaue this dome: He that is without sinne, throw first at her a stone, and Lord they went forth away from thee and the woman: and thou forgaue the woman her trespasse, and bad her goe forth and sinne no more.

(1) "For that," lay.

(2) "A lewd man," a lay man.

(3) "Mowen," may.

Edward  
III.

A. D.  
1369.

The  
breaking  
of the  
popes  
lawe more  
punished,  
then the  
breaking  
of Gods  
lawe.

Sweet Lorde, if the priestes tooke keepe<sup>1</sup> to thy dome, they would be agast to demen men as they done. O Lord, if one of them breake a commaundement of thy law, he will aske mercy of thee, and not a peine that is due for the sinne, for payne of death were too litle. O Lord, how daren they demen any man to the death for breaking of their lawes, other assent to such law? for breaking of thy law they will set men penaunce or pardon them, and mantaine them as often as they trespassen. But Lord, if a man once breake their lawes or speake against them, hee may done penaunce but once, and after be burnt. Trulych Lord thou sayst, but if euerie of vs forgeue not other his trespassse, thy father will not forgenen vs our sins. And Lord when thou hong on the crosse, thou praiedst to thy father to haue mercie on thy enemyes.

And yet they sain Lord, that they demen no man to the death, for they sain they ne mowen by their lawe demen any man to the death. A lecue Lord! euen so saden their forfathers the Pharises, that it ne was not lawfull for them to kill anie man. And yet they bidden Pilate to done thee to the death against his owne conscience, for hee would gladly haue iquitte thee, but for that they threatned him with the emperour and broughten against thee false witnes also. And he was an heathen man.

O Lord, how much truer dome was there in Pilate that was an heathen iustice, then in our kings and iustices that wolden demen to the death and berne in the fire him, that the priests deliueren vnto them withouten witnes or prefe? For Pilate ne would not demen thee: for that the Phariseis sayden that gif thou ne haddest not bene a misdoer we ne would not deliuer him vnto thee: for to,<sup>2</sup> they broughten in their false witnesss against thee. But Lord, as thou saidest sometime that it should ben lighter at domes day to Tyro and to Sydon and Gomorra, than to the cities where thou wrought wonders and myracles: so I dred, it shall be more light to Pilate in the dome, then to our kings and domes men that so demen without witnes and prefe. For Lord to demen thy folk for hereticks: is to holden thee an hereticke: and to brennen them, is to brennen thee, for thou saydest to Paul when he persecuted thy people: Saule, Saule, wherefore persecutest thou me, and in the dome thou shalt say, that ye haue done to the lest of mine, ye haue done to me.

Thus Lord, is thy mercy and iustice foredone by him that sayth he is thy vicar in earth: for he neither keepeth it himself, nor nill not suffer other to doe it.

The third commaundement, that is patience and sufferance is also ibroken by this vicar. Lord thou biddest sufferen both wrongs and strokes withouten agastandng, and so thou diddest thy selfe to geuen vs ensample to sufferen of our brethren. For suffering nourisheth loue, and againstandeth debate. All thy lawe is loue, or els the thing that draweth to loue.

See  
Appendix.

But Lord, men teachen, that men shoulde pleten for their right and fighten also therefore, and els they seyn, men ben in perill: and thou bid in the old law men fight for their country. And thy selfe haddest two swords in thy company when thou shouldest go to thy passion, that as these clerkes seyn, betokeneth a spirituall sword and a temporall sword, that thou gaue to thy vicar to rule with, thy church.

Lord this is a sleight speech, but Lord we beleuen that thou art king of blisse, and that is thine heritage and mankindes country, and in this world we ne bene but straungers and pilgrimes. For thou Lord ne art of this world, ne thy lawe neither, ne thy true seruants that kepen thy law. And Lord, thou were king of Iuda by inheritage if thou wouldest haue ihad it, but thou forsooke it and pletedst not therefore, ne fought not therefore.

But Lord, for thy kind heretage and mankindes country, that is a land of blisse, thou foughtest mightilich: In battaile thou ouercame thy enemye, and so thou wonne thine heretage. For thou that were a Lord mightiest in battail, and also Lord of vertues, are rightfullch king of blisse, as David saieth in the Psalter. But Lord, thine enemye smote the despitfullch, and had power of thee and hang thee vpon the crosse as thou hadst ben a theefe, and benomyn thee all thy clothes, and sticked thee to the hart with a speare.

The pope  
breaketh  
patience.

O Lord, this was an hard assault of a battaile, and here thou overcome by pacience mightilich thine enemies, for thou ne wouldest not done against the

(1) "Tooke keepe," that is, tooke heede.

(2) "For to," that is, therefore.

wil of thy father. And thus Lord thou taughtest thy seruantes to fight for their country. And Lord this fighting was in figure itaught in the olde law. But Lord men holden now the shadow of the old fighting and leuen the light of thy fighting, that thou taughtest openlich both in word and in deede.

*Edward  
III.*

*A. D.  
1360.*

Lord thou gave vs a sword to fighten against our enemis for our country, that was thine holy teaching, and christen mens law. But Lord thy sword is put in a shethe and in priestes ward, that haue forsake the fighting that thou taughtest. For as they seyn it is against their order to ben men of armes in thy battail, for it is vnsemelich, as they seyn, that thy vicar in earth, other his priests shulden suffer of other men. And therefore gif any man smyte him, other any of his clerkes, he ne taketh it not in pacience, but anon he smiteth with his sword of cursing, and afterward with his bodilich sword, he doth them to death. O Lord me thinketh that this is a fighting against kinde, and much against thy teaching.

*Christes'  
vicar  
and his  
priestes  
will suffer  
nothing.*

O Lord whether axedest thou after swerdes in time of thy passion to againe stond thine enemies? nay forsooth thou Lorde. For Peter that smote for great loue of thee, had no great thanke of thee, for his smiting. And Lorde thou were mightie ynough to haue again stond thine enemies, for throgh thy looking they fellen downe to the ground, Lord yblessed mote thou be. Here thou teachest vs that we shoulde suffren: For thou were mightie ynow to haue agaynstande thine enemies, and thou haddest wepen, and thy men weren hartie to haue smitten.

O sweet Lord, how may he for shame clepen him selfe thy vicar and head of the church, that may not for shame suffer? Sithe thou art a Lord, and sufferdest of thy subjects, to giuen us ensample, and so did thy true seruantes.

O Lord, whether geue thou to Peter a spirituall swerd to curse and a temporal swerd to sle mens bodies? Lord I trowe not, for then Peter that loued thee so much, wold haue smit with thy swerds: but Lord, he taught vs to blessen them that cursen vs, and suffren, and not smiten. And Lord he fed thy people as thou bed him, and therefore he suffred the death as thou didst.

*No tem-  
porall  
sward  
geuen to  
Peter.*

O Lord, why clepeth any man him Peters successor that hath forsaken patience, and feedeth thy people with cursing and with smiting? Lord thou saydest in thy gospell, when thy disciples knewen well that thou were Christ, and that thou mustest goe to Ierusalem, and sufferen of the Scribes and Pharises, spittings, reprofes, and also the death. And Peter tooke thee aside, and saide, God forbidde that. And Lord thou saydest to Peter, goe behinde me Sathanas, thou sclanderest me in Israel. For thou ne sauorest not thilke things<sup>1</sup> that ben of God, but thilke that ben of men. Lord to mens wit it is vnreasonable, that thou or thy vicar, gif thou madest any on earth, shoulde suffren of your suggetes.

A Lord! whether thou ordeynest an order of fighters to turn men to the beliefe? Other ordeinest that knightes shoulde swere to fight for thy wordes?

*Faith  
commeth  
not by  
outward  
force.*

A Lord! whether bede thou, that gif a man turne to the faith that he should geue his goods and cattel to thy vicar that hath great lordships, and more then him needeth? Lord I wote well that in the beginning of the church men that weren conuerted, threwn adown their goods afore the apostles feet; for al they weren in charitie, and none of them said this is mine, ne Peter made himselfe no lord of these goods.

But Lord, now he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar vpon earth, and successor to Peter, hath ybroke thy commaundment of charitie, for he is become a lorde. And hee hath also broken thy commaundment of mercy, and also of patience. Thus Lord we be fallen into great mischief and thraldome, for our chieftayne hath forsaken war and armes, and hath treated to haue peace with our enemies.

*Pope  
breaketh  
the rule  
of chari-  
tie, of  
mercy,  
and of  
patience.*

A Lord! gif it be thy wil, draw out thy swerd out of his shethe, that thy seruants may fight therewith against their enemies, and put cowardise out of our harts: and comfort us in battail, or than<sup>2</sup> thou come with thy swerd in thy mouth, to take vengeance on thine enemies. For gif we bene accorded with our enemies til that time come, it is dread least thou take vengeance both of them and of vs together. A Lorde! there is no helpe now in this great mischief, but onelych in thee.

Lord, thou geuest vs a commandement of truth, in bidding vs say yea yea,

(1) "Thilke things," those thinges.

(2) "Or than," before that.

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III.A.D.  
1360.The Pope  
breaketh  
the law of  
swearing.

may nay, and sweare for nothing. Thou geue vs also a maundement of meekenes, and another of poorenes. But Lord he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar on earth, hath ybroken both these commandments, for he maketh a law to compel men to sweare, and by his lawes he teacheth that a man to saue his life, may forswear and lye. And so Lord, through comfort of him and his lawes, the people ne dreadeth not to sweare and to lye, ne oft times to forswearen them. Lord here is lyttle truth.

O Lord, thou hast ybrought vs to a living of soules that standes in beleueing in thee, and kepyng thy hestes, and when we breken thyne hestes, then we slen our soule: and lesse harme it were to suffer bodilich death.

Lord, king Saule brake thine hestes, and thou took his kingdome from his heires euermore after him, and gaue it to Dauid thy seruauant, that kept thine hestes. And thou saydst by Samuell thy prophet to Saule the king, that it is a maner of worshipping of false gods to breake thy hestes. For who that loueth thee ouer al things, and dreadeth thee also: hee nole<sup>1</sup> for nothing break thine hestes.

O Lord, gif breaking of thine hestes be heryng of false gods, I trow that he that maketh the people breake thine hestes, and commaundeth that his hestes ben kept of the people, maketh himself a false god on earth: as Nabuchodonosor did sometime: that was king of Babilon.

But Lord, we forsaken such false gods, and beleuen that ther ne ben no mo gods then thou: and though thou suffer vs a while to bene in disease for knowledging of thee: we thanken thee with our hart, for it is a token that thou louest vs, to giuen vs in this world some penaunce for our trespas.

Lord, in the old law, thy true seruantes tooke the death, for they would not eaten swynes flesh that thou haddest forbidde them to eate. O Lord, what truth is in vs to eaten vnclen mete of the soul, that thou hast forbid? Lord thou sayst, he that doth sinne is seruant of sinne, and then he that lyeth in forswearing him selfe, is seruant of lesing: and then he is seruant to the deuil, that is a lyer and father of lesinges. And Lorde thou sayest, no man may serue two lords at ones. O Lord then every lyer for the time that he lyeth, other forsweareth him selfe, and forsaketh thy seruice for drede of his bodily death, becummeth the deuils seruant.

Seruant  
of ser-  
uants, the  
popes  
stile  
abused.

O Lord, what trueth is in him that clepeth himselfe seruant of thy seruants, and in his doing, hee maketh him a lord of thy seruants: Lord, thou were both Lord and maister, and so thou said thy selfe, but yet in thy warkes thou were as a seruauant. Lord this was a great trueth and a great meeknes: but Lord bid thou thy seruantes that they shoulde not haue lordship ouer their brethren? Lord thou saidst kings of the heathen men han lordship ouer their subiects, and they that vse their power be cleped well doers.

But Lord, thou saidst it should not be so amongst thy seruants. But he that were most should be as a seruauant. Thou Lord, thou taughtest thy disciples to be meeke. Lord in the old law thy seruants durst haue no lordship of theyr brethren, but if that thou bid them. And yet they shoulde not doe to their brethren as they did to thrailes<sup>2</sup> that serued them. But they should doe to their brethren that were their seruantes as to their owne brethren. For all they were Abrahams children. And at a certaine time they shoulde let their brethren passe from them, in all freedom, but if they would wilfullich abiden still in seruice.

Pride of  
priests.

O Lord thou gaue vs in thy comming a law of perfect loue, and in token of loue thou clepedst thy selfe our brother. And to make vs perfect in loue, thou bid that we should clepe to vs no father vpon earth, but thy father of heauen wee should clepe our father. Alas Lord, how violently our brethren and thy children ben now put in bodily thraldom, and in despite as beasts euermore in greuous trauell to find proud men in ease: But Lord, if we take this defoule and this disease in patience and in meekenes and kepe thine hests, we hope to be free. And Lord geue our brethren grace to come out of thraldom of sin, that they be fall in through the desiring and vsage of lordship vpon their brethren. And Lord thy priests in the old law had no lordships among their brethren, but houses and pastures for their beasts: but Lord, our priests now haue great lordships, and put their brethren in greater thraldom then lewd men that be lords. Thus is meeknesse forsaken.

(1) "Nole," would not.

(2) "Thrailes," that is to say, bondmen.



Lord thou biddest in the gospel that when a man is bid to the feast he should sit in the lowest place, and then he may be set hyer with worship when the lord of the feast beholdeth how his guests sitteth. Lord it is drede that they that sit now in the highest place should be bidde, in time comming, sit beneath: and that will be shame and vilenie for them. And it is thy saying, those that hyeth himselfe should be lowed, and those that loweth themselues should be an heyghed. O Lord thou biddest in thy gospel to beware of the Pharisies, for it is a point of pride contrary to mekenes. And Lord thou sayst that they lone the first sittings at supper, and also the principall chaires in churches, and greetings in cheping and to be cleped maisters of men. And Lord thou sayst be ye not cleped maisters, for one is your maister, and that is Christ, and all ye be brethren. And clepe ye to you no father vpon earth, for one is your father that is in heauen. O Lord this is a blessed lesson to teach men to be meke.

But Lord he that clepeth himselfe thy vikar on earth, he clepeth himselfe father of fathers against thy forbidding. And all those worshipes thou hast forbad. He approueth them, and maketh them maisters to many, that teach thy people their own teaching, and leaue thy teaching that is nedefull, and hidden it by quaint gloses from thy lewd people, and feede thy people with sweuens<sup>1</sup> that they mete, and tales that doth litle profite, but much harme to the people. But Lord, these glossers obiect that they desire not the state of maistry to be worshipped therby, but to profit the more to thy people when they preach thy word. For as they seggen the people will beleue more the preaching of a maister that hath taken a state of schole, then the preaching of another man that hath not taken the state of maistry.

Lord whether it be any nede that maisters beren witness<sup>e</sup> to thy teaching that it is true and good? O Lord whether may any maister now by his estate of maisterie, that thou hast forbidden, drawe any man from his sinne, rather than an other man that is not a maister, ne wole be none, for it is forbidden him in thy gospel? Lord thou sendest to maysters to preach thy people, and thou knowledgist in the gospel to thy father that he hath hid his wisdom from wise men and redy men, and shewed it to litle children. And Lord, maisters of the law hylden thy teaching folly, and saiden that thou wouldest destroy the people with thy teaching. Trulich Lord, so these maisters seggeth now: for they haue written many books against thy teaching that is trueth, and so the prophecie of Hieremie is fulfilled, when he saith: Truelich the false points of the maisters of the law hath wrought lesing. And now is the time come that S. Paul speaketh of, where hee saith: Time shall come when men shall not susteine wholesome teaching. But they shullen gather to hepe maisters with hutching eares, and from trueth they shullen turnen away their hearing, and turnen them to tales that maisters haue maked to showne their maistrye and their wisdom.

And Lord a man shall beleue more a mans workes then his words, and the dede sheweth well of these maisters that they desiren more maistrerie for their owne worship than for profite of the people. For when they be maisters, they ne prechen not so oft as they did before. And gif they prechen, commonlich it is before rich men there as they mowen beare worship and also profit of their preaching. But before poore men they prechen but seldem, when they ben maisters: and so by their works we may seene that they ben false glossers.

And Lord, me thinketh that who so wole keepen thine hests him needeth no gloses: but thilke that clepen them selfe christen men, and lyuen against thy teaching and thine hestes needelich they mote glose thine hestes after their liuing, other else men shulden openlich know their hypocrisie and their falshod.

But Lord, thou sayst that there is nothing yhid that shal not be shewed some time. And Lord yblessed mote thou be. For somewhat thou shewest vs now of our mischiefes that we ben fallen in through the wisdomes of maysters, that haue by sleighes ylad vs away from thee and thy teaching, that thou that were the maister of heauen taught vs for loue, when thou were here some time to heale of our soules, withouten error or heresie. But maisters of worldes wisdom and their founder, haue ydamned it for heresie and for error.

O Lord, me thinketh it is a great pride thus to reprove thy wisdom and thy teaching. And Lord me thinketh that this Nabugodonosor king of Babilon that thus hath reproved thy teaching and thine hests, and commandeth on

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1360.Meeknes  
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Vicar in  
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pope.Master-  
ship and  
lordship  
in preach-  
ers.False  
glossers.

(1) "Sweuens," that is, dreamcs.

*Edward III.* all wise to kepen his hests: maken thy people hearken him as a God on earth, and maketh them his thrales and his seruantes.

*A. D. 1360.* But Lord, we lewd men knowen no God but thee, and we with thine helpe and thy grace forsaken Nabugodonosor and his lawes. For he in his proud estate wole haue al men vnder him, and he nele<sup>1</sup> be vnder no man. He ondoth thy lawes that thou ordayne to ben kept, and maketh his own lawes as him liketh: and so he maketh him king aboue al other kings of the earth, and maketh men to worshippen him as a god, and thy great sacrifice he hath ydone away.

*Pouertie of Christ not folowed.* O Lord, here is thy commaundment of meekenes, mischiflich to broke: and thy blessed commaundment of poornenes is also to broken, and yhid from thy people. Lord, Zacharie thy prophet saith, that thou that shouldest ben our king, shouldest bene a poore man, and so thou were: for thou saydest thy selfe, Foxes haue dens, and birdes of heauen nestes, and mans sonne hath not where to legge his head on. And thou saydest yblessed ben poore men in spirit, for thy kingdome of heauen is theiren. And woe to riche men, for they han their

*Couetise.* comfort in this world. And thou bade thy disciples to ben ware of all couetise, for thou saydest, in the abundance of a mans hauing, ne is not his lifelode. And so thou teachest that thilke that han more then them needeth to their living liuen in couetise. Also thou saiest, but gif a man forsake al thinges that he oweth, he ne may not ben thy disciple. Lord, thou sayest also that thy word that is sown in rich mens harts, bringeth forth no fruit: for riches and the businesse of this world maken it withouten fruit.

*Pouertie counted folly.* O Lord, here bene many blessed teachings to teach men to bene pore, and loue poornesse. But Lord harm is, poore men and poornenes ben ylated, and rich men ben yloved and honored. And gif a man be a poore man, men holden him a man without grace, and gif a man desireth poornesse, men holden him but a foole. And if a man be a rich man, men clepen him a gracious man, and thilke that bene busy in getting of riches: ben yhold wise men and ready: but Lord these rich men sayen that it is both leful and needful to them to gather riches together. For they ne gathereth it for themselfe, but for other men that ben needy, and Lord their workes shewen the truth. For if a poore needy man would borowen of their riches, he nele<sup>2</sup> lean him none of his good, but gif he mow be seker to haue it again by a certeine day.

But Lord, thou bede that a man should lend, and not hoping yelding againe of him that hee lendeth to: and thy father of heauen wol quite him his mede. And gif a poore aske a rich man any good, the rich man will giue him but a litle, and yet it shall be litle worth. And Lord me thinketh that here is litle loue and charitie, both to God and to our brethren.

*God is serued of the worst.* For Lord, thou teachest in thy gossell, that what men doe to thy seruantes, they done to thee. A Lord! gif a poore man axe good for thy loue, men geueth him a litle of the wurst. For these rich men ordeinen both bread and ale for Gods men of the wurst that they haue. O Lord, syth al the good that men haue cometh of thee: how dare any man geue thee of the wurst, and kepe to himselfe the best? Howe may such men say that they gatheren riches for others need, as wel as himselfe, sith theyr workes ben contrary to their words? And that is no great truth. And be ye seker these goods that rich men han, they ben Gods goods, ytake to your keeping, to loke how ye wolen be setten them to the worshipping of God. And Lord, thou sayest in the gospel, that who so is true in litle, he is true in that thing that is more: and who that is false in a litle thing, who wole taken him toward thinges of a greater value? And therefore, be ye ware that han Gods goods to keepe. Spend yee thilke trulich to the worship of God, least ye leesen the blisse of heauen, for the vntrue spending of Gods goods in this world.

*A lesson for the that haue goods well to spend them.*

O Lord, these rich men seggen<sup>3</sup> that they don much for thy loue. For many poore labourers ben yfound by them, that shoulde fare febelich, ne were not they and their readinesse: forsooth me thinketh that poor labourers geueth to these rich men, more then they giuen them agaynward. For the poore men mote gone to his labour in cold and in heate, in wete and dry, and spend his flesh and his bloud in the rich mens works, vpon Gods ground, to find the rich man in ease, and in liking, and in good fare of meate, and of drink, and of clothing. Heere is a great gift of the poore man, for he giueth his owne body. But what giueth the ryche man him agaynward? Certes feuble meat, and feuble drink,

(1) 'Nele,' that is, will not.

(2) Ibid.

(3) "Seggen," that is, do say.

and feable clothing. Whateuer they seggen, such be their werks, and here is litle loue. And whosoever looketh well about, all the worlde fareth thus as we seggen. And all men studieth on euery syde, how they may wex rich men. And euerych man almost is a shamed to ben holden a poore man.

And Lord, I trow for thou were a poore man, men token litle regarde to thee, and to thy teaching. But Lord thou came to geue vs a new testament of loue, and therefore it was semelich that thou came in poorenes, to proue who wold loue thee, and kepen thyne hests. For gif thou haddest ycome in forme of a rich man and of a lord, men wold rather for thy dread then for thy loue, haue ykept thine hests. And so Lord now thou might wel ysee which louen thee as they should in keeping thine hestes. For who that loueth thee in thy poorenes and in thy lownes, needes he mote loue thee in thy lordship and thy highnesse.

But Lord, the worlde is turned vpsse downe, and men loue poore men but a litle ne poorenes neither. But men be ashamed of poorenes, and therefore Lord, I trow that thou art a poore kyng. And therefore I trow that he that clepeth himself thy vicare on earth, hath forsaken poorenes, as he hath do the remnaunt of thy law: and is become a rich man and a lord, and maketh his treasure vpon the earth that thou forbiddest in the gospel. And for his right and riches he will plete, and fight, and curse. And yet Lord, he will segge that hee forsaketh all thyngs that he oweth, as thy true disciple mete done after thy teaching in the gospel.

But Lord thou ne taughtest not a man to forsaken his goods and plete for them, and fight, and curse. And Lord hee taketh on him power to assoyle a man of all maner thyngs, but if it be of dette. Truly Lord, me thinketh he knoweth litle of charitie. For who that beth in charitie, possesseth thy goodes in common and not in proper at his neighbours nede. And then shall there none of them segge this is myne, but it is goods that God graunteth to vs to spenden it to his worship. And so if anie of them borroweth a porcion of those goods, and dispendeth them to Gods worship: God is apayed of this spending, and aloweth him for his true doing: And if God is a payed of that dispendyng that is the principal lord of those goods, how dare any of his seruants axen thereof accounts, other challenge it for dette? Serten, of one thing I am incerteine, that these that charge so much dette of worldly cattell, they know litle of Christes law of charitie. For if Ich am a bayly of Gods goodes in the world, if I see my brother in nede, I am hold by charity to part with him of these goodes to his nede: and if he spendeth them well to the worship of God, I mote be well apayed as though I my selfe had spendeth them to the worship of God. And if the principall Lord is well payed of my brothers doing, and the dispendyng of his goodes: how may I segge for shame that my brother is dettoure to me, of the goodes that I tooke him to spende in Gods worship at his nede? And if my brother spendeth amisse the goodes that I take him, I am discharged of my deliuerance of the goodes, if I take him in charity thilk goodes at his nede. And I am hold to be sorie of his euill dispendyng, ne I may not axen the goodes, that I tooke him to his nede in forme of dette, for at his neede they were his as well as mine. And thus is my brother yholde to done to me gif he see me in nede, and gif we bene in charitie, litle should we chargin of dette. And ne we shold not axen so dettes, as men that knowen not God. And than we be poore in forsaking all thynges that we owen: for gif we ben in charitie, we wollen nother fight nor curse, ne plete for our goods with our brethren.

O Lord thus thou taughtest thy seruantes to lyuen. And so they lyueden while they hadden good shepheards, that fedden thy sheepe and robbed them not of their lifelode, as Peter thy good shepheard and thy other apostles. But Lord, he that clepeth himself thy vicar vpon earth and successour to Peter: he robbeth thy puple of their bodylich lyfelode, for he ordeneth proud shepherds to lyuen in ese by the tenth party of poore mens trauell. And he giueth them leue to lyuen where them lyketh. And gif men no wolen wilfullich geuen them the titlinges, they wolen han them against their will by maystery and by cursing, to maken them rich.

Lord, how may any man segge that such shepherdes that louen more the wolle then the sheepe, and feden not thy sheep in body ne in soul, ne ben such rauenours and theeues? And who may segge that the maintaynour of such shepheards, ne is not a maintenour of theeues and robbers? How wole hee

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1360.The po-  
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Edward  
III.

A. D.  
1360.

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Compari-  
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Christ.

assoile shepherds of their robbing without restitution of their goods, that they robben thy sheepe of against their will? Lord, of all shepherds, blessed mote thou be. For thou lovedst more the sheepe then their wole. For thou feedest thy sheepe both in body and soule. And for loue of thy sheepe thou tooke thy death to bring thy sheepe out of wolues mouthes. And the most charge that thou goue to Peter was to feede thy sheepe. And so he did truelich, and tooke the deathe for thee and for thy sheepe. For he came into the fold of sheepe by thee that were the dore. And so I trow a few other did as he did, though they clepen themselves successours to Peter, for their works shoven what they ben. For they robben and sleen and destroyen: they robben thy sheepe of the tenth part of their trauell, and feden them self in ease. They sleen thy sheepe, for they pyenen them for hunger of their soul to the death. They destroyen the sheepe, for with might and with sternship they rulen thy sheepe: that for dred they ben dispersed abroad in mountaines, and there the wilde beastes of the field destroieth them \*and<sup>1</sup> devoureth them\* for default of a good shepheard.

O Lord, gif it be thy will deliuer thy sheepe out of such shepheardes ward that retcheth not of thy sheepe, they han their wolles to make themselfe riche. For thy sheepe ben in great mischiefe, and foule accombred with their shepheardes.

But for<sup>2</sup> thy shepheardes wolden ben excused, they haue ygetten them hyred men to feed thy people, and these comen in sheepes clothing. But dredles, their workes shewen that within forth<sup>3</sup> they ben but wolffes. For han they their hyre, they ne retcheth but a little howe sorilich thy sheepe ben kept. For as they seggen themselfe, they ben but hyred men that han no charge of thy sheepe. And when they shulden feden thy sheepe in the plenteous lesewe<sup>4</sup> of thy teaching, they stonden betweene them and their lesewe, so that thy sheepe ne han but a sight of thy lesewe, but eaten they shall not thereof. But they feden them in a sorry sowre lesewe of lesinges and of tales. And so thy sheepe fallen into greuous sickness through this euill lesewe. And gif any sheepe breake ouer into thy lesewe to tasten the sweetnesse thereof, anon these hyred men driue him out with houndes. And thus thy sheepe by these hyred men, ben ykept out of their kindlich lesewe, and ben yfed with soure grasse and sorry baren lesewe. And yet they feden but seldome, and when they han sorilich fed them, they taken great hyre, and gone away from thy sheepe and letteth them a worth.

And for dread lest thy sheepe wolden in their absence go to thy sweet lesew, they han enclosed it all about so stronglich and so high, that there may no sheepe comen there within, but gif it be a Walisch leper<sup>5</sup> of the mountaines that may with his long legges lepen ouer the wallys. For the hyrid men ben full certain, that gif thy sheepe had ones ytasted the sweetnesse of thy lesewe: they ne woulde no more bene yfed of these hyred men in their sowre lesews, and therefore these hyred men keepen them out of that lesewe. For haden the sheepe ones ytasted well of that lesew, they wolden without a leder go thider to their mete, and then mote these hyred men sechen them another labour to liue by than keping of sheepe. And they ben fell and ware ynowe thereof, and therefore they feden thy sheepe with soure meate that naught is, and hiden from thy sheepe the sweetnesse of thy lesewe. And so though these hyred men gone in sheepes clothing, in their works they ben wolues, that much harme done to thy sheepe as wee haue ytold.

O Lord, they comen as sheepe, for they seggen that they ben poore and haue forsaken the world to liuen parfetlich as thou taughtest in the gospel. Lord this is sheeps clothing. But Lord thou ne taughtest not a man to forsaken the trauelous lining in poornesse in the world, to liuen in esc with riches by other mens trauell, and haue lordship on their brethren. For Lord, this is more to forsaken thee and go to the world.

O Lord thou ne taughtest not a man to forsake the world to liuen in poornesse of begging by other mens trauell that bene as feble as they ben. Ne Lord thou ne taughtest not a man to liuen in poornesse of begging, that were strong inough to travayle for his lifelode. Ne Lord thou ne taughtest not a man to ben a begger to begge of men more then him needeth, to build great castles and make great feasts to thilke that han no need.

(1) From the second Edition of 1570, p. 500.—*Ev.*

(3) "Within forth," inwardly.

(4) "Lesewe," pasture.

(2) "But for," but because.

(5) "A Welch leaper."

Wolues  
in lambe-  
skins de-  
scribed.

He com-  
plaineth  
against  
the vali-  
ant be-  
gers the  
friars.



O Lord thou ne taughtest not men this poorenesse, for it is out of charitie. But thy poorenesse that thou taughtest, norisheth charitie. Lord, sith Paul sayth, that hee that forsaketh the charge of thilke that ben homelich<sup>1</sup> with him, hath forsaken his faith, and is worse than a misbeleued manne: how then now these men seggen that they belenen in Christ, that han forsake their poore feeble friends, and let them liue in trauell and in disese, that trauelled full sore for them, when they weren yong and vnmighty to helpen them self? And they wolen liue in ease by other mens traueil euermore begging withouten shame. Lord thou ne taughtest not this maner poorenes, for it is out of charitie. And all thy law is charitie and thing that nourisheth charitie: and these hyrdmen, these shepheards send about, to keep thy shepe and to feden them other whiles in sorrye bareyne lesewes. Lord thou ne madest none such shepheards, ne keepers of thy sheep that \*weren<sup>2</sup> ireners about countries and wolden oder ones twyes a yere \* feed sorrylich thy shepe, and for so litle trauel taken a great hire, and sithen all the yere afterward, doe what them liketh, and let thy shepe perish for default of keping.

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1360.Wilfull  
pouertie  
abhorred

But thy shepheards abiden still with their sheepe, and feeden them in thy plenteous lesewe of thy teaching, and gone byfore thy shepe, and teachen them the way into the plenteous and sweet lesewe, and keepen thy flocke from rauening of the wild beastes of the field.

O Lord deliuer thy sheepe out of the ward of these shepheards, and these hyred men, that stonden more to keepe their riches that they robben of thy sheep, than they stonden in keping of thy sheepe.

The prop-  
ertie of  
good  
shep-  
heards.

O Lorde when thou come to Ierusalem, sometime thou droue out of the temple, sellers of beastes and of other chaffre, and saydest: Mine house shoulde ben cleped an house of prayers, but they maden a den of theeues of it. O Lorde, thou art the temple in whom we shoulde prayen thy father of heauen. And Salomon's temple that was ybelded at Ierusalem, was figure of this temple. But Lorde, he that clepeth himself thy vicar vpon earth, and sayth that he occupieth thy place here on earth, is become a chapman in thy temple, and hath his chapmen walking in diuers countreys to sellen his chaffare, and to maken him rich. And he saith, thou gaue him so great a power abouen all other men, that what euer he bindeth other vnbindeth in earth, thou bindest other vnbindest the same in heauen. And so of great power he selleth other men forgiuenesse of their sinne. And for much money hee will assoylen a man so cleane of his sinne, that he behoteth<sup>3</sup> men the blesse of heauen withouten any pain after that they be dead, that giuen him much money.

The pope  
is a chap-  
man in  
Gods  
temple

Bishoprickes and cherches, and such other chaffares he selleth also for mony, and maketh himselfe rich. And thus he beguiled the puple.

O Lord Iesu, here is much vntruth, and mischief, and matter of sorrow. Lord thou saidest sometime, that thou wouldest be with thy seruants vnto the end of the world. And thou saydest also, there as twyne or three byn ygadred to gedder in thy name, that thou art in the middle of them. A Lord! then it was no need to thee to maken a liefetenant, sith thou wolte be euermore amongst thy seruants.

Note good  
reader if  
Christ be  
where 2  
or 3 be  
gathered  
in his  
name,  
what  
neede is  
therof a  
lieute-  
nant.

Lorde, thou axedst of thy disciples, who they trowed that thou were. And Peter answered and saide, that thou art Christ God's sonne. And thou saydest to Peter, Thou art yblessed Symon Bariona, for fleshe and bloud ne showed not this to thee, but my father that is in heauen. And I say to thee that thou art Peter, and vpon this stone ych wolde bylde my church, and the gates of hell ne shullen not auailen agens it.

The place  
of giuing  
to Peter  
ye keyes,  
expound-  
ed.

And to thee ych wole geue the keyes of heauen, and what euer thou bindest vpon earth shal be bound in heauen, and what euer thou vnbyndest on earth, shall be vubunden in heauen. This power also was graunten vnto the other disciples as well as to Peter, as the gospell openlich telleth. In this place men seggen that thou graunten to Peters successors, the selue power that thou gaue to Peter. And therefore the bishop of Rome, that sayth he is Peters successour, taketh this power to him to bynden and vnbynden in earth what him liketh. But Lorde, ych haue much wonder how he may for shame clepen himself Peters successour. For Peter knowledged that thou were Christ and God, and kept the hestes of thy lawe: but these han forsaken the hestes of thy law, and hath ymaked a lawe contrary to thyne hestes of thy lawe. And so

(1) "Homelich," of his household. (2) See Edition 1570.—ED. (3) "Behoteth," promiseth.



*Edward  
III.*

*A. D.  
1360.*

The pope  
proued a  
false An-  
tichrist in  
earth.

The popes  
abhom-  
ination  
describ-  
ed.

hee maketh himself a false Christ and a false God in earth. And I trowe thou gaue him no power to vndoe thy lawe. And so in taking this power vppon him, maketh him a false Christ and Antichrist.

For who may be more agens Christ, than he that in his words maketh himselfe Christes vicar in earth: and in his werkes vndoth the ordinaunce of Christ, and maketh men byleuen that it is needfull to the heale of mannes soules, to byleuen that he is Christes vicar in earth? And what euer he byndeth in earth is ybounden in heauen, and vnder this colour hee vndoth Christes lawe, and maketh men alwaies to kepen his law and hestes.

And thus men may yseene that he is agens Christ, and therefore he is Antechrist that maketh men worshupen him as a God on earth, as the proud king Nabugodonosor did sometime, that was king of Babylon. And therefore wee lewed menne that knowen no God but thee Iesu Christ, beleuen in thee that art our God, and our King, and our Christ, and thy lawes. And forsaken Antichrist and Nabugodonosor that is a false God and a false Christ, and his lawes that ben contrary to thy preaching.

And Lorde strength thou vs agens our enemies. For they ben about to maken vs forsaken thee and thy law, other else to putten vs to death.

O Lorde, onelich in thee is our trust to helpe vs in this mischiefe, for thy great goodnesse that is withouten end.

Lord thou ne taughtest not thy disciples to assoylen men of their sinne, and setten them a penaunce for their sin, in fasting ne in praying, ne other almous dede: ne thy selfe, ne thy disciples, vseden no such power here on earth. For Lord, thou forgeue men their sinnes, and bede hem sin no more. And thy disciples fulfilled<sup>1</sup> men in thy name, in forgiuenesse of her sins. Nor they took no such power vpon them as our priestes dare now. And Lord, thou ne assoyledest no man both of his sinne and of his payne, that was due for his sinne, ne thou grauntedst no man such power here on earth.

Purgato-  
rie.

And Lord me thinketh that gif there were a purgatorie, and any earthly man had power to deliueren sinful men from the paynes of purgatory, he should and he were in charitie, sauen euerych man that were in way of salutation from thilke paynes, sith they make them greater then any bodilyche paynes of this world. Also gif the bishop of Rome had such a power, he himselfe should neuer comen in purgatory ne in hell. And sith we see well that he ne hath no power to keepen himselfe ne other men nother out of these bodilyche paynes of the world, and he may goe to hell for his sinne as an other man may: I ne bylene not, that he hath so great a power to assoylen men of their sin as he taketh vpon him abouen all other men. And I trow that in this he hygheth him selfe aboue God.

Selling of  
bishop-  
rickes  
and be-  
nefices.

As touching the selling of bishopricks and personages, I trow it be a point of falsched. For agenst Gods ordinance hee robbeth poore men of a porcion of their sustenance, and selleth it, other giueth it, to find proud men in idlenes that don the lewd puple little profite, but much harme as we told before. Thus ben thy commaundements of truth, of meekenesse, and of poornesse, vndone by him that clepeth himselfe thy vicar here vpon earth.

Mariage.

A Lord! thou gaue vs a commaundement of chastite, that is, a forsaking of fleshlich lustes. For thou broughtest vs to a liuing of soule that is ygouerned by the word. For Lord, thou ordeinedist women more frele than man to ben ygouerned by mans rule, and his helpe, to please thee and keep thine hestes. Ne thou ne ordeinedist that a man should desire the company of a woman, and maken her his wife, to liuen with her in his lustis, as a swine doth or a horse. And his wife ne like him not to his lustes, Lorde thou ne gaue not a man leaue to departen him from his wife, and taken him another.

See  
Appendix.

A lesson  
how to  
inmarrye.

But Lord, thy mariage is a common accord betweene man and woman, to liuen together to their liues end, and in thy seruice eyther the better for others helpe, and thilke that ben thus ycome together, bene ioyned by thee, and thilke that God ioineth, may no man depart. But Lord, thou sayst that gif a man see a woman to coueten her, than he doth with the woman lecherye in his hart. And so Lord, gif a man desire his wife in couetise of such lustes, and not to fly from whoredome, his weddins is lechery, ne thou ne ioynest them not together. Thus was Raguels daughter ywedded to seuen husbundes that the deuill instrangled. But Toby tooke her to liue with her in clennes, and bringing vp

(1) "Fulleden," that is, baptised.

of her children in thy worship, and on him the deuill ne had no power. For the wedding was ymaked in God, for God, and through God.

A Lord, the people is farre ygo from thys maner of wedding. For now men wedden their wiues for fairenes, other for riches, or some such other fleshlich lusts. And Lord, so it preueth by them for the most part. For a man shall not finde two wedded in a land, where the husband loues the wife, and the wife is buxum to the man, as they shoulde after thy law of marriage. But other the man loues not his wife, or the wife is not buxum to her man. And thus Lord is the rule of prefe, that neuer fayleth no preue whether it be done by thee or no. And Lord, all this mischief is common among thy people, for that they know not thy word, but their shepheards and hyred men fedden them with their sweuens<sup>1</sup> and leasings. And Lord, where they shoulde gon before vs in the field, they seggen their order is so holy for thy marriage. And Lord, he that calleth himself thy vicar vpon earth, will not suffien priests to taken them wyues, for that is against his law : but Lord, he will dispensen with them to kepen horen for a certaine somme of mony. And Lord, all horedome is forfended in thy lawe. And Lord, thou neuer forfendest priests their wiues, ner thy apostles neither. And well I wote in our land, priestes hadden wiues vntill Anselmus daies in the yeare of our Lord God, a leuen hundred and twentie and nine, as Huntingdon writes. And Lord, this makes people for the most part beleuen, that lecherie is no synne. Therefore wee lewd men prayen thee that thou wolt send vs shepheardes of thine owne that wolen feden thy flocke in thy lesewe, and gon before them selfe, and so written thy law in our harts, that from the least to the most all they mayen knowen thee. And Lord, geue our king and his lords, hart to defenden thy true shepheardes and thy sheepe from out of the wolues mouthes, and grace to know thee that art the true Christ, the sonne of thy heauenly fater, from the Antichrist, that is the sonne of pride. And Lord, geue vs thy poore sheepe patience and strength to suffer for thy law, the cruelnes of the mischieuous wolues. And Lord, as thou hast promised, shorten these dayes. Lord we axen this now, for more need was there neuer.

Edward  
III

A. D.  
1360.

Priests  
had  
wyues to  
the time  
of Ansel-  
mus.

I doubt not, gentle reader, but in reading this goodly treatise above prefixed, the matter is manifest and plain of itself without any further explication, what is to be thought and judged of this vicar of Christ, and successor of Peter, whom we call the bishop of Rome ; whose life here thou seest not only to be disordered in all points, swerving from the steps and example of Christ the prince and bishop of our souls, but also whose laws and doctrines are so repugnant and contrary to the precepts and rule of the gospel, that almost there is no convenience between them ; as in the perusing of this complaining prayer thou mayest notoriously understand. Wherefore, having no need to stand in any further expressing of this matter, but leaving it to thine own consideration and discretion, I will speed myself (Christ willing) to proceed toward the time of John Wickliff and his fellows, taking in the order of years as I go, such things by the way, as both happened before the said time of Wickliff, and also may the better prepare the mind of the reader to the entering of that story ; where, first, I think it not inconvenient to infer a propheticall parable, written about this time, or not much before, which the author morally applieth unto the bishop of Rome. To what author this prophecy or moral is to be ascribed, I have not certainly to affirm : some say, that Rupescissanus (of whom mention is made before) was the author thereof, and allege it out of Froysard ; but in Froysard, as yet, I have not found it. In the mean season, as I have found it in Latin expressed, because it painteth out the

See  
Appendix

(1) "Sweuens," that is, dreames.

*Edward III.* pope so rightly in his feathers and colours; as I thought the thing was not to be omitted, so I took this present place, as most fit  
*A.D. 1360.* (although peradventure missing the order of years a little) to insert the same. The effect of the parable followeth here under-written.

*See Appendix.* In the time of pope Innocent VI. above specified, this Johannes de Rupescissa, a friar, among his other prophecies marvellously fore-spake (as allegeth Froysard, who both heard and saw him) of the taking of John the French king, prisoner, and brought forth many other notable collections concerning the perils, mutations and changings in the church to come. At the time the pope kept him at Avignon in prison (where Froysard is said to have seen him, and to have spoken with him), the said Froysard heard in the pope's court this example and parable, recited by the aforesaid friar Rupescissanus to two cardinals, to wit, the cardinal of Ostia, and the cardinal of Auxerre, which followeth in these words:—

### A Parable prophesying the Destruction of the Pope.

When, on a certain time, a bird was brought into the world all bare and without feathers, the other birds hearing thereof, came to visit her: and as they saw her to be a marvellously fair and beautiful bird, they counselled together how they might best do her good, since by no means without feathers she might either fly, or live commodiously. They all wished her to live for her excellent form and beauty's sake, insomuch that among them all there was not one that would not grant some part of her own feathers to deck this bird withal: yea, and the more trim they saw her to be, the more feathers still they gave unto her, so that by this means she was passing well penned and feathered, and began to fly. The other birds that thus had adorned her with goodly feathers, beholding her to fly abroad, were marvellously delighted therewith. In the end this bird seeing herself so gorgeously feathered, and of all the rest to be had in honour, began to wax proud and haughty; insomuch that she had no regard at all unto them, by whom she was advanced: yea, she pumged them with her beak, plucked them by the skin and feathers, and in all places hurt them. Whereupon the birds sitting in council again, called the matter in question, demanding one of another what was best to be done touching this unkind bird, whom they lovingly with their own feathers had decked and adorned; affirming that they gave not their feathers, to the intent that she, thereby puffed up with pride, should contemptuously despise them<sup>a</sup> all. The peacock therefore answereth first, "Truly," saith he, "for that she is bravely set forth with my painted feathers, I will again take them from her." Then saith the falcon, "And I also will have mine again." This sentence at length took place among them all, so that every one plucked from her those feathers which before they had given, challenging to them their own again. Now this proud bird, seeing herself thus to be dealt withal, began, forthwith, to abate her haughty stonach, and humbly to submit herself, openly confessing and acknowledging, that of herself she had nothing, but that her feathers, her honour, and other ornaments were their gift; she came into the world all naked and bare; they clad her with comely feathers, and, therefore, of right may they receive them again. Wherefore, in most humblewise, she desireth pardon, promising to amend all that was past, neither would she at any time hereafter commit that whereby, through pride, she might lose her feathers again. The gentle birds, that before had given their feathers, seeing her so humble and lowly, being moved with pity, restored again the feathers which lately they had taken away, adding withal this admonition, "We will gladly," say they, "behold thy flying among us, so long as thou wilt use thine office with humbleness of mind, which is the chiefest comeliness of all the rest: but this have thou for certainty, that if at any time hereafter thou extol thyself in pride, we will straightways deprive thee of thy feathers, and reduce thee to thy former state wherein we found thee." "Even so, O you cardinals!" saith

The pope compared to a bird feathered with other bird's feathers. The first rising and proud prosperity of the pope.

The decay of the pope described.

Johannes Rupescissanus, "shall it happen unto you: for the emperors of the Romans and Almains, and other christian kings, potentates, and princes of the earth, have bestowed upon you goods, lands and riches, that should serve God, but you have poured it out, and consumed it upon pride, and all kind of wickedness, riot and wantonness."<sup>1</sup>

*Edward  
III.*

*A. D  
1360.*

### The Life and Story of Armachanus, Archbishop and Primate of Ireland

In the catalogue of these learned and zealous defenders of Christ against Antichrist above rehearsed, whom the Lord about this time began to raise up for reformation of his church, being then far out of frame, I cannot forget or omit something to write of the reverend prelate and famous clerk, Richard, archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland: a man for his life and learning so memorable, as the condition of those days then served, that the same days then, as they had but few as good, so had none almost his better. His name was Richard Fitz-Ralph, made archbishop and primate, as is said, of Ireland; first brought up in the university of Oxford in the study of all liberal knowledge, wherein he did exceedingly profit under John Bakenthorpe, his tutor and instructor. In this time the begging friars began greatly to multiply and spread, unto whom this Bakenthorpe was ever a great enemy; whose steps the scholar also following, began to do the like. Such was the capacity and dexterity of this Fitz-Ralph, that he, being commended to king Edward III., was promoted by him, first, to be archdeacon of Lichfield, then to be the commissary of the university of Oxford: at length, to be archbishop of Armagh in Ireland. He being archbishop, upon a time had cause to come up to London; at what time here, in the said city, was contention between the friars and the clergy about preaching and hearing confessions, &c. Whereupon, this Armachanus, being requested to preach, made seven or eight sermons; wherein he propounded nine conclusions against the friars, for which he was cited up by the friars before this pope Innocent VI., to appear; and so he did: who before the face of the pope valiantly defended, both in preaching and in writing,<sup>2</sup> the same conclusions, and therein stood constantly unto the death, as the words of John Wickliff, in his Trialogue, do well testify.<sup>3</sup> The like also Waldenus testifieth of him;<sup>4</sup> also Volateranus reporteth the same. Gulielmus Botonerus,<sup>5</sup> testifying of him in like manner, saith, that Armachanus first reproved begging friars for hearing the confessions of professed nuns without license of their superiors, and also of married women without knowledge of their husbands. What dangers and troubles he sustained by his persecutors, and how miraculously the Lord delivered him from their hands; insomuch, that they meeting him in the open streets, and in clear daylight, yet had no power to see him nor to apprehend him: in what peril of thieves and searchers he was, and yet the Lord delivered him; yea, and caused

*See  
Appendix.*

*His com-  
menda-  
tion.*

*Armach-  
anus  
cited by  
the friars  
to appear  
before the  
pope.*

*Troubles  
and per-  
secutions  
of Arma-  
chanus.*

*Persecut-  
ed mani-  
fold ways,  
by the  
Lord.*

(1) See Appendix for the fuller application of the parable.—Ed.

(2) For his numerous writings on this subject, see Catalogue of MSS. Angl. et Hibern.—Ed.

(3) Ab Anglorum episcopis conductus, Armachanus novem in Avinione conclusiones coram Innocentio VI. et suorum cardinalium cœtu, contra fratrum mendicitatem, audacter publicavit, verboque ac scriptis ad mortem usque defendit.

(4) In fasciculo zizaniorum.

(5) Or Gulielmus Botonerus, see Appendix.—Ed.

Edward  
III.

A. D.  
1360.

his money, being taken from him, to be restored to him again by portions in time of his necessity and famine: also from what dangers of the king's officers, who, coming with the king's letters, laid all the havens for him; yet how the Lord Jesus delivered him, showing him by what ways to escape them: moreover what appeals were laid against him, to the number of sixteen; and yet how the Lord gave him to triumph over all his enemies: how the Lord also taught him and brought him out of the profound vanities of Aristotle's subtlety, to the study of the Scriptures of God: all this, with much more, he himself expresseth in a certain prayer or confession made to Christ Jesus our Lord, in which he describeth almost the whole history of his own life; which prayer I have to show in old writing hand, and hereafter (Christ willing) intend, as time serveth, to publish the same.<sup>1</sup>

Thus what were the troubles of this good man, and how he was cited up by the friars to the pope, you have partly heard. Now, what were his reasons and arguments wherewith he defended his cause in the pope's presence, followeth to be declared; for the tractation whereof, first, I must put the reader in remembrance of the controversy mentioned before in the story of Gulielmus de Sancto Amore, p. 510; also in the story of the university of Paris contending against the friars, p. 712; for so long did this controversy continue in the church, from A. D. 1240, when the Oxford men began first to stand against the friars, to the time of this Armachanus, A. D. 1360; and after this time yet more did it increase. So it pleased the secret providence of God, for what cause he best knoweth, to suffer his church to be entangled and exercised sometimes with matters and controversies of no great importance; either to keep the vanity of men's wits thus occupied from idleness, or else to prepare their minds, by these smaller matters, to the consideration and searching out of other things more grave and weighty. Like as now in these our queen's days we see what tragedies be raised up in England about forms and fashions of ministers' wearings, what troubles grow, what placing and displacing there is about the same. Even so at this time happened the like stir about the liberties and privileges of the friars, which not a little troubled and occupied almost all the churches and divines throughout Christendom. This controversy, to the intent it may better be understood, all the circumstances thereof being explained, we will first begin, from the original and foundation of the matter, to declare by order and course of years, upon what occasion this variance first rising, in continuance of time increased and multiplied by gathering more matter, and burst out at length in this tumultuous contention among learned men.

Concerning therefore this present matter; first, it is to be understood, that (A. D. 1215), under pope Innocent III., was called a general council at Lateran, mentioned before (p. 334), in the days of king John. In that council, among many other things, was constituted a certain law or canon, beginning "Omnis utriusque sexus," &c. the tenor of which canon in English is thus:—

(1) *The beginning of the prayer in Latin is this:* "Tibi laus, tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio, Jesu piissime, Jesu potentissime, Jesu dulcissime; qui dixisti, ego sum via, veritas et vita. Via sine devio; veritas sine nubilo; et vita sine termino. Quod tute viam mihi ostendisti; tute veram veritatem me docuisti; et tute vitam mihi promissisti. Via eras mihi in exilio; veritas eras in consilio; et vita eris mihi in premio."



Be it decreed, that every faithful Christian, both man and woman, coming to the years of discretion, shall confess himself alone of all his sins to the priest of his own proper parish, once in the year at least; and that he shall endeavour, by his own self, to fulfil the penance, whensoever he receiveth the sacrament of the Eucharist, at least at the time of Easter, unless by the assent of his minister, upon some reasonable cause, he abstain for the time. Otherwise doing, let him both lack the communion of the church being alive, and christian burial when he is dead. Wherefore be it decreed, that this wholesome constitution shall be published accustomably in churches, to the end that no man, of ignorance or blindness, make to himself a cloak of excuse. And if any shall confess himself to any other priest than of his own parish upon any just cause, let him first ask and obtain license of his own priest: otherwise the priest shall have no power to bind him or to loose him, &c.

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1360.Note  
here, he  
calleth it  
not the  
sacra-  
ment of  
the altar.

In the time of this Innocent, and of this Lateran council, was Dominic, the first author and founder of the preaching friars; who laboured to the said pope Innocent for the confirmation of his order, but did not obtain it in his life time.

The next year after this Lateran council<sup>1</sup> died pope Innocent, A.D. 1216, after whom came Honorius III., who in the first year of his popedom confirmed the order of the friars Dominic, and gave to him and his friars authority to preach, and to hear confessions, with divers other privileges. And under this pope, who governed ten years, lived Dominic five years after the confirmation of his order, and died A.D. 1221. About that year the order of the Franciscan friars began also to breed, and to spread in the world, through preaching and hearing confessions.

After this Honorius, next followed Pope Gregory IX., March, A.D. 1227, who, for the promoting of the aforesaid order of Dominics, gave out this bull, in tenor as followeth:—

### The Bull of Pope Gregory in the behalf of the Dominic Friars.

Gregorius bishop, servant of God's servants, to his reverend brethren, archbishops, bishops, and to his well-beloved children, abbots, priors, and to all prelates of churches, to whomsoever these presents shall come, greeting, and apostolical blessing. Because iniquity<sup>2</sup> hath abounded, and the charity of many hath waxed cold; behold, the Lord hath raised up the order of our well-beloved children the preaching friars, who not seeing things of their own, but pertaining to Jesus Christ, for the extirpating of heresies, as well as for the rooting out also of other pernicious pestilences, have dedicated themselves to the preaching of the word<sup>3</sup> of God. We therefore, minding to advance their sacred purpose, &c., command you to see the said persons, gently to be received among you; and that your flocks committed to your charge do receive devoutly the seed of God's word out of their mouth, and do confess their sins unto them, all such as list, whom we have authorized to the same, to hear confessions, and to enjoin penance, &c. Dat. Perusii. An. Pont. nostri 8.

Friars to  
hear con-  
fessions,  
and en-  
join pen-  
ance.

This pope Gregory died A.D. 1241, after whom came Celestine IV. and sat but eighteen days: then came Innocent IV., and sat eleven years and six months; who, although he began first to favour the friars, yet afterwards, being altered by certain divines of universities, prelates of churches, and curates, he debarred them of their liberties

Inno-  
cent IV.  
against  
the friars.

(1) Friar Dominic, in the time of pope Innocent III., obtained not the confirmation of his order; but the order was first confirmed by pope Honorius III. The order of Franciscans was confirmed shortly after the Dominics.

(2) Iniquity hath abounded at Rome.

(3) Nay, to the preaching rather of men's traditions against the word of God.

*Edward III.*A. D.  
1360.Alexander IV.  
undoeth  
the acts of  
his predecessor.Four  
cham-  
pions  
against  
the friars.*See  
Appendix.*

and privileges, and gave out again precepts and excommunications, as well against the friars, as all other religious persons. And, not long after the same, he was despatched.

Innocent being thus removed out of the way, Dec<sup>r</sup>. A.D. 1254 succeeded pope Alexander IV., a great maintainer of the friars, and sat six years. He revoked and repealed the acts and writings of pope Innocent his predecessor, given forth against the friars; where-with the divines and students of Paris being not well contented, stirred up four principal doctors: the first and chief captain was Gulielmus de Sancto Amore, mentioned before (p. 510), against whom wrote Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas; and, at last, he was condemned by this aforesaid pope Alexander IV. in the Extravagant, "*Non sine multâ.*" The second was Simon Jornalensis; the third Godfridus de Fontibus; the fourth Henricus de Gandavo. These four,<sup>1</sup> with other their accomplices, compiled a certain book against the begging order of friars, both Dominicans and Franciscans, entitled, '*De periculis Ecclesiæ,*' containing fourteen chapters, whereof the fourteenth, which is the last, with thirty-nine articles against the friars, we have already translated and expressed, p. 511. Besides these thirty-nine articles, be other seven articles, moreover, to the said book annexed, under the name of the students of Paris against the friars, proving why the said friars ought not to be admitted into their society. These seven articles, because they are but short, I thought here better to place, than to omit them.

### Certain Articles given out by the Students of Paris, against the Friars, why they should not be admitted to their Society.

First, We say, they are not to be admitted to the society of our school, but upon our will and license; for our company or fellowship ought not to be coactive but voluntary and free.

Secondly, We say they are not to be admitted, forasmuch as we oft proved their community manifold ways to be hurtful and incommodious.

Thirdly, Seeing they be of a diverse profession from us, for they are called regular, and not scholastic, we, therefore, ought not to be joined and associated together in one scholastic office; forasmuch as the council of Spain doth say, "*Thou shalt not plough with an ox and with an ass together;*" which is to say,—Men of divers professions ought not together to be matched in one kind of calling, or standing, for their studies and conditions be disagreeing and dis-severed from ours, and cannot frame or couple together in one communion.

The friars  
make dis-  
sensions.

Fourthly, We affirm by the apostle that they are not to be admitted, because they work dissensions and offences; for so saith the apostle [Rom. xvi.] "*We desire you, brethren, that ye observe and take heed of such as make dissensions and offences about the doctrine which you have learned by the apostles, and avoid them; for such serve not the Lord, but their own belly.*" Gloss. "*Some they flatter, some they backbite, whereby they might feed their bellies.*" "*That through their sweet and pleasant words, and by their benedictions, they may deceive the hearts of the simple.*" Gloss. "*That is, with their fine sugared and trimly couched words they set forth their own traditions, wherewith they beguile the hearts of the simple innocents.*"

Devour  
men's  
houses,  
"Pene-  
trantes  
domos."

Fifthly, We say they are not to be admitted, for that we fear lest they be in the number of them, who go about and devour men's houses: for they thrust in themselves into every man's house, searching and sacking the conscience and states of all persons: and whom they find easy to be seduced, as women, such they do circumvent, and lead them away from the counsels of their prelates, binding them either in act or oath: such we are warned by the apostle to avoid.

(1) See Appendix for the correction of an error here.—Ed.

Sixthly, We say they are to be avoided, because we fear they are false prophets, who being neither bishops, nor parish priests, nor yet their vicars, nor sent by them, yet they preach (not sent) against the mind of the apostle [Rom. x.], saying, "How shall they preach except they be sent?" for else there appeareth in them no such great virtue, for the which they ought to be admitted to preach uncalled. Seeing therefore that such are so dangerous to the church, they ought to be avoided.

*Edward III.*  
*A. D. 1360.*  
Preach uncalled.

Seventhly, We say they are not to be admitted, because they be a people so curious in searching and inquiring of other men's doings and spiritual demeanour. And yet be they neither apostles, nor yet successors of the apostles, as bishops; nor of the number of the seventy-two disciples of the Lord, nor their successors, that is, parish priests, nor their helpers, nor yet vicars. Wherefore, seeing they live thus in no order, by the sentence of the apostle we are commanded to avoid them [2 Thess. iii.], where he saith, "We admonish and denounce unto you, O brethren! in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ," (that is, as the gloss saith, "We command you by the authority of Christ,") "that you withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately, and not after the tradition which you have received of us," &c. Look upon the common gloss of this place, and you shall find, that such are to be avoided till such time as they amend from so doing, &c.

Have no order of any calling in the church.

Besides these articles above rehearsed, certain propositions or conclusions were also propounded in the schools of Paris at the same time, solemnly to be disputed and defended against the friars; which, in a brief sum of words to collect them, were these:—

First, That the begging friars were not in the state of salvation.

Secondly, That they were bound to labour with their hands that could, and not to beg.

Thirdly, That they ought not to exercise the office of preaching, or to hear the confessions of them that will come unto them, although being licensed thereunto by the bishop of Rome, or by the diocesan; forasmuch as the same is prejudicial to the ministers and priests of the parishes.

Certain conclusions in the university of Paris to be disputed of against the friars.

All these aforesaid articles and conclusions, with the book set forth by these men of Paris, this pope Alexander IV. condemned to be abolished and burned, writing his precepts to the French king, and also to the university of Paris, in favour of the friars; willing and commanding the said friars to be restored to all their privileges and liberties in as ample manner, as before in pope Gregory's time.

Not long after pope Alexander IV. followed Clement IV. (A. D. 1265) and sat three years: who also gave the privilege to the friars, beginning "Quidam temere," &c.; in which privilege he condemneth those who say, that no man without license of his curate or minister ought to confess him to the friars, or that a subject ought to ask license of their ministers so to do, which was against the canon, "Omnis utriusque sexus," &c. made by pope Innocent III., before recited.

Another privilege given to the friars by pope Clement IV.

After this Clement came pope Martin IV. (A. D. 1281), who renewed again the canon, "Omnis utriusque sexus," in behalf of the curates against the friars.

Pope Martin IV. holdeth with curates against the friars. Pope Boniface holdeth with the friars again.

Then pope Boniface VIII. began to sit A. D. 1294, and sat eight years and nine months; who, taking side with the friars, gave them another privilege, beginning "Supra cathedram," &c., in which he licensed the friars, that without license of vicars of churches they shall first present themselves to the prelates to be admitted; by whom, if they be refused the second time, then they, upon special

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authority of this pope, shall be privileged, without either bishop or curate, to preach, to bury, and to hear confessions, whosoever will come to them; revoking all that was decreed by his predecessors before to the contrary notwithstanding.

Johannes  
Monachus  
revoketh  
his gloss.  
Pope Cle-  
ment V.  
holdeth  
with the  
friars,  
and re-  
pealeth  
the con-  
stitution  
of Bene-  
dict.

By this pope Boniface, a certain Dominic friar was made cardinal, named Nicolas Bocasi de Trevisa, and after the death of Boniface was also made pope, A.D. 1303, surnamed pope Benedict XI.; who, seeing the constitution of Boniface, his predecessor, to gender dissension between the priests and friars, made another constitution, beginning "Inter cunctas," &c., revoking the constitution of Boniface, his predecessor. Upon which constitution of pope Benedict Johannes Monachus making a gloss, revoked also his other gloss made upon the constitution of pope Boniface before.

Again, after this Benedict XI. followed pope Clement V., (A. D. 1305,) and sat nine years; who, in his general council, holden at Vienne, revoked the constitution of Benedict, his predecessor, and renewed again the former decree of Boniface, by a new constitution of his, beginning "Dudum a Bonifacio VIII.,"<sup>1</sup> &c., which constitution, moreover, was confirmed afterwards by pope John XXII., A.D. 1316. This pope also caused Johannes de Poliaco to recant.

Upon this variable diversity of the popes (one dissenting and repugning from another) rose among the divines and schoolmen in universities great matter of contention, as well in the university of Paris, as the university of Oxford, about the begging friars, some holding one way, some another. But especially five principal opinions be noted of learned men, who, then disputing against the friars, were condemned for heretics, and their assertions reproved.

### Diverse Opinions of Learned Men in this Age against Friars.

I. The first was the opinion of those who contended that the friars might not, by the license of the bishop of Rome and of the prelates, preach in parishes and hear confessions.

And of this opinion was Gulielmus de Sancto Amore, with his fellows, who, as it is said, were condemned.

The se-  
cond opi-  
nion

II. The second opinion was this, that friars, although not by their own authority, yet by the privilege of the pope and the bishop, might preach and hear confessions in parishes, but yet not without license of the parish priests.

Of this opinion was Bernard, glossing upon the canon, "Omnis utriusque sexus," before mentioned.

The third  
opinion.

III. The third opinion was, that friars might preach and hear confessions without license of the parish priests; but yet the said parishioners, notwithstanding, were bound by the canon, "Omnis utriusque sexus," to repeat the same sins again, if they had no other, to their own proper curate.

Of this opinion were many, as Godfridus de l'ontibus, Henricus de Gandavo, Johannes Monachus Cardinalis, Johannes de Poliaco; which Johannes de Poliaco pope John XXII. caused openly in Paris to recant and retract. This Johannes de Poliaco,<sup>2</sup> doctor of divinity in Paris, being complained of by the friars for certain articles or assertions, was sent for to the pope; where, time and place being to him assigned, he, in the audience of the pope and of friarly cardinals and other doctors, was strictly examined of his articles. To make

(1) Ex Clement cap. Dudum.

(2) Ex libro fratris Engelberti.

the story short, he, at length submitting himself to the authority of the terrible see of Rome, was caused to recant his assertions openly at Paris: the assertions which he did hold were these.

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First, that they who were confessed to friars, although having a general license to hear confessions, were bound to confess again their sins to their own parish priest, by the constitution "Omnis utriusque sexus," &c.

His three  
assertions  
against  
the friars.

The second was, that the said constitution "Omnis utriusque sexus" standing in its force, the pope could not make away with, but parishioners were bound once a year to confess their sins to their priest. For the doing otherwise importeth a contradiction in itself.

The third was, that the pope could not give general license to hear confessions, but that the parishioner so confessed was bound to reiterate the same confession made, unto his own curate.

Which he proved by these places of the canon law, 25 quest. i. "Quæ ad perpetuam."<sup>1</sup> Those things which be generally ordained for perpetual utility, ought not to be altered by any change, &c. Item, the decrees of the sacred canons, none ought to keep more than the bishop apostolical, &c. Ibid. Item, to alter or to ordain any thing against the decrees of the fathers, is not in the authority or power, no, not of the apostolical see. Ibid.

IV. The fourth opinion was, that the friars, by the license of the pope and of the bishops, might lawfully hear confessions, and the people might be of them confessed and absolved. But yet notwithstanding, it was reasonable, convenient, honest, and profitable, that once in the year they should be confessed to their curates (although confessed before to the friars), because of the administration of the sacraments, especially at Easter.

The  
fourth  
opinion.

Of which opinion was Gulielmus de monte Lauduno. Henricus de Gandavo also held it not only to be convenient, but also that they were bound so to do.

V. The fifth opinion was, that albeit the friars might at all times, and at Easter also, hear confessions as the curates did; yet it was better and more safe, at the time of Easter, to confess to the curates, than to the friars.

The fifth  
opinion.

And of this opinion was this our Armachanus, of whom we presently now treat. And thus have ye, as in a brief sum, opened unto you, what was the matter of contention between the friars and the churchmen; what popes made for the friars, and what popes made against them; moreover, what learned men disputed against them in Paris, and other places; and what were their opinions.

The matter of contention about the friars stood in four points: first, preaching without license of curates; secondly, in hearing confession; thirdly, in burying; fourthly, in begging and taking of the people. The popes who maintained the friars were, Honorius III., Gregorius IX., Alexander IV., Clement IV., Boniface VIII., Clement V. The popes who maintained curates, were Innocentius III., Innocentius IV., Martinus IV., Benedictus XI.

The learned men who disputed against the friars were, Gulielmus de S. Amore; Bernardus super capitulum, "Omnis utriusque sexus;" Godfridus de Fontibus; Henricus de Gandavo; Gulielmus de Lauduno; Johannes Monachus Cardinalis; Johannes de Poliaco and Armachanus. All these were condemned by the popes, or else caused to recant.

These considerations and circumstances hitherto premised, for the

(1) "Quæ ad perpetuam. Contra statuta patrum concedere [condere] vel mutare aliquid nec hujus quidem sedis potest autoritas." [Decreti pars ii. Causa xxv. Quæst. i. capp. 3, 7.—Eo.]



*Edward*  
*III.*

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more opening of this present cause of Armachanus sustained against the idle beggarly sects of friars, in whom the reader may well perceive Antichrist plainly reigning and fighting against the church: it now remaineth, that as I have before declared the travails and troubles of divers godly learned men in the church striving against the said friars, continually, from the time of Gulielmus de Amore, hitherto; so now it remaineth, that forasmuch as this our Armachanus laboured, and in the same cause sustained the like conflict, with the same Antichrist, we likewise collect and open his reasons and arguments uttered in the consistory,<sup>1</sup> and in the audience of the pope himself, wherewith he maintaineth the true doctrine and cause of the church against the pestiferous canker creeping in by these friars after subtle ways of hypocrisy to corrupt the sincere simplicity of Christ's holy faith and perfect testament; which reasons and arguments, with the whole process of his doings, I thought good and expedient, for the utility of the church, more amply and largely to discourse and prosecute, for that I note in the sects, institutions, and doctrine of these friars, such subtle poison to lurk, more pernicious and hurtful to the religion of Christ and souls of Christians, than all men peradventure do consider.

Thus Armachanus, joining with the clergy of England, disputed and contended with the friars here of England (A.D. 1357) about a double matter; whereof the one was concerning confession and other excheats which the friars encroached in parish churches, against the curates and public pastors of churches. The other was concerning wilful beggary and poverty, which the friars then took upon them, not upon any necessity, being otherwise strong enough to work for their living, but only upon a wilful and affected profession, for which cause the friars appealed him up to the court of Rome. The occasion thereof did thus arise.

It befel that Armachanus, upon certain business coming up to London, found there certain doctors disputing and contending about the begging of Christ our Saviour. Whereupon he, being greatly urged and requested oftentimes thereunto, at request, made seven or eight sermons unto the people at London, wherein he uttered nine conclusions; whereof the first and principal conclusion was, touching the matter of the friars' privileges in hearing confessions. His conclusions were these:

### Nine Conclusions of Armachanus against the Friars.

First, that if a doubt or question be moved for hearing confessions, which of two places is rather to be chosen; the parish church is to be preferred before the church of the friars.

Secondly, it being demanded, which is to be preferred to hear the confession of the parishioners, the ordinary or the friar; it is to be said, rather the ordinary.

Thirdly, That our Lord Jesus Christ in his human conversation was always poor, not for that he loved poverty, or did covet to be poor.

Fourthly, That our Lord Jesus Christ did never beg wilfully, professing to be poor.

Fifthly, That our Lord Jesus Christ did never teach others wilfully to beg, or to profess wilful beggary.

Sixthly, That Christ our Lord held the contrary, that men ought not wilfully or purposely, without mere necessity, to beg.

(1) Ex libro cui titulus, "Defensorium curatorum." [Printed in Goldasti "de Monarchiâ," tom. ii. p. 1391; and Browne's "Fasciculus," p. 466; whence a few corrections are made in the ensuing translation.—ED.]

Seventhly, That it is neither wisdom nor holiness, for any man to take upon him wilful beggary, perpetually to be observed.

*Edward  
III.*

Eighthly, That it is not agreeing to the rule of the Observants, or Friars Minorite, to observe wilful poverty.

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The last conclusion was touching the bull of pope Alexander IV., which condemneth the book of the masters of Paris: that the said bull touched none of these six last conclusions.

Upon these nine conclusions premised Armachanus being appealed, cited, and brought up to the presence of the pope, began to prove the same his aforesaid conclusions or assertions under protestation made

That his intention was not to affirm any thing contrary to the christian faith or to the catholic doctrine, or that should be prejudicial or destructive to the orders of the begging friars, such as were approved by holy church, or confirmed by the high bishops; but only his intention was, to have the said orders reduced to the purity of their first institution. Concerning which matter, he desired his reasons to be heard; which, if they should be found weaker than the reasons of the friars, the punishment should be his. If otherwise, that then the friars might justly be rewarded for their slanderous obtreaction, and public contumelies, and injurious dealings, both privately and publicly, wrought and sought against him: and so taking for his theme, "Nolite judicare secundum faciem, sed justum judicium judicate," &c.; that is, "Judge not after the outward face, but judge true judgment," &c. (John vii.); he entereth on the probation of his conclusions.

The protestation  
of Armachanus.

His  
theme.

I. First, beginning with the former conclusion, "that the parish church was a place more fit and convenient for the confessions or burials of the parishioners to be used, than any other exempt church or place of the friars." Which he proved by three causes: first, for the more sureness or certainty to the conscience of the parishioners confessed. Secondly, for their more utility and profit of them. Thirdly, for the less incommodity ensuing by confessions taken in parish churches, than in friars' churches.

The first  
conclusion  
proposed.

Probation  
Certainty  
Utility.  
Commodity.

I. As touching the first, for the more assuredness and certainty, thus he argued upon the place in Deuteronomy, "Unto that place which the Lord your God shall assign of all your tribes, to place his name and dwell therein; thither shall you resort, to offer up your oblations, tithes," &c. And in the same place God saith, "See thou offer not thy sacrifice in every place that liketh thee, but in that place alone which the Lord hath elected in one of the tribes; and thou shalt do in all things as I command thee." Also upon the words of Leviticus, [vi. 6,] which be these, "Whosoever sinneth of ignorance shall offer to the priest, and he shall pray for him, and he shall be forgiven," &c. Upon these places thus he argued: That forasmuch as the sacraments of the church are to be frequented and used in no other place, but only in that, which, by God himself peculiarly, is assigned and commanded for the same; and seeing that elect place in the law representeth the parish churches; neither can it be proved that the friars' church is the place prescribed of God, but only permitted by bishops of Rome; he concluded, therefore, that parish churches, for confessions and burials, were more sure and certain to the conscience of parishioners, than the exempt places of the friars.

First part  
of the  
first conclusion  
confirmed.

By another reason also he confirmed the same, for that while the parish church commonly standeth free from the pope's interdict, so do not the churches of the friars, which stand not so clear, but that they are under suspicion and doubt of the pope's interdict, by the Decretal, "De sepulturis," in Sexto cap. "Animarum periculis." In that Decretal, all such conventual churches and church-yards of friars be interdicted, as do induce any person or persons, either by oath or promise made, to choose their burying places in their churches, as commonly the friars are reported to do; for else what parishioner would forsake his own church and parish where his ancestors do lie, to be buried among the friars, if the friars did not induce them so to do?

Confirmed  
by another  
reason.

2. Moreover, for the second part, concerning the utility of the place, that he confirmed doublewise; first, for that confession made within the parish church, hath a double merit of obedience, both for obeying the commandment of God in opening his confession [thus he speaketh according to the blindness of that time, for that auricular confession hath any commandment of God cannot

Second  
part of  
the first  
conclusion  
confirmed.

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1360.Another  
confirmation  
of the  
second  
part of  
the first  
article.  
Third  
part of the  
first con-  
clusion  
proved.Second  
conclu-  
sion or  
article.  
Three re-  
spects or  
causes  
to be  
proved.Friars  
proved to  
be excom-  
muni-  
cated by  
the pope's  
law.

be proved] and also in obeying the commandment of God in observing the place by him appointed; which second merit of obedience lacketh on the friars' part.

Secondly, he proved it to be greater utility for a parishioner to confess him in his parish church, than with the friars; because, commonly, the number of christian people praying is ten times more in parish churches. Whereby it is to be thought, that each singular person may better be helped through more prayers, than in the oratories of the friars, &c.

3. Further, as touching the third part of the first conclusion or article he proved, that it had fewer inconveniences for every man to resort to his parish church than to the friars; for that both great utility and more certainty (as hath been proved) did ensue thereof: which two being taken away (as must needs, in resorting to the friars' church), then two special commodities should be hindered, and so great inconveniences thereof should follow. And thus much for the place of the friars.

II. Now to the second conclusion or article, touching the person of the friar, and of the ordinary curate. If the question be, which of these two is to be preferred in the office of ecclesiastical administration; the opinion of Armachanus was, that the ordinary curate was better than the extraordinary friar; and that for the three aforesaid respects, to wit, for certainty or assurance, for utility, and for inconvenience to be avoided.

1. First, that it is more safe and sure for the parishioners to resort to their ordinary or parish priest, he argued by three reasons; first, because the person of the lawful ordinary, or priest, is expressly of God commanded; whereas the person of the friar is not, and therefore is forbid.

Secondly, because the parishioner may more trust to his ordinary curate; as one who is more bound and obliged to provide, and to be careful for him, than any other extraordinary person.

Thirdly, because in the person of the ordinary curate, commonly there is no doubt of any interdict to bind him; whereas on the contrary, in the friar's behalf there is good matter to doubt, whether he stands bound under the pope's censure of excommunication or not, and that for divers causes, as by the chapter "Religiosi" in the Clementine De decimis; where it is decreed that all such religious men who, having no benefices or cure of souls, presume to impropriate unto them (by any manner of colour or fraudulent circumvention) glebe-land, or else tithes due unto churches, and not appertaining to them, do incur the sentence of excommunication, *ipso facto*. Also by another chapter, "Religiosi," in the Clementine De privilegiis, where it is said, that all such religious men are excommunicated *de facto*, whosoever do absolve any against whom the sentence of excommunication hath been denounced by statute provincial, or synodal; as it is commonly said, that the friars, hearing men's confessions, are accustomed to do, in loosing them, whom the censures of prelates or their officials have bound. Whereof the said Armachanus bringeth forth an example in his own diocese: "For I," said he, "in mine own diocese of Armagh have as good as two thousand under me, who, by the censure of excommunication every year denounced against wilful murderers, common thieves, burners of men's houses, and such-like malefactors, stand accursed; of all which number, notwithstanding, scarcely fourteen there be who come to me, or to any about me, for their absolution. And yet all they receive the sacraments as others do, and all because they be absolved, or because they feign themselves to be absolved, by none other than the friars; who, in so doing, are proved to be under the danger of excommunication, both the friars, and also the parishioners, if they, knowing thereof, do consent to their error."

Also out of the said Clementines, he proved the friars to be excommunicate by a three-fold sentence in one chapter, to wit, in the chapter "Cupientes" of the Clementine De pœnis. In which chapter, First, all such religious men are excommunicate, as, in their sermons, presume to withdraw their hearers from their tithes paying, due unto churches.

Secondly, in the said chapter all such friars are suspended from preaching, and so are excommunicate, who, within a certain time, did not make a concion to such as come to their confessions, in paying their tithes truly and duly to the church.

Thirdly, in the aforesaid chapter also, all such religious persons be bound in

excommunication, who induce men by any manner of means, either by vow, oath, or promise, to choose their burials within their churches, or not to change the same, if they have made any such promise before. In all these three points he proved the friars to be culpable and excommunicate.

Moreover, that it is the more sure way for the parishioners to resort to their ordinaries than to the friars, he argueth thus: for that the ordinary being provided for by the law of God and the church, his parishioner will the less suspect him of imposing unreasonable penances for filthy lucre's sake: whereas, contrary, the friars must needs be suspected, for that they have their living thereby.

2. Thus the first part of the second conclusion or article being proved and argued, Armachanus proceedeth further to prove the second part: "That it is better for the parishioners to leave the friars, and to resort to their own pastors. Which he proved by eight or nine reasons."

I. For that the ordinary pastor is properly appointed of God unto that ministry; whereas the friar is only permitted of man thereunto.

II. For that in resorting to the ordinary of the parish is a double reward of merit, whereas in coming to the friars there is but one.

III. Because the ordinary is more bound to his own flock, and is to be thought to be more tender and careful over them than a stranger.

IV. Because, in resorting to the person of his own ordinary, there is more assurance and certainty (as is above declared) than in resorting to another.

V. Because, as Innocent (cap. "Etsi Animarum") saith, the coming to the curate or ordinary pastor is more easy and light, both in the night, and in necessity.

VI. Forasmuch as the parishioner must needs come to his curate at some time, and especially being in necessity, it is expedient and profitable that his former life before were known to him, rather than to the other.

VII. For that (as the said Innocent affirmeth) it striketh more shame of his sin, for the parishioner to be confessed to his curate whom he seeth every day, than to a friar unknown.

VIII. Because it is more profitable, especially for them that live in matrimony, that he which heareth the confession of the one, should hear also the confession of the other; so that one hearing the confession of them both, as a spiritual physician taking two cures in one body, he may better know what spiritual counsel is to be administered to the one, after he had cured the other, &c.

3. These things thus proved, Armachanus then proceedeth to the third part, arguing how that greater detriments and inconveniences do ensue by confessions, burials, and other ecclesiastical functions exercised by the friars, than by those exercised by pastors and secular curates, serving in parishes; about which matter the said Armachanus learnedly and worthily inferreth a long discourse, proving and inferring how pernicious these orders of friars are to the whole state of the church, and what mischief cometh by the privileges of certain popes, who have privileged them to intermeddle in the office and function of ecclesiastical ministers, to preach, and to take alms and tithes of the people, and impropriations from the church. All his reasons and arguments to prosecute in order as he hath left them in writing, would make a matter for a large book. Notwithstanding, because it shall not be unfruitful both for the time present, and for posterity, to know the manifold detriments and discommodities received from these friars, and to know what great benefit God hath done for us in unburdening the church of this monstrous generation; and especially because the book of Armachanus is rarely to be found, entitled, "Defensorium Curatorum," I have briefly therefore contracted out of the same certain of his reasons, such as seemed most pertinent and worthy of noting.

And first, alleging the authority of Innocent IV., he importeth four inconveniences rising by the friars, which be these: contempt of the people against their ordinaries; decreasing of devotion; taking away of shame from the people by confessing to the friars; detaining of oblations, such as the people are wont to give at their confessions and burials, and which by right belong to the parish churches.

Item, By the said privileges of the popes, granted to the friars, many other great enormities do arise. As first, because thereby the true shepherds do not know the faces of their flock:

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Another proof that the parishioner may more safely go to his curate, than to the friars. The second part of the second conclusion proved.

Third part of the second conclusion argued.

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Harms  
that come  
to the  
world by  
the friars.

Example  
of the  
friars'  
theft in  
Oxford.

Friars  
hinderers  
of uni-  
versities.

Thirty  
thousand  
students  
in Oxford,  
in the  
time of  
Arma-  
chanus.

Friars a  
great  
cause of  
decay of  
learning.

Books  
not to be  
gotten for  
the friars.

Example  
what lack  
of books,  
cometh  
by the  
friars.

Friars  
guilty in  
three  
faults:  
1. Diso-  
bedience.  
2. Avarice.  
3. Pride.  
Arma-  
chanus  
chargeth  
the friars  
with diso-  
bedi-  
ence.  
Disobe-  
dient to  
the rule  
of Scrip-  
ture.

Item, By the occasion of these privileges given to the friars, great contention, and sometimes blows arise between the friars and secular curates, about titles, impropriations, and other avails.

Item, By the occasion of the aforesaid privileges, divers young men, as well in universities as in their fathers' houses, are allured craftily by the friars their confessors, to enter their orders; from whence afterwards they cannot get out though they would, to the great grief of their parents, and no less repentance to the young men themselves. The example whereof Armachanus, in the said his treatise, inferreth of a certain substantial Englishman being with him at his inn in Rome; who, having a son at the university of Oxford, who was enticed by the friars to enter into their order, could by no means afterwards release him; but when his father and his mother would come unto him, they could not be suffered to speak with him, but under the friars' custody; whereas the Scripture commandeth plainly, that whoso stealeth any man and selleth him (being thereof convicted), shall be put to death [Exod. xxi.]; and, for the same cause, the father was compelled to come up to Rome to seek remedy for his son. And thus, saith Armachanus, it may appear what damage and detriments come by these friars unto the common people.

And no less inconvenience and danger, also, by the said friars ariseth to the clergy; forasmuch as laymen, seeing their children thus to be stolen from them in the universities by the friars, do refuse therefore to send them to their studies; rather willing to keep them at home to their occupation, or to follow the plough, than so to be circumvented and defeated of their sons at the university, "as by daily experience," saith he, "doth manifestly appear." "For whereas in my time," saith Armachanus, "there were in the university of Oxford thirty thousand students, now are there not to be found six thousand; the occasion of which so great decay is to be ascribed to no other cause but to this circumvention only of the friars above mentioned.

Over and besides this, another inconvenience as great or greater, the said Armachanus inferred to proceed by the friars, through the decay of doctrine and knowledge in all manner of faculties and liberal sciences, which thus he declared: for that these begging friars, through their privileges obtained of the popes to preach, to hear confessions, and to bury, and through their charters of impropriations, did grow, thereby, to such great riches and possessions, by their begging, craving, catching and intermeddling with church matters, that no book could stir of any science, either of divinity, law, or physic, but they were both able and ready to buy it up. So that every covent having a great library full stuffed and furnished with all sorts of books, and there being so many covents within the realm, and in every covent so many friars increasing daily more and more; by reason whereof it came to pass, that very few books, or none at all, remain for other students. This, by his own experience he thus testifieth, saying; that he himself sent forth to the university four of his own priests or chaplains, who, sending him word again, that they could neither find the Bible, nor any other good profitable book of divinity meet for their study, therefore were minded to return home to their country; and one of them, he was sure, was returned by this time.

Furthermore, as he hath proved hitherto the friars to be hurtful both to the laity, and to the clergy; so proceeding farther, he proveth them to be hurtful also to themselves: and that in three points, as incurring the vice of disobedience against God, and against their own rule; the vice of avarice; and the vice of pride. The probation of all which points he prosecuted in a long discourse.

First, saith he, they are disobedient to the law of God, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, ox, nor ass, nor any thing that is his;" in that they procure the pope's letters to preach in churches, and to take burials from churches, with license annexed withal to receive the avails which rise of the same, which properly belongeth to the right of parish priests.

Item, They are disobedient to this rule of the gospel: "So do to other, as thou wouldest have done to thee."

Item, They be disobedient against their own rule, which being founded upon strict poverty and beggary, this license obtained for them, to require necessities of the people for their labours, is repugning against the same foundation.

Item, They be disobedient to the rule of the Scripture, which saith, "Let no



man take honour unto him, except he be called, as Aaron." Also St. Paul saith, "How shall they preach, unless they be sent?" And how observe they this rule of obedience, who professing to keep the perfection of the gospel, yet contrary to the gospel procure to themselves privileges to run before they be sent?

Item, To their own rule they are disobedient; for where their chapter saith, that if any will take upon them this order, and will come to our brethren; let our brethren first send them to the provincials, to be examined of the catholic faith and sacraments of the church, &c.; contrary hereunto the friars have procured a privilege, that not only the provincials, but other inferiors, also, may take unto them indifferently whom they can catch; so far, without all examination, that almost at this day there is no notable house of friars, wherein is not either a whole, or half a covent of lads and boys under ten years old, being circuventured, who neither can skill of the creed nor sacraments.

Again, the rule of Francis saith, that his brethren Observants must observe not to preach in the diocese of any bishop, without the consent of the bishop; and, moreover, the said Francis in his testament saith, that if he had as much wisdom as Solomon, and found poor secular priests in the parishes where they dwell, yet he would not presume to preach without their will, and also would fear, love, and honour them, and all other as his masters, and so they be.

Against which rule how the friars do disobey, how little they reverence bishops or secular priests, what privileges, exemptions, and immunities they procure against them, the world may see and judge.

Item, When none may be admitted to preach, or to hear confessions, unless they be entered into orders; and, seeing by the common law of the church, none must be admitted into holy orders, except he have sufficient title of living and clothing; the friars, therefore, having no such title, being wilful beggars, do disobey in both respects, that is, both in entering into such orders without convenient title, and in exercising the office of preaching without such lawful orders.

Moreover, the aforesaid Francis in his testament commandeth thus: "I command," saith he, "firmly by virtue of obedience, to all and singular my brethren wheresoever they be, that none of them presume to obtain in the court of Rome any letter or writing, either by himself, or by any other means, neither for the church, nor for any other place, nor under any colour of preaching, nor yet for the persecuting of their own bodies," &c. Against which testament of Francis, the Franciscans, in procuring their privileges from the bishop of Rome, have incurred manifest disobedience as all the world may see. Neither will this objection serve them, because the pope hath dispensed with Francis' rule. For if the testament of Francis, as he saith, came from God (and so should God have three testaments), how then can the pope repeal his precept, or dispense with his rule, when by the rule of the law, "Par in parem non habet imperium?"

Secondly, concerning the vice of avarice, manifestly it may be proved upon them, saith Armachanus; for else, seeing so many charges belong to the office of a secular parish priest, as to minister the sacrament at Easter, to visit the sick with extreme unction, to baptize children, to wed, with such others, wherein standeth as great devotion; how then happeneth it that these friars, making no labour for these, only procure to themselves privileges to preach in churches, to hear confessions, and to receive license to bury from parish churches, but because there is lucre and gain, in these, to be looked for, in the other is none?

Which also may appear by this, for, otherwise, if it were for mere devotion only that they procure license to bury from parish churches and to preach; why then have they procured withal, license to take offerings, oblations, and legacies for their funerals? And, for their preaching, why have they annexed also license to require and take, of the people, necessities for their labour, but only that avarice is the cause thereof?

Likewise, for hearing of confessions, when all good men have enough to know their own faults, and nothing list to hear the faults of other; it is probably to be supposed, by this their privilege of hearing all men's confessions, that they would never have been so desirous of procuring that privilege, were it not that these friars did feel some sweetness and gain to hang upon the same.

Item, where the rule of friar Francis forbiddeth them to keep company with any woman, to enter into monasteries, to be godfathers and gossips to men and

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Disobedient to  
their own  
profession.

Armachanus  
chargeth  
the friars  
with avarice.

Another  
proof.

Another  
proof.

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chanus  
chargeth  
the friars  
with  
pride.

women; how cometh it that they, contrary to their rule, enter into the secret chambers of queens and other women, and are made to know the most secret counsels of their doings, but that avarice and commodity have so blinded their eyes, and stirred their hearts?

Thirdly, that the friars fall into the vice of pride and ambition, the said Armachanus proved thus:

To seek or to procure any high place in the church, is a point of pride and ambition.<sup>1</sup> "Nunquam sine ambitione desideratur primatus in ecclesia."

The friars seek and procure a high place in the church.

Ergo, the friars are proud and ambitious.

The minor he proveth, to have the state of preaching and hearing confessions is, in the church, a state of honour.

The friars seek, and have procured, the state of preaching and hearing confessions.

Ergo, the friars seek and procure a high place in the church, &c.

The third  
conclu-  
sion or  
article.

III. His third conclusion was, that "the Lord Christ in his human conversation was always poor, not for that he loved or desired poverty for itself," &c. Wherein this is to be noted; that Armachanus differed not from the friars in this, that Christ was poor, and that he loved poverty; but herein stood the difference, in manner of loving, that is, whether he loved poverty for itself, or not. Wherein the aforesaid Armachanus used four probations.

First, forasmuch as to be poor is nothing else but to be miserable, and seeing no man coveteth to be in misery for itself; therefore he concluded that Christ desired not poverty for itself.

His second reason was derived out of Aristotle:<sup>2</sup> Nothing, saith he, is to be loved for itself, but that which (all commodities being seclued which follow thereupon) is voluntarily sought and desired. But take from poverty all respect of commodities following the same, and it would be sought neither of God nor man. Ergo, he concluded, Christ loved not poverty for itself.

Thirdly again, no effect of sin, said he, is to be loved for itself. But poverty is the effect of sin. Ergo, poverty was not loved of Christ for itself.

Fourthly, no privation of the thing that is good, is to be loved for itself. Poverty is the privation of the thing that is good, that is, of riches, for God himself is principally rich. Ergo, poverty for itself was not loved of Christ.

His  
fourth  
conclu-  
sion  
against  
the friars.

IV. "The fourth conclusion was, that Christ our Lord and Saviour did never beg wilfully." Which he proveth by sundry reasons.

1. For that Christ in so doing should break the law, which saith, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, his wife, his servant, his maid, his ox, his ass, or any thing that is his" [Exod. xx.]; the danger of which commandment he that beggeth voluntarily must needs incur.

2. Item, If Christ had begged voluntarily, he should have committed sin against another commandment, which saith, "There shall be no beggar, nor needy person among you," &c. [Deut. vi.]

3. Item, Christ in so doing should have transgressed the emperor's law, under which he would himself be subject (as appeareth by giving, and bidding tribute to be given, to Cæsar), forasmuch as the same emperor's law saith, "There shall no valiant beggar be suffered in the city."

4. Item, If Christ had been a wilful beggar, he had broke the law of loving his neighbour; whom he had vexed, having no need. For whoso, without need, asketh or craveth of his neighbour, doth but vex him, in such sort as he would not be vexed himself: which Christ would never do.

5. Item, If Christ had begged wilfully, he had moved slander, thereby, to his own gospel, which he with miracles did confirm; for then they that saw his miracle in feeding five thousand in the wilderness, would have thought much with themselves how that miracle had been wrought, if he who fed others, either could not, or would not feed himself.

6. Item, If Christ had begged wilfully, then he had done that which himself condemneth by Paul, for so we read, [1 Tim. vi.] that Paul condemneth them, who esteem piety to be gain and lucre; which all they do, who, under the colour of piety, hunt or seek for gain, when otherwise they need not.

7. Item, If Christ had begged wilfully, he had offended in declaring an

(1) Chrysost. in opere imperfecto [vol. vi. p. 822. Paris. 1837.]

(2) Arist. Ethic. lib. i

untruth in so doing; for he that knoweth, in his mind, that he needeth not in deed, that thing which in word he asketh of another, declareth in himself an untruth, as who in word pretendeth to be otherwise than he is in very deed; which Christ without doubt never did, nor would ever do.

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8. Item, If Christ had begged wilfully, that is, having no true need thereunto, then had he appeared either to be a hypocrite, seeming to be that he was not, and to lack, when he did not; or else to be a true beggar in very deed, not able to suffice his necessity. For he is a true beggar indeed, who, being constrained by mere necessity, is forced to ask of another that which he is not able to give to himself. But neither of these two agreeth to Christ.

9. Item, If Christ had begged wilfully, then why did Peter rebuke the mother of St. Clement, his disciple, finding her to stand among the beggars, whom he thought to be strong enough to labour with her hands for her living, if she, in so doing, had followed the example of Christ?¹

10. Item, If Christ had begged wilfully, and if the friars do rightly define perfection of the gospel by wilful poverty, then was Clement, St. Peter's successor, to blame, who laboured so much to remove away beggary and poverty from among all them that were converted to the faith of Christ, and is specially, for the same, commended of the church.

Clement's  
example  
contrary  
to the  
friars.

11. Again, why did the said Clement, writing to James, bishop of Jerusalem,² command so much to obey the doctrine and examples of the apostles; who, as he sheweth in that epistle, had no beggar or needy person amongst them, if christian perfection, by the friars' philosophy, standeth in wilful beggary?

12. Item, If Christ the high priest had begged wilfully, then did the holy church err wittingly, which ordained that none without sufficient title of living and clothing, should be admitted to holy orders. And moreover, when it is said, in the canonical decrees, that the bishop or clerk that begetteth, bringeth shame upon the whole order of the clergy.

13. Item, If Christ had wilfully begged, then the example of wilful poverty had pertained to the perfection of christian life, which is contrary to the old law, which commandeth the priests (who lived then after the perfection of the law) to have possessions and tithes to keep them from beggary.

14. Item, If Christ did wilfully beg, then beggary were a point of christian perfection: and so the church of God should err, in admitting such patrimonies and donations given to the church, and so in taking from the prelates their perfection.

15. Again, what will these friars, who put their perfection in begging, say to Melchisedec, who, without begging or wilful poverty, was the high priest of God, and king of Salem, and prefigured the order and priesthood of Christ?

16. And if beggary be such a perfection of the gospel, as the friars say, how cometh it, that the Holy Ghost given to the apostles, which should lead them into all truth, told them no word of this beggarly perfection, neither is there any word mentioned thereof throughout the whole Testament of God?

17. Moreover, where the prophet saith, "I never did see the just man forsaken, nor his seed go begging their bread:" how standeth this with the justice of Christ, which was most perfectly just, if he should be forsaken, or his seed go beg their bread? and then how agreeth this with the abominable doctrines of friars Franciscan, who put their perfection in wilful begging?

18. Finally, do we not read that Christ sent his disciples to preach without scrip or wallet, and bade them salute no man by the way; meaning that they should beg nothing of any man? Did not the same Christ also labour with his hands under Joseph? St. Paul, likewise, did he not labour with his hands, rather than he would burden the church of the Corinthians? And where now is the doctrine of the friars, which putteth the state of perfection in wilful begging?

V. The fifth conclusion of Armachanus against the friars, was this, "that Christ never taught any man wilfully to beg," which he proved thus: It is written, [Acts i.] "Christ began to do and to teach." If Christ, therefore, who did never wilfully beg himself, as hath been proved, had taught men otherwise to do; then his doing and teaching had not agreed together.

Fifth conclusion of  
Arma-  
chanus  
against  
the friars.

Item, If Christ, who never begged himself wilfully, had taught men this

(1) Ex vita S. Clementis.

(2) Causa xii. quest. i. cap. 2, "Dilectissimis."—Ed.

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doctrine of wilful begging, contrary to his own doing; he had given suspicion of his doctrine, and ministered slander of the same, as hath been proved before in the fourth conclusion.

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Moreover, in so teaching, he had taught contrary to the emperor's just law, which expressly forbiddeth the same.

Sixth  
conclu-  
sion  
against  
the friars.

VI. The sixth conclusion of Armachanus against the friars was, "that our Lord Jesus Christ teacheth us, that we should not beg wilfully," which he proveth by seven or eight reasons.

1. Where it is written, [Luke xiv.] "When thou makest a feast, call the poor, weak, lame, and blind; and thou shalt be blessed: for they have not wherewith to reward thee again."

To this also pertaineth the decree of the apostle, [2 Thess. iii.] "He that will not work, let him not eat." Furthermore, the same apostle addeth in the same place: "For you have us for example, how we were burdensome to no man, neither did we eat our bread freely, but with labour and weariness, toiling both day and night, and all because we would not burden you," &c.

2. Item, Where we read in the Scripture the slothful man reprehended, [Prov. vi.] "Why sleepest thou, O sluggard? thy poverty and beggary are coming upon thee like an armed man," &c. And again, in the same book of Proverbs, "The slothful man," saith the Scripture, "for cold would not go to the plough, therefore he shall beg in summer, and no man shall give him," &c. Also in the said book of Proverbs, the last chapter, "The diligent labouring woman is commended, whose fingers are exercised about the rock and spindle." And all these places make against the wilful begging of sturdy friars.

The rule  
of friar  
Francis.

3. Item, Friar Francis, their own founder, in his own testament saith, "And I have laboured with mine own hands, and will labour, and will that all my friarlings shall labour and live by their labour, whereby they may support themselves in an honest way. And they that cannot work, let them learn to work, not for any covetousness to receive for their labour, but for example of good works, and to avoid idleness. And when the price of their labour is not given them, let them resort to the Lord's table, and ask their alms from door to door," &c. Thus much in his testament. And in his rule he saith, "Such brethren to whom the Lord hath given the gift to labour, let them labour faithfully and devoutly," &c. Wherefore it is to be marvelled how those friars with their wilful begging, dare transgress the rule and obedience of friar Francis, their great grandfather's testament.

4. Item, If Christ at any time did beg, or did lack, it was more because he would use a miracle in his own person, than because he would beg wilfully; as when he sent Peter to the sea to find a groat in the mouth of the fish; which thing yet he thought rather to do, than to beg the groat of the people, which he might soon have obtained.

5. Item, By divers other his examples he seemeth to teach the same, as where he saith, "The workman is worthy of his hire;" also, "The workman is worthy of his meat" [Matth. x. Luke x.]; and when he spake to Zaccheus that he would turn into his house. And so likewise in Bethany, and all other places, he ever used rather to burden his friends than to beg of others unacquainted.

6. Item, With plain precept, thus he sendeth forth his disciples, willing them not to go from house to house [Luke x.] as friars used now to go. Many other Scriptures there be which reprove begging, as where it is said, "The foot of a fool is swift to the house of his neighbour" [Eccles. xxi.]; and in another place, "my child," saith he, "see thou beg not in the time of thy life, for better it is to die, than to beg" [Eccles. xl.].

7. Item, Where Christ, counselling the young man, bade him go and sell what he had, and give to the poor, and follow him if he would be perfect; he doth not there call him to wilful begging, but calleth him to follow him, who did not beg wilfully.

Seventh  
conclu-  
sion of  
Arma-  
chanus  
against  
the friars.

VII. The seventh conclusion of Armachanus is, "that no wise nor true holy man can take upon him wilful poverty to be observed always," which he proveth by four reasons.

1. That wilful beggary was reprov'd both by the doctrine of Christ and of the apostles, as in the conclusion before hath been declared.

2. Item, A man in taking upon him wilful beggary, in so doing should lead



himself into temptation, which were against the Lord's Prayer. Forasmuch also as Solomon [Prov. xxx.] saith, "O Lord, beggary and great riches give me not, but only sufficiency to live upon, lest if I have too much, I be driven to deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? Again, if I have too little, I be forced thereby to steal, and perjure the name of my God." Wherefore saith Eccclus. xxvii., "For need many have offended." And therefore they that choose wilful poverty, take to them great occasion of temptation.

3. Item, They that take wilful poverty upon them, when they need not, induce themselves voluntarily to break the commandment of God, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house," &c. Again, where it is commanded, "There shall be no beggar among you," &c.

4. Item, He that taketh upon him needlessly and wilfully to beg, maketh himself unapt to receive holy orders, having, as it is said, no sufficient title thereunto, according to the laws of the church.

VIII. The eighth conclusion of this matter is, that it is not agreeing to the rule of the Friars Observant, to observe wilful beggary; which, saith he, may be proved, because friar Francis, both in his rule, and in his testament left to his Franciscans, doth plainly prefer labour before begging.

IX. The ninth and last conclusion of this matter is, that the bull of pope Alexander IV. which condemneth the book of the masters of Paris,<sup>1</sup> impugneth none of these conclusions premised. For the proof thereof he thus inferred:

1. That pope John XXIV., in his constitution beginning thus, "Quia quorundam," affirmeth expressly, how pope Nicholas III. revoked and called back the said bull of pope Alexander IV., and all other writings of his, touching all such articles, which in the same aforesaid constitution of this pope John be contained and declared. Wherein also is declared how strait the poverty of the friars ought to be, which they call wilful poverty.

2. Item, It is manifest and notorious to all men, how the said pope Nicholas III., in his declaration sheweth how the friars ought both to labour with their hands, and how, moreover, the said friars ought not to preach within the diocese of any bishop, wheresoever they be resisted: which being so, the conclusion appeareth that the bull of pope Alexander IV., as touching these articles, is void and of none effect. Besides these articles, there is nothing else in the said bull of Alexander, that I remember, which impugneth any of these conclusions premised.

"Many things more," said he, "I had besides these, both to object and to answer again to the same, and to confirm, more surely and firmly, these my reasons and assertions premised. But I have already too much wearied your holiness, and your reverend lordships here present; wherefore I conclude, and humbly and devoutly beseech you, according to my former petition premised in the beginning of this matter, that you judge not after the outward face, but judge ye true judgment."<sup>2</sup>

Edward III.

A. D. 1360.

Wilful beggary not to be permitted.

Eighth conclusion of Armachanus.

Ninth conclusion.

Pope Nicholas III. revoked the bull of pope Alexander IV.

The end and conclusion of this oration of Armachanus before the pope.

#### NOTES TO BE OBSERVED IN THIS FORMER ORATION OF ARMACHANUS.

By this oration of Armachanus the learned prelate, thus made before pope Innocent and his cardinals, divers and sundry things there be, for the utility of the church, worthy to be observed. First, what troubles and vexations came to the church of Christ by these friars. Also what persecution followeth after, by means of them, against so many learned men and true servants of Christ. Furthermore, what repugnance and contrariety there was among the popes, and how they could not agree among themselves about the friars. Fourthly, what pestiferous doctrine, subverting well nigh the testament of Jesus Christ. Fifthly, what decay of ministers in Christ's church, as appeareth. Sixthly, what robbing and circumventing of men's

Notes to be observed.

Contrariety among the popes.

(1) Touching this book of the masters of Paris condemned, look p. 753.

(2) Ex libro Armachani, cui titulus, Defensorium Curatorum.



Edward  
III.A. D.  
1360.

children, as appeareth. Seventhly, what decay of universities, as appeareth by Oxford (p. 760). Eighthly, that damage to learning, and lack of books to students, came by these friars, as appeareth. Ninthly, to what pride, under colour of feigned humility, to what riches, under dissembled poverty they grew, here is to be seen; inso-much that at length, through their subtle and most dangerous hypocrisy, they crept up to be lords, archbishops, cardinals, and at last also chancellors of realms, yea and of most secret counsel with kings and queens, as appeareth.

Whether  
the friars  
make up  
the body  
of Anti-  
christ or  
no.

All these things well considered, now remaineth in the church to be marked; that forasmuch as these friars (with their new-found testament of friar Francis), not being contented with the testament of God in his Son Christ, began to spring up at the same time when Satan was prophesied to be let loose by order of the Scripture; whether, therefore, it is to be doubted that these friars make up the body of Antichrist, which is prophesied to come in the church, or not; which is much less to be doubted, because whoso list to try shall find, that of all other enemies of Christ, of whom some be manifest, some be privy, all be together cruel, yet is there no such sort of enemies that more sleightly deceiveth the simple Christian, or more deeply drowneth him in damnation, than doth this doctrine of the friars.

The  
death of  
godly  
Arma-  
chanus.

But of this oration of Armachanus enough. What success it had with the pope, by story it is not certain, but by his own life declared, it appeareth that the Lord so wrought that his enemies did not triumph over him. Notwithstanding, this by story appeareth, that he was seven or eight years<sup>5</sup> in banishment for the same matter, and there died in the same at Avignon, of whom, a certain cardinal hearing of his death, openly protested that the same day a mighty pillar of Christ's church was fallen.

Testimo-  
ny of a  
cardinal  
upon  
him.

After the death of Armachanus, the friars had contention likewise with the monks of Benedict's order<sup>1</sup> about the same year (A.D. 1360), and so removed their cause, both against the monks, and against the university of Oxford, unto the court of Rome; wherein, saith the author, they lacked another Richard.<sup>2</sup> By this that appeareth to be true, which is testified in the first volume of Waldenus, that long debate continued between the friars and the university of Oxford. Against the friars first stood up Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln, above mentioned; then Sevallus of York; afterwards John of Baconthorpe, and now this Armachanus, of whom here presently we treat; and after him again John Wickliff, of whom (Christ willing) we will speak hereafter.<sup>3</sup> Against this aforesaid Armachanus wrote divers friars; Roger Conaway, a Franciscan, John Heyldesham, a Carmelite, Galfridus Hardby, a friar Augustine. Also friar Engelbert, a Dominican, in a book entitled 'Defensorium Privilegiorum,' and divers others. I credibly hear of certain old Irish Bibles translated long since into the Irish tongue,<sup>4</sup> which, if it be true, it is not likely to be the doing of any one but of this Armachanus. And thus much of this learned prelate and archbishop of Ireland, a man worthy, for his christian zeal, of immortal commendation.

Friars  
against  
the uni-  
versity of  
Oxford.English  
writers  
against  
the friars.Friars  
that write  
against  
Arma-  
chanus.

After the death of this Innocent, next was popped in the see of

(1) Ex Chron. Reg. Rich. 11.

(2) Ex Botonero.

(3) Ex Waldeno.

(4) Testified by certain Englishmen, which are yet alive, and have seen it. (5) See the Appendix.

Rome pope Urban V., who, by the father's side, was an Englishman. This Urban had been a waiter a long time in the court of Rome; and when he saw no promotion would light upon him, complaining to a certain friend of his, he made to him his moan, saying, That he thought, verily, if all the churches of the world should fall, yet none would fall into his mouth. His friend afterwards seeing him to be pope, and enthronized in his threefold crown, cometh to him, and putting him in remembrance of his words to him before, saith, That whereas his holiness had moaned his fortune to him, that if all the churches in the world would fall, none would fall upon his head, "now," saith he, "God hath otherwise so disposed, that all the churches in the world are fallen upon your head."

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1364.Urban  
complain  
eth that  
no pro-  
motion  
would fall  
upon  
him.  
An an-  
swer to  
Urban,  
being  
made  
pope.

This pope maintained and kindled great wars in Italy, sending Giles, his cardinal and legate, and after him Arduinus, a Burgundian, his legate and abbot, with a great puissance and much money against sundry cities in Italy; by whose means the towns and cities which before had broken from the bishop of Rome were oppressed: also Barnabas and Galeaceus, prince of Milan, were vanquished.<sup>1</sup> By whose example other being sore feared, submitted themselves to the church of Rome; and thus came up that wicked church to her great possessions, which her patrons would needs father upon Constantine, the godly emperor.

How the  
church of  
Rome  
came by  
their  
royal pos-  
sessions.

In the time of this pope Urban V., and in the second year of his reign, about the conclusion of the year of our Lord 1363, I find a certain sermon of one Nicholas Orem, made before the pope and his cardinals, on Christmas-even.<sup>2</sup> In which sermon the learned man doth worthily rebuke the prelates and priests of his time, declaring their destruction not to be far off, by certain signs taken of their wicked and corrupt life. All the sayings of the prophets, spoken against the wicked priests of the Jews, he doth aptly apply against the clergy of his time, comparing the church then present to the spiritual strumpet spoken of in the prophet Ezekiel [chap. xvi.]; and he proveth, in conclusion, the clergy of the church then to be so much worse than the old synagogue of the Jews, by how much it is worse to sell the church and sacraments, than to suffer doves to be sold in the church. With no less judgment also, and learning, he answereth to the old and false objections of the papists, who, albeit they be never so wicked, yet think themselves to be the church which the Lord cannot forsake. All these things to the intent they may the better appear in his own words, I have thought good here to translate and exhibit the sermon as it was spoken before the pope.

A Copy of a Sermon made before Pope Urban V., the fourth Sunday in Advent, A.D. 1363, by Nicholas Orem.

"Juxta est salus mea, ut veniat, et justitia," &c. That is, "My saving health is near at hand to come, and my righteousness to be revealed," &c. [Isa. lvi.] After the sentence of St. Paul, Rom. ii. and in divers other places, before the nativity of Christ the whole world was divided into two sorts of men, the Jews and Gentiles—the Jews, who waited for the opening of the door of paradise by the blood of the Saviour to come: the Gentiles, who yet sitting in darkness were to be called to light, and to be justified by faith, as it is written in Romans, chap. v.

The  
world  
divided  
into two  
sorts of  
men be-  
fore the  
incarna-  
tion of  
Christ.

(1) Ex Sabel. Eunecad. ix. lib. 8

(2) See the Appendix.

Edward  
III.

A. D.  
1364.

Three  
heads.

The first  
part of his  
theme.

The  
second  
part of his  
theme.

The third  
part of his  
theme.

This salvation, pertaining both to the Jew and Gentile, God promised before time to the fathers by the prophets, to stir up the desire thereof in their hearts the more, and to increase their firm hope and faith in the same. As first, in Micah vi., the voice of the Lord crieth, "Health and salvation shall be to all men which fear my name." And Isaiah xli., "I will give in Sion salvation, and in Jerusalem my glory," &c., with divers other such places. And forasmuch as hope which is deferred many times, doth afflict the soul, and conceiveth weariness of long deferring; he, therefore, prophesying of the nearness of the coming thereof, saith moreover [Isa. xiv.], "His time is near at hand to come." Also [Hab. ii.], "He will come, and will not tarry." With many such other places more. So then the holy fathers being in Limbo, looked and hoped that he should bring out them that sat bound, and which in the house of prison sat in darkness, as we read in Isaiah xli. Then the time drew on, in which came the fulness of the Gentiles, and in which the Lord would declare the riches of this mystery hidden from the world, and from generations. [Col. i.] Wherefore the Lord, in this text, doth both certify our fathers of the coming of our Saviour, and doth comfort them touching the nearness thereof, and also teacheth the justification of the Gentiles by faith, approaching now near at hand, according to the words of my text, "my salvation is near." Which words were fulfilled then, what time the Lord did manifest his salvation, and did reveal his righteousness in the sight of all the Gentiles. And it is divided into three parts; of which the first speaketh of the nearness of his coming, where it is said, "my salvation is near." The second concerneth the mystery of the advent of Christ and his incarnation, where he saith, "ut veniat," &c. Thirdly, is considered the severity of God, his terrible revenging judgment to be revealed, where he saith, "ut reveletur," &c., which is to be expounded of his primitive justice, whereof speaketh Amos [chap. v.], saying, "And judgment shall be revealed like a flood, and righteousness like a strong stream." Wherefore, for our contemplation of the solemnity of the most holy vigil, let us receive with joy the word of God the Father, "My Salvation is nigh," that is, Christ. To whom he saith [Isa. xlix.], "I have given thee to be a light to the Gentiles, and to be my salvation throughout the ends of the world:" and again [Isa. xlv.], "My salvation shall not slack," &c.

As touching the nearness thereof, it is in these days opened to us by the gospel, where we read in St. Matthew, When the virgin Mary was espoused unto Joseph, before they did come together, she was found with child by the Holy Ghost. By this it was evident to understand, that our Saviour ought shortly to proceed out of the chaste womb of the virgin, according as the prophet did foretel, saying, "Behold a virgin shall conceive and bring forth a son," &c. For as the grape, when it waxeth great and full, is near to the making of wine; and as the flower, when it shooteth abroad, hasteth to the fruit; so the salvation of the world, in the swelling and growing of the virgin's womb, began to draw nigh to mankind. For then appeared the grace and benignity of our Saviour, whom his mother was found to have in her womb by the Holy Ghost, as is declared in that which followeth by the angel, saying, "For that which is born of her is of the Holy Ghost."

Touching the second part of that which is said, "ut veniat:" this may be applied to the contemplation of the mystery of Christ coming in the flesh; whereof speaketh Haggai the prophet [chap. ii.], "He shall come who is desired and looked for of all nations," &c. Albeit the same also may be applied to the second advent, spoken of in Isaiah [chap. iii.], "The Lord shall come to judgment," &c.; in memorial whereof the fourth Sunday was dedicated in the old time, of the fathers. And of this day of judgment it is written in the prophet Zeph. [chap. ii.], "The day of the Lord is near, great and mighty, it is approaching at hand, and wondrous short," &c. And albeit not in itself, yet it may be expounded in tribulations that go before, as preambles unto the same; as Gregory saith, "The last tribulation is prevented with many and sundry tribulations going before, although the end of all be not yet."

Wherefore now coming to the third part of my sermon or theme, let us see, of those tribulations that go before the last coming of Christ, if there be any such tribulation approaching nigh at hand, whereof this last part of my theme may be verified, where he said, "Ut reveletur," that my righteousness shall be revealed; to wit, the righteousness primitive, that righteousness may be

brought, and the prophecy of Daniel fulfilled [Dan. ix.], concerning which inatter four things here come in order to be declared.

*Edward  
III*

First, Concerning the revealing of tribulation, according to that part of my theme, "Ut reveletur," &c.

*A. D.  
1364.*

Secondly, Concerning the nearness of the tribulation coming, according to that part of my theme, "Quia juxta est," &c.

*Four sub-  
divisions.*

Thirdly, Of the false opinions of some upon this part of my theme, "Ut veniat," &c.

Fourthly, What means and consultation we ought to take, "Ut juxta est salus."

As for the first, it is so notorious and so common in the Scriptures that the church should suffer and abide tribulation, that I need not here to stand in alleging any thing touching either the causes to be weighed, or the term to be conjectured thereof. As concerning which causes I will give two rules to be noted before, for the better opening of that which is to follow: The first rule is, that by the two kingdoms of the nation of the Hebrews which were in the old time, to wit, by the kingdom of Israel, whose head was Samaria, is signified in the prophets the erroneous synagogue; and by the second kingdom of Judah, of whose stock came Christ, whose head metropolitan was Jerusalem, is signified the true church. And this rule is not mine, but is an authentic gloss of St. Jerome, and also is the rule of Origen in the last homily upon the Old Testament, and is approved by the church.

*First sub-  
division.*

The second rule is, that by the brothel-house and fornication mentioned in the prophets, are signified simony, and abused dispensations, and promotions of persons unworthy, for lucre's sake, or else for any other partial favour, who, by unlawful ways, by all laws of the world, come to office and honour. "Merx dicitur namque a merendo;" that is, because gain or price is derived of gaining; for the which gain or price, that is sold, which by nature ought not to be sold. Therefore, to give any thing for respect of gain or hire, which ought to be given freely for virtue's sake, is a kind of spiritual corruption, and as a man would say, a whorish thing; whereof the prophet [Isaiah, chap. i.] complaineth, speaking of Jerusalem, and saying, "The city which once was faithful and full of judgment, how is it now become a whorish city?" And in like manner Hosea also, the prophet [chap. ix.], "Jerusalem, thou hast fornicated and gone a whoring from thy God. Thou hast loved like a harlot to get gain in every barn of corn." And in many other places of Scripture, where fornication cannot be otherwise expounded.

*The king-  
dom of  
Israel sig-  
nifying  
the false  
church.  
The king-  
dom of  
Judah signifieth  
the right  
church.*

These two rules thus premised, now let us mark the Scriptures, and, according to the same, judge of the whole state of the church, both what is past, and what is to come: First, treating of the causes of tribulation to come: Secondly, of the vicinity of time of the said tribulation to come.

And first, concerning the state of the church, and of causes of tribulation, thus saith the Lord in the prophet Ezekiel [chap. xvi.], speaking to the church under the name of Jerusalem: "In the day of thy birth I came by thee, and saw thee trodden down in thine own blood," &c. Here he speaketh of the time of the martyrdom of the church. Then it followeth, "After this thou wast cleansed from thy blood, thou wast grown up, and waxen great; then washed I thee with water, I purged thy blood from thee" (speaking of ceasing of persecution), "I anointed thee with oil, I gave thee change of raiment, I girded thee with white silk, I decked thee with costly apparel, I put rings upon thy fingers, a chain about thy neck, spangles upon thy forehead, and ear-rings upon thine ears. Thus wast thou decked with silver and gold, and a beautiful crown set upon thine head. Marvellous goodly wast thou and beautiful, even a very queen wast thou: for thou wast excellent in my beauty, which I put upon thee, saith the Lord God," &c. This prophecy, or rather history, speaketh of, and declareth, the prosperity of the church.

*Five  
states of  
the  
church  
described.*

*1. The  
martyr-  
dom of  
the  
church.  
2. The  
prosperity  
of the  
church.*

And now hear the corruption and transgression of the church, for so it followeth: "But thou hast put confidence in thine own beauty, and played the harlot, when thou hadst gotten thee a name. Thou hast committed whoredom with all that went by thee, and hast fulfilled their desires; yea, thou hast taken thy garments of divers colours and decked thine altars therewith, whereupon thou mightest fulfil thy whoredom of such a fashion as never was done, nor shall be." Which whoredom can in no wise be expounded for carnal, but

*3. The  
corrup-  
tion of the  
church*



Edward  
III.A. D.  
1361.4. The  
correction  
of the  
church.

spiritual whoredom. And therefore, see how lively he hath painted out the corruption and falling of the church.

And therefore followeth now the correction and punishment of the church. It followeth, "Behold I stretch out my hand over thee, and will diminish thy store of food, and deliver thee over unto the wills of the Philistines, and of such as hate thee: and they shall break down thy stews, and destroy thy brothel-houses" (that is, the place wherein thou didst exercise this wickedness) "they shall strip thee out of thy clothes: all thy fair beautiful jewels shall they take from thee, and so let thee sit naked and bare," &c. [Ezek. xvi.] Here is plainly to be seen what shall happen to the church, and more followeth in the said chapter: "Thine elder sister is Samaria, she and her daughters upon thy left hand: but the youngest sister that dwelleth on thy right hand is Sodoma with her daughters, whose sins were these: pride, fulness of meat, abundance, and idleness, neither reached they their hand to the poor. And yet, neither Sodoma thy sister, with her daughters, hath done so evil as thou and thy daughters: neither hath Samaria" (that is, the synagogue) "done half of thy sins; yea, thou hast exceeded them in wickedness. Take therefore and bear thine own confusion," &c. Again in Ezek. [chap. xxiii.], after the prophet had described at large the wickedness, corruption, and punishment of the synagogue, turning to the church, he saith, "And when her sister saw this, she raged and was mad with lust \* more than before; she was mad, that is, with fleshly lust,<sup>1</sup> \* love of riches, and following voluptuousness. Her fornication and whoredom she committed with princes and great lords, clothed with all manner of gorgeous apparel; so that her paps were bruised, and her breasts were marred." And then speaking of her punishment, he saith, "Then my heart forsook her, like as my heart was gone from her sister also." And moreover, repeating again the cause thereof, he addeth, "Thy wickedness and thy fornication hath wrought thee all this," &c.

The like we find also in Isaiah, Jeremy, Ezekiel, and in all the other prophets, who, prophesying all together in one meaning, and almost in one manner of words, do conclude with a full agreement and prophecy to come, that the church shall fall, and then be punished for her great excesses, and be utterly spoiled, except she repent of all her abominations. Whereof speaketh Hosea [chap. ii.], "Let her put away her whoredom out of her sight, and her adultery from her breasts, lest I strip her naked, and set her even as she came naked into the world," (that is, in her primitive poverty). So if she do it not, it shall follow of her as in the prophet Nahum [chap. iii.], "For the multitude of the fornication of the fair and beautiful harlot, which is a master of witchcraft, yea and selleth the people through her whoredom, and the nations through her witchcraft." And it followeth upon the same, "Behold I come upon thee, saith the Lord of hosts, and will pull thy clothes over thy head, that thy nakedness shall appear among the heathen, and thy shame amongst the kingdoms" &c. Wherefore by these it is to be understood that upon this church the primitive justice of God is to be revealed hereafter. And thus much of the first of the four members above touched.

Now to the second member of my theme, "Juxta est;" concerning the nearness of time. Although it is not for us to know the moments and articles of time; yet, by certain notes and signs, peradventure, it may be collected and gathered, that which I have here to say. For the tractation whereof, first I ground myself upon the saying of the apostle Paul [2 Thes. ii.], where he writeth, "That unless there come a defection first," &c. By the which defection, Jerome<sup>2</sup> gathereth and expoundeth allegorically, the desolation of the monarchy of Rome: between which desolation, and the persecution of the church by Antichrist, he putteth no mean space. And now, what is the state of that commonwealth, if it be compared to the majesty of that it hath been, judge yourselves. Another gloss there is that saith, how by that defection is meant, that from the church of Rome shall come a departing of some other churches.

The second note and mark is this, when the church shall be worse in manners than was the synagogue; as appeareth by the ordinary gloss upon the third of Jeremiah, where it is written, "The backslider Israel may seem just and righteous in comparison of sinful Judah;" that is, the synagogue in comparison

The re-  
formation  
of the  
church.  
Second  
subdivi-  
sion.  
Signs,  
that the  
tribula-  
tion of  
the  
church  
draweth  
near.  
First sign.  
Except  
there  
come a  
defection  
first, how  
it is to be  
under-  
stood.  
Second  
sign.

(1) These words are inserted from the Second Edition.—Ed  
(2) Ultima quæst. ad inquisitiones Januarii.



of the church of God. Whereof writeth Origen saying, Think that to be spoken of us what the Lord saith in Ezekiel [chap. xvi.], "Thou hast exceeded thy sister in thine iniquities." Wherefore now, to compare the one with the other: First, ye know how Christ rebuked the Pharisees, who, as Jerome witnesseth, were then the clergy of the Jews, of covetousness, for that they suffered doves to be sold in the temple of God: Secondly, for that they did honour God with their lips, and not with their heart; and because they said, but did not: Thirdly, he rebuked them, for that they were hypocrites. To the first then, let us see whether it be worse to sell both church and sacraments than to suffer doves to be sold in the temple, or not. Secondly, whereas the Pharisees were rebuked for honouring God with their lips, and not with their heart, there be some who neither honour God with heart, nor yet with lips, and who neither do well, nor yet say well; neither do they preach any word at all, but be dumb dogs, not able to bark, impudent and shameless dogs, that never have enough; such pastors as have no understanding, declining and straying all in their own way, every one given to covetousness from the highest to the lowest. And thirdly, as for hypocrisy, there be also some whose intolerable pride and malice are so manifest and notorious, kindled up like a fire, that no cloak or shadow of hypocrisy can cover it, but they are so past all shame, that it may be well verified of them, which the prophet speaks, "Thou hast gotten thee the face of a harlot; thou wouldst not blush," &c.

The third sign and token of tribulation approaching near to the church, may well be taken of the too much unequal proportion seen this day in the church; where one is hungry and starveth, another is drunk. By reason of which so great inequality, it cannot be that the state of the church, as it is now, can long endure; for, like as in good harmony, to make the music perfect, is required a moderate and proportionate inequality of voices, which if it do much exceed, it taketh away all the sweet melody; so, according to the sentence of the philosopher, by too much immoderate inequality or disparity of citizens, the commonwealth falleth to ruin. On the contrary, where mediocrity, that is, where a mean inequality with some proportion is kept, that policy standeth firm and more sure to continue. Now, among all the politic regiments of the Gentiles, I think none more is to be found in histories, wherein is to be seen so great and exceeding odds, as in the policy of priests; of whom some be so high, that they exceed all princes of the earth; some again be so base, that they are under all rascals, so that such a policy or commonwealth may well be called Oligarchia.

Edward  
IIIA. D.  
1364.

The synagogue and church compared together in manners.

Third  
sign.

Oligarchia, is where a few bear all the sway, and all the rest be nothing worth.

This may we plainly see and learn in the body of man, to the which Plutarch, writing to Thracinius,<sup>1</sup> doth seemably compare the commonwealth. In the which body, if the sustenance received should all run to one member, so that that member should be too much exceedingly pampered, and all the other parts too much pined, that body could not long continue; so in the body of the wealth ecclesiastical, if some who be the heads be so enormously overgrown in riches and dignity, that the weaker members of the body be scanty able to bear them up, there is a great token of dissolution and ruin shortly. Whereupon cometh well in place the saying of the prophet Isaiah: "Every head is sick, every heart is full of sorrow;" of the which heads it is also spoken in the prophet Amos [chap. vi.], "Woe be to the secure, proud, and wealthy in Sion, and to such as think themselves so sure upon the mount of Samaria, taking themselves as heads and rulers over others," &c. And, moreover, in the said prophet Isaiah it followeth, "From the top of the head to the sole of the foot there is no whole part in all the body," to wit, in the inferiors, because they are not able to live for poverty; in the superiors, because for their excessive riches they are let from doing good. And it followeth in the same place, "But all are wounds, and botches, and stripes." Behold here the danger coming, the wounds of discord and division, the botch or sore of rancour and envy, the swelling stripe of rebellion and mischief.

The fourth sign is the pride of prelates. Some there have been who fondly have disputed of the poverty of Christ, and have inveighed against the prelates, because they live not in the poverty of the saints. But this fantasy cometh of the ignorance of moral philosophy and divinity, and of the defect of natural prudence; for that in all nations, and by common laws, priests have had, and ought to have, wherewith to sustain themselves more honestly than the vulgar sort, and prelates more honestly than the subjects. But yet hereby is not

Fourth  
sign.(1) Rather *Trajanus*: see Fabricii Bibl. Græca, v. 192, ed. Harles.

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1364.Pride of  
prelates  
noted.Fifth  
sign.The  
tyranny  
of pre-  
lates  
noted.Sixth  
sign.  
Promo-  
ting of  
unworthy  
minis-  
ters.Seventh  
sign.Eighth  
sign.  
Refusing  
of cor-  
rection  
in the  
clergy.

permitted to them their great horses, their troops of horsemen, the superfluous pomp of their waiting-men and great families, which scarcely can be maintained without pride, neither can be sustained with safe justice, and, many, not without fighting and injuries inconvenient; not much unlike to that which Justin the historian writeth of the Carthaginians, "The family," saith he, "of so great emperors, was intolerable to such a free city." In semblable wise, this great pride in the church of God, especially in these days, doth move not so few to due reverence, as many to indignation; and yet more, to those things aforesaid: who think no less but to do sacrifice to God, if they may rob and spoil certain fat priests and persons, namely, such as neither have nobility or blood, and less learning to bear themselves upon, but are liars, servile and fraudulent, to whom the Lord speaketh by his prophet Amos [chap. iv.], "Hear you fat-fed kine of Samaria, ye that do poor men wrong, and oppress the needy, the day shall come upon you," &c.

The fifth sign is, the tyranny of the prelates and presidents, which as it is a violent thing, so it cannot be long lasting. For as Solomon saith [chap. xvi.], "For it was requisite that, without any excuse, destruction should come upon those which exercised tyranny." The property of a tyrant is not to seek the commodity of his subjects, but only his will and profit. Such were the pastors that fed not the Lord's flock, but fed themselves; of whom and to whom speaketh the prophet Ezekiel [chap. xxxiv.], "Woe be unto those pastors of Israel that feed themselves. Should not the shepherds feed the flocks?" with many other threatenings against them in the same chapter. "Woe be unto them who rejoice at the transgressions of those whom it lieth in their power to condemn, neither do they seek what he is able to pay;" to whom crieth Micah the prophet [chap. iii.], "Ye hate the good and love the evil; ye pluck off men's skins, and the flesh from the bones; ye eat the flesh of my people, and flay off their skin; ye break their bones; ye chop them in pieces, as it were into a cauldron, and as flesh into the pot," &c. And, therefore, the aforesaid Ezekiel [chap. xxxiv.] pronounceth, "Behold, I will myself come upon the shepherds and require my sheep from their hands, and make them cease from feeding my sheep, yea the shepherds shall feed themselves no more; for I will deliver my sheep out of their mouths, so that they shall not devour them any more."

The sixth sign is the promoting of the unworthy, and neglecting them that be worthy. This, as Aristotle saith, is a great cause many times of the dissolution of commonweals. And oftentimes it so happeneth in the wars of princes, that the contempt and small regarding of the valiant, and the exalting of others that be less worthy, engender divers kinds and kindlings of sedition. For partly by reason of the same, partly of the other causes above recited, we have read not only in books, but have seen with our eyes, divers flourishing cities well nigh subverted; whereas good men be not made of, but are vexed with sorrow and grief by the evil: the contention at length bursteth out upon the prince, as Haymo reciteth out of Origen. This always hath been the perverse incredulity of man's hard heart, and that not only in hearing, but also in seeing: yet will they not believe that others have perished, unless they also perish themselves.

The seventh sign is, the tribulation of outward policy and commotions of the people, which in a great part has now happened already. And therefore, forasmuch as Seneca saith, "Men do complain commonly that evils only come so fast;" it is to be feared lest also the ecclesiastical policy be afflicted not only outwardly, but also in itself; and so that be fulfilled in us, which in Jeremy is prophesied [chap. iv.], "Murder is cried upon murder, and the whole land shall perish, and suddenly my tabernacles were destroyed, and my tents very quickly." And Ezekiel [chap. vii.], "Wherefore I will bring cruel tyrants from among the heathen, to take their houses in possession; I will make the pomp of the proud to cease, and their sanctuaries shall be taken. One mischief and sorrow shall follow another, and one rumour shall come after another: then shall they seek visions in vain at their prophets; the law shall be gone from their priests, and wisdom from their elders," &c.

The eighth is, the refusing of correction, neither will they hear their faults told them, so that it happened to the princes and rulers of the church, as it is written in the prophet Zechariah, [chap. vii.] "They stopped their ears that they would not hear, yea they made their hearts as an adamant stone, lest they should hear the law and words which the Lord of hosts sent in his Holy Spirit by the

prophets aforetime." Also Isaiah, witnessing after the same effect [chap. xxx.], saith, "For it is an obstinate people, lying children, and unfaithful children, that will not hear the law of the Lord, which say to the prophets, Meddle with nothing, and tell us nothing, that is true and right, but speak friendly words to us," &c. All this shall be verified when the prelates begin to hate them that tell them truth, and have knowledge; like unto such of whom Amos speaketh [chap. v.], "They bear him evil will, that reproveth them openly, and whoso telleth them the plain truth, they abhor him." And therefore saith the Lord, by Hosea, to the church of Jerusalem [chap. iv.], "Seeing thou hast refused understanding, I have refused thee also, that thou shalt no more be my priest. And forasmuch as thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thy children, and change their honour into shame. And so shall it be, like priest, like people," &c.; and many other sayings there be in the prophets, speaking of the defecting and casting down of the priestly honour.

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1364.Truth  
shent.

Besides these aforesaid signs and tokens hitherto recited, there be also divers others; as the backsliding from righteousness, the lack of discreet and learned priests, promoting of children into the church, with others such. But these being already well noted and marked, you may easily judge and understand whether these times now present of ours be safe and clear from tribulation to be looked for, and whether the word of the Lord be true according to my theme, "My righteousness is near at hand to be revealed," &c. And thus much of the second part.

Lack of  
learned  
priests.

Now to the third part or member of my subdivision, which is concerning the false and perilous opinions of some, upon this word of my theme, "Ut veniat," &c.; which opinions principally be four, all repugning against the truth of the canonical scripture.

Third  
subdivi-  
sion.

The first opinion is of such men, who, having too much confidence in themselves, do think and persuade with themselves, that the prelates be the church which the Lord will always keep and never forsake, as he hath promised in the persons of the apostles, saying, in Matthew [chap. xxviii.], "And I will be with you to the end of the world," &c. But this is to be understood of faith, whereof Christ speaketh in Luke [chap. xxi.], "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith shall not fail." Whereof we read in Ecclesiastes [chap. xl.], "Faith shall stand for ever," &c. And albeit charity wax never so cold, yet faith, notwithstanding, shall remain in a few, and in all distresses of the world; of the which distresses, our Saviour doth prophesy, in many places, to come. And lest, peradventure, some should think themselves to be safe from tribulation, because they be of the church; this opinion the Lord himself doth contradict in Jeremiah [chap. vii.], "Trust not," saith he, "in false lying words, saying, The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord." And a little after, "But you trust in words and lying counsels which deceive you, and do you no good."

The  
church,  
where it  
is, and in  
whom it  
consist-  
eth.

The second opinion is of them who defer time; for this they will grant, that the church shall abide trouble, but not so shortly; thinking thus with themselves, that all these causes and tokens afore recited, have been before, at other times as well, in the church. For both by Gregory and Bernard, holy doctors, in time past, the prelates have been in like sort reprehended, both for their bribings, for their pomp and pride, for the promoting of children, and persons unfit unto ecclesiastical functions, and other vices more, which have reigned before this in the church of God more than now, and yet by God's grace the church hath prospered and stands. Do ye not see, that if a house have stood and continued ruinous a long season, it is never the more near the fall thereby, but rather to be trusted the better? Moreover, many times it cometh so to pass, in realms and kingdoms, that the posterity is punished for the sins of their predecessors. Whereof speaketh the book of Lamentations [chap. v.], "Our fathers have sinned and are now gone, and we must bear their wickedness," &c. Against this cogitation or opinion, well doth the Lord answer by the prophet Ezekiel [chap. xii.], saying, "Behold, thou Son of Man, the house of Israel saith in this manner, Tush, as for the vision that he hath seen, it will be many a day ere it come to pass; it is far off yet, the thing that he prophesieth. Therefore say unto them, thus saith the Lord God, The words that I have spoken shall be deferred no longer, look, what I have said shall come to pass, saith the Lord," &c. We have seen in our days things to happen, which seemed before incredible. And the like hath been seen in other times also,

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as we read written in the book of Lamentations [chap. iv.], "The kings of the earth, nor all the inhabitants of the world would not have beleived, that the enemy and adversary should have come in at the gates of the city, for the sins of her priests, and for the wickedness of her elders, that have shed innocent blood within her," &c. By Jerusalem, as is said, is meant the church.

The third opinion or error is very perilous and perverse, of all such as say "veniat," let come that will come; let us conform ourselves to this world, and take our time with those temporizers who say in the book of Wisdom [chap. ii.], "Come, let us enjoy our goods and pleasures that be present, and let us use the creature as in youth quickly," &c. Such as these be, are in a dangerous case, and be greatly prejudicial to good men in the church. And, if the heads and rulers of the church were so vile to have any such detestable cogitation in them, there were no place in hell too deep for them. This church, founded by the apostles in Christ, consecrated with the blood of so many martyrs, enlarged and increased with the virtues and merits of so many saints, and endured so richly with the devotion of so many secular princes, and so long prospered hitherto; if it now should come into the hands of such persons, it should fall in great danger of ruin, and they, for their negligence and wickedness, would well deserve of God to be cursed; yea here, also, in this present world, to incur temporal tribulation and destruction, which they fear more; by the sentence of the Lord, saying to them in the book of Proverbs [chap. i.], "All my counsels ye have despised, and set my correction at nought; therefore shall I also laugh in your destruction, when tribulation and anguish shall fall upon you."

Fourthly, another opinion or error is, of such as being unfaithful, believe not that any such thing will come. And this error seemeth to have no remedy, but that as other things and other kingdoms have their ends and limits set unto them, which they cannot overpass; so it must needs be, that such a domination and government of the church have an end, by reason of the demerits and obstinacies of the governors provoking and requiring the same; like as we read in the prophet Jeremy [chap. viii.], "There is no man that taketh repentance for his sin, that will so much as say, Wherefore have I done this? But every man runneth forth still like a wild horse in battle." And the same prophet, in chapter xiii. of his prophecy, "Like as the man of Inde may change his skin, and the cat-of-mountain her spots, so may ye, that be exercised in evil, do good." Whereunto also accordeth that which is written of the same prophet [chap. xvii.], speaking of Judah, signifying the church, "The sin of Judah," saith he, "is written in the table of your hearts, and graven so upon the edges of your altars with a pen of iron, and with an adamant claw;" which is as much to say, it is indelible, or which cannot be rased out; as also Ezekiel, speaking of the punishment [chap. xxi.], saith, "I the Lord have drawn my sword out of the sheath, and it cannot be revoked." Notwithstanding, all these signify no impossibility, but difficulty, because that wicked men are hardly converted; for, otherwise, the Scripture importeth no such inflexibility with God, but if conversion come, he will forgive. So we read in the prophet Jonas [chap. iii.], "Who can tell? God may turn and repent, and cease from his fierce wrath that we perish not." And to the like effect saith the same Lord in Jeremy [chap. xxvi.], "Look thou keep not one word back, if peradventure they will hearken and turn every man from his wicked way, that I also may repent of the plague which I have determined to bring upon them, because of their wicked inventions," &c. For the further proof whereof, Nineveh we see was converted, and remained undestroyed, &c. Likewise the Lord also had revealed destruction unto Constantinople by sundry signs and tokens, as Augustine in a certain sermon doth declare. And thus for the third part or member of my division.

Fourthly and lastly, remaineth to declare, some wholesome concluding, now upon the causes preceding: that is, if by these causes and signs, heretofore declared, tribulation be prepared to fall upon the church, then let us humble our minds mildly and wisely. And if we so return with heart and in deed unto God, verily he will rescue and help after an incestimable wise, and will surcease from scourging us, as he promiseth by his prophet Jeremiah [chap. xviii.], "If that people against whom I have thus devised, convert from their wickedness, immediately I will repent of the plague that I devised to bring upon them;" speaking here after the manner of men, &c. Now therefore, forasmuch as



tribulation and affliction is so near coming toward us, yea lieth upon us already, let us be the more diligent to call upon God for mercy. For I think, verily, these many years, there have not been so many and so despitelful haters and evil willers, stout, and of such a rebellious heart against the church of God, as be now-a-days; neither be they lacking, that would work all that they can against it, and lovers of new-fangleness; whose hearts the Lord haply will turn, that they shall not hate his people, and work deceit against his servants, I mean against priests, whom they have now in little or no reputation at all, albeit many yet there be, through God's grace, good and godly; but yet the fury of the Lord is not turned away, but still his hand is stretched out. And unless ye be converted, he shaketh his sword; he hath bent his bow, and prepared it ready. Yet the Lord standeth waiting, that he may have mercy upon you [Isaiah xxx.] And therefore, as the greatness of fear ought to incite us, so hope of salvation may allure us to pray and call upon the Lord, especially now, toward this holy and sacred time and solemnity of Christ's nativity: for that holy and continual prayer without intermission is profitable, and the instant devotion and vigilant deprecation of the just man is of great force. And if terrene kings, in the day of celebration of their nativity, be wont to show themselves more liberal and bounteous, how much more ought we to hope well, that the heavenly King, of nature most benign, now at his natal and birth-day, will not deny pardon and remission to such as rightly call unto him.

And now, therefore, as it is written in Joshua [chap. vii.], "Be ye sanctified against to-morrow," &c. And say unto him, as it is written in the first book of Samuel [chap. xxv.], "Now let thy servants I pray thee find favour in thy sight, for we come to thee in a good season." Moreover, ye may find what ye ask, if ye ask that which he brought, in the day of his nativity, that is, the peace of the church, not spiritual only, but also temporal; which the angelical noise did sound, and experience the same time did prove, testified by Livy, Pliny, and other heathen story-writers, who all marvelled thereat, saying that such an universal peace as that could not come on earth, but by the gift of God. For so God did forepromise in the prophet Isaiah [chap. lxi.], "Behold, I will let peace into Jerusalem like a waterflood," &c.; and in Psalm lxxi., "In his time righteousness shall flourish, yea, and abundance of peace," &c.

Therefore now, O reverend fathers in the Lord! and you, here in this present assembly! behold, I say, the day of life and salvation; now is the opportune time to pray unto God, that the same thing, which he brought into the world at his birth, he will now grant in these days to his church, that is, his peace. And, like as Nineveh was subverted, and overturned, not in members but in manners, so the same words of my theme, "*Juxta est justitia mea ut reveletur*," may be verified in us, not of the primitive justice, but of our sanctification by grace; so that, as to-morrow is celebrated the nativity of our Saviour, our righteousness may rise together with him, and his blessing may be upon us, which God hath promised, saying, "My saving health is near at hand to come," &c.; and whereof speaketh Isaiah the prophet [chap. li.], "My saving health shall endure for ever," &c. This health grant unto us, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost! Amen.

This sermon was made by Master Nicholas Orem before pope Urban V. and his cardinals, upon the even of the nativity of the Lord, being the fourth Sunday of Advent, A.D. 1363, and the second of his popedom.

In the fifth year of this forenamed pope Urban, began first the order of the Jesuats.<sup>1</sup> Unto this time, which was about A.D. 1367, the offices here in England, as that of the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, and the privy seal, were wont to be in the hands of the clergy; but, about this year, through the motion of the lords in the parliament,

Edward  
III.

A. D.  
1364.

(1) The "Jesuats" or "Jesuates" are mentioned *suprà*, pp. 57, 352. They were an order of monks, founded by St. John Columbini, chief magistrate of Sienna, A.D. 1363. Becoming convinced of sin, he gave up his honours, sold his estates, and devoted himself to the service of God and the poor. He was joined by seventy disciples. They followed St. Augustine's rule, and took St. Jerome for their patron. Urban V. confirmed their institute at Viterbo, A.D. 1367. They were called "Jesuats" from always having the name of Jesus on their lips; it occurs 1500 times in a few letters which Columbini wrote. The order was suppressed by Clement IX. in 1668.—Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*. They are not to be confounded with the "Jesuits," who were founded by Ignatius Loyola A.D. 1534, confirmed by Paul III. A.D. 1540.—Ed.

The order of Jesuats. The chief offices of the realm translated from the clergy to the lords temporal, A.D. 1367.



Edward  
III.

A. D.  
1370.

Pope Gre-  
gory XI.  
The pa-  
pacy re-  
duced  
again  
from  
France  
to Rome

and partly, as witnesseth mine author, for hatred of the clergy, all the said offices were removed from the clergy to the lords temporal.

After the death of pope Urban, next succeeded pope Gregory XI., who, among his other acts, first reduced again the papacy out of France unto Rome, which had from thence been absent the space now of seventy years; being thereto moved (as Sabellicus recordeth) by the answer of a certain bishop, whom as the pope saw standing by him he asked, why he was so long from his charge and church at home, saying that it was not the part of a good pastor to keep him from his flock so long. Whereunto the bishop answering again said, "And you yourself, being the chief bishop, who may and ought to be a spectacle to us all, why are you from the place so long where your church doth lie?" by the occasion whereof the pope sought all means after that to remove and to rid his court out of France again to Rome, and so he did.<sup>1</sup>

King  
Edward  
complain-  
eth of the  
pope's re-  
servation  
of bene-  
fices.

The king of England, holding a parliament in the third year of this pope, sent his ambassadors to him, desiring him, that he from thenceforth would abstain from his reservations of benefices used in the realm of England; and that spiritual men, within this realm promoted unto bishoprics, might freely enjoy their elections within the realm, and be confirmed by their metropolitans, according to the ancient custom of the realm. Wherefore, upon these, and such other like matters, wherein the king and the realm thought themselves aggrieved, he desired of the pope some remedy to be provided, &c. Whereunto the pope returned a certain answer again unto the king, requiring by his messengers to be certified again of the king's mind concerning the same. But what answer it was, it is not in the story expressed, save that the year following, which was A.D. 1374, there was a tractation at Bruges upon certain of the said articles between the king and the pope, which did hang two years in suspense; and so at length it was thus agreed between them, that the pope should no more use his reservations of benefices in England, and likewise the king should no more confer and give benefices upon the writ "Quare impedit," &c.; but, touching the freedom of elections to be confirmed by the metropolitan, mentioned in the year before, thereof was nothing touched.<sup>2</sup>

The pope  
put from  
his re-  
serving of  
benefices  
in Eng-  
land.  
'Quare  
impedit.'

The law  
against  
papal pro-  
visions.

As touching these reservations, provisions, and collations, with the elections of archbishops, bishops, beneficed men, and others, wherewith the pope vexed this realm of England, as before you have heard; the king, by the consent of the lords and commons, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign enacted, that a statute made in the thirty-fifth year of his grandfather Edward I., but not put in execution, should be revived; wherein was made an Act against the ravenous pillage of the pope through the same provisions, reservations, and collations, &c.; by the which provisions the state of the realm decreased more and more, the king's royalty and prerogative were greatly obscured and diminished, innumerable treasures of the realm transported, aliens and strangers placed in the best and fattest bishoprics, abbeys, and benefices within the realm, and such, as either for their offices in Rome, as cardinalships and such-like, could not be here resident, or

(1) Respecting two paragraphs which Foxe introduces here respecting Miltizius and Jacobus Miseneris, see *infra*, p. 781, note (2).—Ed.

(2) See *infra*, pp. 789, 790.—Ed.

if resident, yet better away for causes infinite, as partly have been touched before. Moreover, he not only revived the said statute made by Edward I. his grandfather, but also enacted another, forbidding that any one, for any cause or controversy in law whatsoever, either spiritual or temporal, the same being determinable in any of the king's courts (as all matters were), whether they were personal or real citations, or other, should either appeal or consent to any appellation to be made out of the realm to the pope or see of Rome; adding thereunto very strait and sharp penalties against the offenders therein or in any part thereof, as, exemption out of the king's protection, loss of all their lands, goods, and other possessions, and their bodies to be imprisoned at the king's pleasure; and further, whosoever were lawfully convicted, or who otherwise, for want of appearance, by process directed forth were within the lapse of this statute of 'Præmunire,' for so bore the name thereof, should suffer all and every such molestations and injuries, as men exempted from the protection of the king; insomuch that whosoever had killed such men, had been in no more danger of law there-for, than for the killing of an outlaw, or one not worthy to live in a commonweal. Like unprofitable members were they then, yea, in that time of ignorance, esteemed in this commonweal of England, who would offer themselves to the wilful slavery and servile obedience of the pope; which thing in these days, yea, and that amongst no small fools, is counted more than evangelical holiness. He that listeth to peruse the statute, and would see every branch and article thereof at large discussed and handled, with the penalties there-for due, let him read the statute of Provision and Præmunire made in the twenty-fifth year of this king's days: and let him read in the statutes made in the parliaments holden the twenty-seventh and thirty-eighth years of his reign, and under the same titles of Provision and Præmunire he shall find the pope's primacy and jurisdiction within this realm more nearly touched, and much of his papal power restrained. Divers other matters wherein the pope is restrained of his usurped power, authority, and jurisdiction within this realm of England, are in the said titles and statutes expressed and at large set forth, whoever listeth to peruse the same, which for brevity's sake I omit, hastening to other matters.<sup>1</sup>

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1370.The law  
of præ-  
munire,  
with the  
penalty  
thereof.The  
pope's  
primary  
here in  
England  
bridied.

About<sup>2</sup> this time, being A. D. 1370, lived holy Bridget, whom the church of Rome hath canonized not only for a saint, but also for a prophetess; who, notwithstanding, in her book of Revelations, which hath been oftentimes imprinted, was a great rebuker of the pope and of the filth of his clergy, calling him a murderer of souls, a spiller and a pillar<sup>3</sup> of the flock of Christ, more abominable than Jews, more crueller than Judas, more unjust than Pilate, worse than Lucifer himself. The see of the pope, she prophesieth, shall be thrown down into the deep like a millstone, and that his assisters<sup>4</sup> shall burn with brimstone. She affirmeth, that the prelates, bishops, and priests, are the cause why the doctrine of Christ is neglected, and almost extinguished;

St.  
Bridget.

(1) See the Statutes at Large, and the Extracts from the Parliament Rolls, *infra*, pp. 783—789. The foregoing paragraph has been corrected in two or three particulars.—Ed.

(2) Ex lib. revelationum Divæ Brigittæ. [The next five pages are a translation of several detached passages in the "Catalogus Testium," to which Foxe refers in the next page. Foxe's text has been collated with Illyricus, and in many instances corrected.—Ed.]

(3) "Dispensorem et laceratorem," Illyricus.—Ed.

(4) "Assesores," Illyricus.—Ed.

Edward  
III.

A.D.  
1370.

Da pecu-  
niam.  
Rome a  
fertile  
ground  
of weeds  
and  
cockle.

Catharina  
Senensis.

The re-  
formation  
of religion  
prophe-  
sied of  
before.

The pro-  
phesy of  
Cathari-  
ne.

Note.

Matthias  
Parisien-  
sis, a  
writer  
against  
the pope.

Anti-  
christ  
already  
come.

and that the clergy have turned the ten commandments of God into two words,<sup>1</sup> to wit, "Da pecuniam," that is, "Give money." It were long and tedious to declare all that she against them writeth; let the above suffice: one thing only I will add, where the said Bridget affirmeth in her Revelations, that she beheld when the Blessed Virgin said to her Son, how Rome was a fruitful and fertile field, and that he replied, "Yea, but of weeds only and cockle."<sup>2</sup>

To this Bridget I will join also Catharine of Sienna, a holy virgin, who lived much about the same time (A.D. 1370); of whom writeth Antoninus.<sup>3</sup> This Catharine, having (according to the papists themselves) the spirit of prophecy, was wont much to complain of the corrupt state of the church, namely<sup>4</sup> of the prelates and monks, and of the court of Rome, and of the pope himself; prophesying before of the great schism which soon followed in the church of Rome, and endured to the council of Constance, the space of thirty-nine years;<sup>5</sup> also of the great wars and tribulation which ensued upon the same; and, moreover, declared before and foretold of this so excellent reformation of religion in the church now present. The words of Antoninus be these: "After this virgin had, on setting out for Rome, foretold her brother of the wars and tumults that should arise in the countries about Rome after the schism which had just happened between the two popes; I, then, curious to know of things to come, and it having become manifest that she had by revelation a knowledge of futurity, demanded of her, I pray you, good mother, said I, and what shall befall after these troubles in the church of God? And she said: 'By these tribulations and afflictions, after a secret manner unknown unto man, God shall purge his holy church, and stir up the spirit of his elect. And after these things shall follow such a reformation of the holy church of God, and such a renovation of holy pastors, that the only thought and anticipation thereof maketh my spirit to rejoice in the Lord. And, as I have oftentimes told you heretofore, the spouse, which now is all deformed and ragged, shall be adorned and decked with most rich and precious ouches and brooches. And all the faithful shall be glad and rejoice to see themselves so beautified with such holy shepherds. Yea, and also the infidels then, allured by the sweet savour of Christ, shall return to the catholic fold, and be converted to the true shepherd and bishop of their souls. Give thanks therefore to God; for after this storm he will give to his church a great calm.' And after she had thus spoken, she staid, and said no more."<sup>6</sup>

Besides these aforementioned, the Lord, who never ceaseth to work in his church, stirred up against the malignant church of Rome the spirits of divers other good and godly teachers, as Matthias Parisiensis, a Bohemian born, who, about A.D. 1370, wrote a large book "De Antichristo," and proveth him already come, and hinteth the pope to be the same; which book one Illyricus, a writer in these our days, hath, and promiseth to put it in print.<sup>7</sup> In this book he doth greatly

(1) "In unicum verbum," Illyricus. The ten commandments are called in the Hebrew "ten words."—Ed.

(2) Illyricus, "Cat. Test." (Genev. 1608), col. 1799.—Ed.

(3) "Namely," præsertim, especially.—Ed.

(4) See vol. iii. p. 18.—Ed.

(5) Illyricus, col. 1791. Cave says that she was born A.D. 1347, and died April A.D. 1380, and that she was called "Senensis," to distinguish her from Catharina "Bononiensis," who flourished A.D. 1438.—Ed.

(6) It is printed in Browne's Appendix to the "Fasciculus" of Orthonius Gratius.—Ed.

inveigh against the wickedness and filthiness of the clergy, and against the neglecting of their duty in governing the church. The locusts mentioned in the Apocalypse, he saith, be the hypocrites reigning in the church. He saith, also, that it is through the operation of Antichrist, that the fables and inventions of men reign in the church, and that images and feigned relics are worshipped every where: Item, that men do worship, every one, his proper saint and saviour instead of Christ, so that every man and city almost have their diverse and peculiar Christ. He taught and affirmed, moreover, that godliness and true worship of God are not tied to places, persons, or times, as though you would be heard more in this place than in another, at this time more than at another, &c. He argueth also against the cloisterers, who leaving the only and true Saviour, set up to themselves their Francises, their Dominics, and such others, and have them for their saviours, glorying and triumphing in them, and feigning many forged lies about them. He was greatly and much offended with monks and friars for neglecting or rather burying the word of Christ, and for celebrating and setting up instead of him their own rules and canons; affirming it to be much hurtful to true godliness, that the priests, monks, and nuns do account themselves only spiritual, and all others to be mundane and secular, challenging only to themselves the opinion of holiness, and condemning other men with all their public and social virtues as profane in comparison of their own state. He further writeth that Antichrist hath seduced all universities and colleges of learned men, so that they teach no sound doctrine, neither give any light to Christians with their teaching. Finally, he forewarneth that it will come to pass, that God yet once again will raise up godly teachers, who, being fervent in the spirit and zeal of Elias, shall disclose openly to the whole world and refute the errors of Antichrist, and Antichrist himself. This Matthias, in his said book "*De Antichristo*," allegeth the sayings and writings of the university of Paris, also the sermons of Gulielmus de Sancto Amore, and of Militzius hereafter noted, and of others on the same subject.<sup>1</sup>

*Edward  
III.*

A.D.  
1370.

The doctrine and protestation of Matthias.

About the same time, or shortly after (A.D. 1384), we read also of Johannes of Mountziger, rector of the university of Ulm, who openly in the schools in a certain oration propounded that the body of Christ was not God, and therefore ought not to be worshipped as God with that kind of worship called '*Latria*,' as the sophisters term it, meaning thereby that the sacrament ought not to be adored; which afterwards he also defended by writing. He affirmed also, that Christ in his resurrection took to him again all his blood which in his passion he had shed; meaning thereby to infer, that the blood of Christ, which in many places is worshipped, neither can be called the blood of Christ, neither ought to be worshipped. But by and by he was resisted and withstood by the monks and friars, who by this kind of idolatry were greatly enriched; till at length the senate and council of the city were fain to take up the matter between them, referring the same to the university of Prague, which inclined to favour the propositions aforesaid.<sup>2</sup>

Johannes Mountziger protestant against the pope.

(1) *Illyricus*, col. 1792.—Ed.

(2) *Illyricus*, col. 1791.—Ed.

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1370.Nilus,  
the arch-  
bishop of  
Thessa-  
lonica.

Nilus was archbishop of Thessalonica, and lived much about this time. He wrote a work in two books "*De primatu Papæ*,"<sup>1</sup> and a treatise "*De Purgatorio*," against the Latins; that is, against such as took part and held with the church of Rome. His first work being written in Greek, was afterward translated into Latin, and lately now into English, in this our time. In the first book of this work, he layeth all the blame and fault of the dissension and schism between the east and the west church upon the pope. He affirmed that the pope only would command what him listed, were it never so contrary to all the old and ancient canons; that he would hear and follow no man's advice; that he would not permit any free councils to be assembled, &c. And that, therefore, it was not possible that the controversies between the Greek church and the Latin church should be decided and determined.

In the second book of this work, he purposely maketh a very learned disputation. For first, he declareth that the bishop of Rome, no whit at all by God's commandment, but only by human law, hath any dignity, more than have other bishops; which dignity the councils, the fathers, the emperors, have granted unto him: neither did they grant the same for any other consideration more, than for greater order,<sup>2</sup> and for that the same city then had the empery of all the whole world, and not at all for that Peter ever was there, or not there.

Secondarily he declareth, that the same primacy or prerogative is not such and so great, as he and his sycophants do usurp unto themselves. Also he refuteth the chief propositions of the papists, one after another. He declareth that the pope hath no dominion more than other patriarchs have, and that he himself may err as well as other mortal men; and that he is subject both to laws and councils, as well as other bishops. That it belonged not to him, but to the emperor, to call general councils; and that in ecclesiastical causes he could establish and ordain no more than all other bishops might. And, lastly, that he is no further Peter's successor, than that he is a bishop, and that all other bishops in like manner be Peter's successors, &c.<sup>3</sup>

Jacobus  
Misen-  
sis and  
Militzius.

I cannot, among other, following here the occasion of this matter offered, leave out the memory of Jacobus of Misnia, a learned man and a writer who lived in the time of John Huss, who also wrote "*De Adventu Antichristi*." In the same he maketh mention of a certain learned man whose name was Militzius, which Militzius, he saith, was "a famous and worthy preacher in Prague," who lived about A.D. 1370, long before Huss, and before Wickliff also. Jacobus citeth many things out of his writings, in which this good Militzius thus declareth of himself, how he was moved and urged by the Holy Spirit to search out by the sacred Scriptures concerning the coming of Antichrist, and found that now, in his time, he was already come; and that he was constrained by the same Holy Spirit to go up to Rome, and there publicly to preach; and that afterwards before the inquisitor he affirmed the same, namely, that the same mighty and great Antichrist, which the Scriptures made mention of, was already come. He affirmed also, that the church through negligence of the pastors was become desolate, abounding, indeed, in temporal riches, but in spiritual riches empty;

The com-  
ing of An-  
tichrist.

(1) Printed in Goldasti de Monarchia, tom. i. p. 30. See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) "*Ordinis conservandi causâ*," Illyricus.—Ed.

(3) Illyricus, col. 1898, 1899.—Ed.



and that the prediction in the Gospel was fulfilled, that "iniquity should abound," that is, by reason of the Mammon of iniquity. Also he said, that there were in the church of Christ idols, which destroyed Jerusalem and made the temple desolate, but were cloaked by hypocrisy. Further, that there were many who denied Christ, for that they kept silence; neither dared to own Christ and confess his verity before men, but wittingly imprisoned in their consciences the truth and righteousness of God.

*Edward  
III.*

*A. D.  
1370.*

There is also a certain bull of pope Gregory XI. to the archbishop of Prague; wherein he is commanded to excommunicate and prosecute Militzius and his auditors. The same bull declareth, that he was once a canon of Prague, but that afterwards he renounced his canonship, and began to preach, and openly declared Antichrist to be already come, and for that reason was of John, archbishop of Prague, put in prison; also that the said Militzius had a company or congregation to whom he preached, and that in the same were certain harlots, who had forsaken their evil life and did live godly and well, which harlots he used to say in his sermons were to be preferred before all the holy religious virgins. He taught also openly, that in the pope, cardinals, bishops, prelates, priests, and other religious men was no truth, neither that they taught the way of truth, but that only he, and such as held with him, taught the true way of salvation. His *Postil*<sup>1</sup> in some places is yet to be seen. They allege unto him certain other inconvenient articles, which notwithstanding I think the adversaries, to damage him withal, have slanderously depraved. He had, as appeareth by the aforesaid bull, very many of every state and condition, as well rich as poor, that cleaved unto him. And thus much of good Militzius, living in the time of Gregory XI. and King Edward III., A.D. 1370.<sup>2</sup>

*Militzius  
a Bohe-  
mian, for  
the truth  
persecuted by  
the pope.*

About A.D. 1371, lived Henricus de Iota, whom Gerson doth much commend, and also his companion Henricus de Hassia, an excellent learned and famous man. An epistle of this Henricus de Hassia, which he wrote to John, bishop of Worms, James Gruytrode, the Carthusian, hath inserted in his book "*De Erroribus Christianorum.*" In the same epistle the author doth greatly accuse the spiritual men of every order, yea and the most holiest of all others, the pope himself, of many and great vices. He said, that the ecclesiastical governors in the primitive church were to be compared to the sun shining in the day time; and the political governors, to the moon shining in the night. But the spiritual men, he said, that now are, do never shine in the day time, nor yet in the night time, but rather with their darkness do obscure both the day and the night; that is, with their filthy living, ignorance, and impiety. He citeth also out of the prophecy of Hildegard these words: "Therefore doth the devil in himself speak of you priests: Dainty banquets, and feasts wherein is all voluptuousness, do I find amongst these men; insomuch that mine eyes, mine ears, my belly, and my veins, be even filled with the froth of them, and my breasts stand astrut with the riches of

(1) See Appendix for an explanation of this word.—Ed.

(2) *Illyricus*, cols. 1795, 1796. By some inadvertence Foxe introduces the two foregoing paragraphs about Militzius and Jacobus Misnensis twice, though with variations: see *supra*, p. 776, note (1). The two paragraphs in the text are made up from a comparison of the two versions with each other and with the original in *Illyricus*.—Ed.

Edward  
III.

A. D.  
1370.

The citi-  
zens of  
Mentz.

them," &c. "Lastly," saith she, "they every day more and more, as Lucifer did, seek to climb higher and higher; till that every day with him, more and more, they fall deeper and deeper."<sup>1</sup>

About A.D. 1390, there were burned at Bingen thirty-six citizens of Mentz, for the doctrine of the Waldenses, as Brusehius affirmeth; which opinion was nothing contrary to that they held before, wherein they affirmed the pope to be that great Antichrist, which should come; unless, peradventure, the pope seemed then to be more evidently convicted of Antichristianity, than at any other time before he was revealed to be.<sup>2</sup>

A brief  
rehearsal  
of such as  
were put  
to death  
for hold-  
ing  
against  
the bishop  
of Rome,  
before the  
time of  
Wickliff.

For the like cause, many other beside these are to be found in stories, who sustained the like persecutions by the pope, if leisure would serve to peruse all that might be searched. As where Masseus<sup>3</sup> recordeth of divers at Menerbe near Carcassone, in the province of Narbonne, to the number of a hundred and forty, who chose rather to suffer whatsoever grievous punishment by fire, than to receive the decretals of the Romish church, contrary to the upright truth of the Scripture, A.D. 1210.

What should I here speak of the twenty-four who suffered at Paris in the same year? Also in the same author is testified that in the following year, at Lavaur, there were four hundred under the name of heretics burned, eighty beheaded, prince Aimericus hanged, and the lady of the castle stoned to death.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, in the Chronicles of Hoveden, and of other writers, be recited a marvellous number, who in the countries of France were burned for heretics; of whom, some were called Publicans, some Catharites, some Paterines, and others by other names. What their assertions were, I find no certain report worthy of credit.<sup>5</sup>

Erkhard,  
a friar,  
burned.

In Trithemius, it is signified of one Eckhard, a Dominican friar, who, not long before Wickliff's time, was condemned and suffered for heresy at Heidelburgh (A.D. 1330), who as he differeth not much in name, so may he be supposed to be the same, whom others do name Beghard, and is said to be burned at Erfurd.<sup>6</sup>

Of the Albigenes, because sufficient mention is made before, of whom great number were burned about the time of king John, I pass them over.

An Ere-  
mite  
disputing  
against  
the pope's  
sacra-  
ments.  
Ranul-  
phus.

Likewise, I let pass the Eremite of whom John Bacon maketh relation,<sup>7</sup> who, disputing in Paul's Church, affirmed "That those sacraments which were then used in the church (A.D. 1360) were not instituted by Christ." Peradventure, it was the same Ranulphus, mentioned in the Flower of Histories, and who is said to die in prison; for the time of them doth not much differ.

In Boetius, why the pope should so much commend a certain king, because for one man he had slain four hundred, shamefully mutilating the rest, I cannot judge, except the cause were that which the pope calleth heresy.

But to let these things overpass that be uncertain, because neither is it possible to comprehend all them who have withstood the corrup-

(1) Illyricus, cols. 1800, 1801. The reader will find this passage from Hildegard repeated, with some variation, *Infra*, vol. iii. p. 193; the original Latin is there given in the note.—Ed.

(2) *Ib.* col. 1506. See Appendix.—Ed.

(3) Massæi "*Chronica multiplex historiarum utriusque Testamenti*, libr. 20." The facts here brought forward appear in the beginning of lib. xvii.

(4) See Appendix.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) 2 Dist. Quæst. 1.

tion of the pope's see, neither have we any such firm testimony left of their doings, credibly to stay upon, we will now (Christ willing) convert our story to things more certain and undoubted; grounding upon no light reports of feeble credit, nor upon any fabulous legends without authority, but upon the true and substantial copies of the public records of the realm, remaining yet to be seen under the king's most sure and faithful custody: out of the which records<sup>1</sup> such matter appeareth against the popish church of Rome, and against its usurped authority, such open standing and crying out against the said see, and that not privily, but also in open parliament, in the days of this king Edward III., that neither will the Romish people of this our age easily think it to be true when they see it, neither yet shall they be able to deny the same, so clear standeth the force of those records.

Edward  
III.A.D.  
1370.

Ye heard a little before (p. 684), how John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, being sent for, and required by the king to come unto him, refused so to do. What the cause was why he denied to come at the king's sending, is neither touched of Polydore Virgil nor of any other monkish chronicler writing of those acts and times; whose part had been, faithfully to have dispensed the simple truth of things done to their posterity. But that which they dissemblingly and colourably have concealed, contrary to the true law of story, the true cause thereof we have found out by the true parliament rolls declaring the story thus:—

Partial  
dissimu-  
lation in  
our his-  
tories of  
the  
church of  
England.

King Edward III., in the sixth year of his reign, hearing that Edward Baliol had proclaimed himself king of Scotland, required counsel of the whole state, to wit, whether were better for him to assail Scotland, and to claim the demesing or demesnes of the same; or else by making him party to take his advantage, and thereby to enjoy the service, as other his ancestors before him had done. For this cause he summoned a parliament of all estates to meet at York, about the beginning of December. Where the king was already come, waiting for the coming of such as were warned thereunto; for the want of whose coming the parliament was adjourned till Monday, and from thence to Tuesday next ensuing. None other of all the clergy came, but only the archbishop of York, the bishops of Lincoln and Carlisle, and the abbots of York and Selby; so that hereunto came not the archbishop of Canterbury, nor above one of his province, and all for bearing the cross, whereby the same was a loss of the opportunity against Scotland. For, inasmuch as the matters to be debated were so weighty, and most of the states were absent, the assembly required the prorogation of the parliament until the Utas of St. Hilary then ensuing, at York, which was granted. And so a new summons was especially awarded to every person with special charge to attend, so that the affairs of the king and the realm might not be hindered because of the debate between the archbishop of Canterbury and the archbishop of York, for the superior bearing of their cross.

The arch-  
bishop of  
Canter-  
bury  
came not  
to the  
parlia-  
ment at  
York, and  
all for  
bearing  
the cross.

In conclusion, for all the king's summoning, the archbishop of Canterbury came not.<sup>2</sup>

And thus much out of the records, whereby thou mayest easily judge (prudent reader) what is to be thought of these pope-holy catholic churchmen, being of the pope's brood and setting up; whom such frivolous causes of contention stir up both to such disquietness among themselves, and also to such disobedience against their prince: excuse them who can.

It followeth, moreover, in the same records, concerning the abandoning of the pope's provisions,<sup>3</sup> how that the commons find great fault about provisions coming from Rome, whereby strangers were enabled within this realm to enjoy ecclesiastical dignities, and show divers inconveniencies ensuing thereby; namely, the decay of daily alms, the transporting of the treasure to nourish the

The  
pope's  
provi-  
sions re-  
strained.

(1) Ex Archivis Regiæ Majestatis. [The following extracts from the Parliamentary Rolls have been collated with the printed copy, and corrected in many particulars. See the Appendix.—Ed.]

(2) Ex an. 6. Regis Ed. III. tit. 1.

(3) Ex an. 17. Reg. Ed. III. tit. 59.

*Edward III.*

A. D.  
1370.

The church of England spoiled by the pope and his foreign-ers.

The act of Edward I. against papal provisions revived.

See  
*Appendix.*

Presenta-  
tion within  
four  
months.

No elec-  
tions to be  
taken by the  
pope, but only  
by the king.  
Dispo-  
sition of  
benefices  
only in the  
king's  
hand.  
Bulls  
from  
Rome for-  
bidden.  
Deanery  
of York  
taken  
from the  
cardinal.  
The  
king's  
answer  
to the  
aforesaid  
petitions.

king's enemies, the discovering of the secrets of the realm, and the disabling and impoverishing of the clerks within this realm. They also show how the pope had granted to two new cardinals (one of whom, namely cardinal Pera-gortz, was a bitter enemy of the king and of the realm) benefices within this realm to the amount of 6,000 marks by the Valor Ecclesiasticus, which (owing to the general and covert terms of the grant) might and would be extended to 10,000 marks. They therefore required the king and nobles to find some remedy; for that they neither could nor would any longer bear those strange oppressions; or else to help them to expel out of this realm the pope's power by force.<sup>1</sup>

Hereupon the king, lords, and commons, sent for the Act made at Carlisle in the thirty-fifth year of king Edward I. upon the like complaint, the which forbade that any thing should be attempted or brought into the realm, which should tend to the blemishing of the king's prerogative, or to the prejudice of his lords or commons. And so at this time the statute called the 'Act of Provision' was made by common consent, which generally forbiddeth the bringing in of any bulls or such trinkets from the court of Rome, or the using, enjoying, or allowing of any such bull, process, instrument, or such ware, as therein at large doth appear;<sup>2</sup> which sufficiently is touched before, pp. 689, 776, 777.

The penalty of the aforesaid statute afterwards followed in the next parliament, which was this: the transgressors thereof were to lie in perpetual prison, or to be forejured the land; and that all justices of assize, gaol delivery, and oyer and terminer, may determine the same. Ordered withal, that the same 'Act of provision' should continue for ever.<sup>3</sup>

Item, In the said eighteenth year of the reign of king Edward, it was, moreover, propounded, that if the lawful patron, whether archbishop, or any person religious, or other, do not present within four months some able clerk to any benefice, which any person hath obtained from Rome by provision, bull, &c., but surcease the same, that then the king may present some able clerk to the said benefice for that turn.<sup>4</sup>

Item, It was propounded in the said parliament, that if any bishop elect shall refuse to take the bishopric otherwise than by such bull, that then such elect shall not enter or enjoy his temporalities without the special license of the king.<sup>5</sup>

Also that the king shall dispose all the benefices and dignities of such aliens his enemies, as remain in the country of his enemies, and shall employ the profits thereof to the defence of the realm, save what is necessary to maintain the sacred edifices and divine worship therein.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, it was propounded, that commissioners be sent to all the king's ports, to apprehend all persons bringing in any instrument from Rome contrary to this order, and to bring them, forthwith, before the council to answer thereto.<sup>7</sup>

Propounded furthermore, that the deanery of York, which is recovered by judgment in the king's court, may be bestowed upon some able man within the realm, who will maintain the same against him (meaning the cardinal aforesaid) who holdeth the same by provision from Rome, being the enemy of the king and of the realm, and that the profits may be employed to the defence of the realm.<sup>8</sup>

The king's answer. To all which petitions answer was made in form following: "It is agreed by the king, earls, barons, justices, and other wise men of the law, that the petitions aforesaid be reduced to proper form of law, according to the prayer of the said parliament."

Note in this answer of the king, good reader, that at the grant hereof the consent of the bishops is neither named, nor expressed, with the other lords of the parliament: and yet the act of parliament standeth in its full force, notwithstanding.

### Notes of the Parliament holden in the Twentieth Year of King Edward III.

Alien monks to  
a void.

To pass on further, in the twentieth year of the king's reign, in the parliament holden September 8th, the commons prayed, that all alien monks should

(1) Ex an. 17. Ed. III. tit. 59.  
(4) Ibid. tit. 34.

(2) Ibid. tit. 60.  
(6) Ibid. tit. 36.

(3) Ex an. Reg. Ed. 18, tit. 32, 33.  
(7) Ibid. tit. 37. (8) Ibid. tit. 38

avoid the realm by Michaelmas next coming, and that their houses and livings should be disposed of to young English scholars. Answer: being spiritual persons they could not be displaced without the king's consent; but their temporalities were already in his hands.<sup>1</sup>

Item, That the king would take into his own hands the profits of all other strangers' livings, as cardinals and others, during their lives. Answer: the same as the last.<sup>2</sup>

That any aliens, enemies to England but advanced to livings here in England, who should henceforth remain here, should be outlawed, and their goods seized to the king's use, and be bestowed on Englishmen able to teach the parishioners and supply the chantries: for that the aliens aforesaid were but shoemakers, tailors, or chamberlains to cardinals, and unable to teach. Answer: the same as before.

The commons wished not to make any payment to any cardinals sojourning abroad in France to treat of war or peace: which was granted as reasonable.<sup>3</sup>

Item, It was propounded and fully agreed, that the yearly advancement of two thousand marks, granted by the pope to two cardinals of the provinces of Canterbury and York, should be restrained, and that any who might sue at law for the same should be outlawed.<sup>4</sup>

Likewise it was enacted and agreed, that no Englishman should take any church or other benefice in farm of any alien religious, or buy any of their goods, or be of their counsel, on pain of forfeiting his goods and imprisonment for life.

Enacted further, That no person, Englishman or alien, should bring to any bishop or other person of the realm, any bull or other papal letter touching any foreign matter, unless he first show the same to the chancellor or warden of the Cinque Ports; upon loss of all he hath.

Finally, the parliament having resolved to request of the king to take possession of all benefices held by aliens, the archbishops and bishops of England were all commanded, before the next convocation to certify to the king in his chancery the names of such aliens and their benefices, and the values of the same.<sup>5</sup>

### Notes of the Five and Twentieth Year of King Edward III.

The parliament of the twenty-fifth year of the reign of king Edward III. was begun on Wednesday, the Utas of the Purification [Feb. 9th, A. D. 1351]. In that parliament, beside other matters, it was prayed, that remedy might be had against the pope's reservations, and receiving the first fruits of all ecclesiastical dignities in England; which, with the brokage attendant thereon, were a greater consumption to the realm, than all the king's wars.<sup>6</sup>

Also, that the like remedy might be had against such as in the court of Rome presumed to undo any judgment given in the king's court, as if they laboured to undo the laws of the realm.

Whereunto it was answered, that there was sufficient remedy already provided by law.<sup>7</sup> [The Statute of Provisors is then given (tit. 43), the same as is found in the Statutes at Large under 25 Ed. III.]

### Notes of the Eight and Thirtieth Year of King Edward III.

In the parliament holden at Westminster, the thirty-eighth year of Edward III., on Monday the Utaves of St. Hilary [Jan. 20th, A. D. 1365], Simon, bishop of Ely, being lord chancellor, it was by the king's own mouth declared to all the estates how citations came daily to all sorts of persons in the realm through false suggestions made to the pope, for matters determinable in his courts within the realm, and for procuring provisions to ecclesiastical dignities, to the great defacing of the ancient laws, to the spoiling of his crown, to the daily conveying away of the treasure, to the wasting of ecclesiastical livings, to the withdrawing of divine service, alms, hospitality, and other acceptable works, and to the daily increase of all mischiefs: wherefore, in person, and by his own mouth, the king required all the estates to provide hereof due remedy. An ordinance was accordingly prepared and enacted the Saturday following.<sup>8</sup>

The pope's first fruits and reservations more hurtful to the realm than all the king's wars.

Livings of Romish strangers disposed to Englishmen.

Edward III.

A. D. 1370.

(1) An. 20. Edw. III. tit. 30.

(2) Ibid. tit. 31.

(3) Ibid. tit. 32, 33, 34.

(4) Ibid. tit. 35.

(5) Ibid. tit. 37, 42, 46.

(6) 25 an. Reg. Edw. III. tit. 13.

(7) Ibid. tit. 14.

(8) 38 Edw. III. tit. 7, 8, 9.



*Edward  
III.*

A.D.  
1370.

The  
printed  
statute  
of pro-  
vision.

It is to be noted finally in this parliament of the thirty-eighth year, that the Act of Provisors brought in during this parliament, although in the printed copy [chapters 1, 2, 3, 4.] it doth agree with the record in manner, yet in the said records, unprinted, are more biting words against the pope: a mystery not to be known of all men<sup>1</sup>

### Notes of the Fortieth Year of King Edward III.

It followeth, moreover, in the said acts of king Edward III., and in the fortieth year of his reign, that another parliament was called at Westminster on the Monday after the Invention of the Holy Cross [May 4th, A.D. 1366],<sup>2</sup> the bishop of Ely being lord chancellor and speaker; who, on the second day of the said assembly, in the presence of the king, lords, and commons, declared how the day before they understood the cause of this their assembly generally, and now should understand the same more particularly; especially how that the king understood that the pope, for the homage which he said king John made to the see of Rome for the realms of England and Ireland, and for the tribute of a thousand marks annually by him granted, meant to institute a process against the king and the realm, to recover the same; wherein the king required their advices, what were best for him to do, if any such thing were attempted; granting them a respite of answer until the next day, when the bishops, lords, and commons should answer separately.

The pope  
mindeth  
to proceed  
against  
the king  
by pro-  
cess.

King  
John  
could not,  
without  
consent  
of parlia-  
ment, be-  
come tri-  
butory to  
the pope.  
Agreed  
that the  
king  
should  
resist the  
pope.

The next day the whole of the estates re-assembled together, and by common consent enacted in effect as follows, viz., That neither king John, nor any other, could bring himself or his realm and people into such subjection, but by their common assent; and if he did what was alleged, yet it was abundantly evident he did it without their assent, and against his coronation oath; and therefore if the pope should attempt any thing against the king, by process or in any other manner, the king with all his subjects should with all their force and power resist the same.<sup>3</sup>

Here, moreover, is not to be omitted, how, in the said present parliament, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge on the one side, and the friars of the four orders Mendicant in the said universities on the other side, made long complaints the one against the other to the king in parliament of certain mutual outrages, disputes and mischiefs, and in the end submitted themselves to the king's order.<sup>4</sup>

Brawl  
between  
the four  
orders of  
friars and  
the two  
universi-  
ties.

After this the king, upon full digesting of the whole matter, by assent of parliament took order; that as well the chancellors and masters, regent and non-regent, and all others of the said universities, as the friars of those orders in the said universities, should in all graces and school exercises use each other in friendly wise, without any tumult, as they were wont to do before a certain statute was lately passed in the said universities, ordaining that none of those orders should receive any scholars of the said universities into their said orders, being under the age of eighteen years: which statute the king annulled.

Friars  
subject to  
the king  
in all their  
contro-  
versies.

That the said friars shall take no advantage of any processes which have been instituted by them in the court of Rome against the said universities since the passing of the said statute, nor proceed therein; and that the king have power to redress all controversies between them from thenceforth; and the offenders to be punished at the pleasure of the king and his council.<sup>5</sup>

### Notes of the Fiftieth Year of King Edward III.

Against  
the usur-  
pation of  
the pope.  
The cause  
of mischiefs  
in Eng-  
land.  
Treasure  
of the  
realm  
conveyed  
away.

In process of the aforesaid acts and rolls it followeth more, that in the fiftieth year of the reign of king Edward III. another great parliament was assembled at Westminster on the Monday after the feast of St. George [April 28th, A.D. 1376]; where, Sir John Knyvet being lord chancellor of England, a certain long bill was put up against the usurpations of the pope, as being the cause of all the plagues, murrains, famine, and poverty of the realm, so that thereby was not left of persons, or other commodity within the realm, the third that lately was.<sup>6</sup>

II. That the taxes paid to the pope for ecclesiastical dignities, do amount to fivefold as much as the tax of all profits which appertain to the king,

(1) 25 an. Reg. Edw. III. tit. 9.

(5) Tit. 10, 11, 12.

(2) 40 an. Ed. III. tit. 7.

(3) Tit. 8. (4) Tit. 9—11.

(6) Ex Archivis Regiæ Majestatis, an. 50. Reg. Ed. tit. 91.

by the year, out of his whole realm; and that for some one bishopric or other dignity voided, the pope, by means of translations, hath two or three several taxes.<sup>1</sup>

*Edward III.*

III. That the brokers of that wicked city Avignon for money promote many caitiffs, being altogether unlearned and unworthy, to preferments of the value of a thousand marks by year, whereas a doctor of decrees or a master in divinity must be content with twenty marks; whereby learning decayeth.

*A. D. 1370.*

IV. That aliens, enemies to this land, who never saw nor care to see their parishioners, have English livings, whereby they bring God's service into contempt, and convey away the treasure, and are more injurious to holy church than the Jews or Saracens.<sup>2</sup>

V. Also, it was put in the said bill to be considered, that the law of holy church would have benefices to be bestowed for pure love only, without paying or paying for them.

VI. That both law and reason and good faith would, that livings given to holy church of devotion should be bestowed to the honour of God, and according to the pious intent of the donor, and not out of the realm, among our enemies.

VII. That God had committed his sheep to our holy father the pope, to be pastured and not to be shorn.

VIII. That lay patrons, perceiving the covetousness and simony of the churchmen, do learn from their example to sell the benefices in their patronage unto those who devour them as beasts, none otherwise than God was sold to the Jews who put him to death.

*The pope teacheth to sell benefices*

IX. That there is no prince in Christendom so rich, that hath by the fourth part so much treasure as goeth most sinfully out of this realm in the way described, to the ruin of the realm; all through sufferance and want of good counsel.<sup>3</sup>

*Inestimable, what the pope hath here out of England.*

X. Over and besides in the said bill, repeating again their tender zeal for the honour of holy church, they declared and particularly named, all the plagues which had justly fallen upon this realm, for suffering the said church to be so defaced, with declaration that where there is great iniquity there always hath been and always will be adversity.<sup>4</sup>

XI. Whereupon with much persuasion was desired help, to remedy these disorders; and the rather, for that this was the year of jubilee, the fiftieth year of the king's reign, the year of grace and joy, and that there could be no greater grace and joy to the realm, nor more acceptable to God and his church, than his providing such remedy.<sup>5</sup>

*Reformation of the church of England desired in parliament.*

XII. The means how to begin this was to write two letters to the pope, the one in Latin, under the king's seal, the other in French under the seals of the nobles, as was done by the parliament on a former occasion [see p. 689], requiring redress in the above particulars.<sup>6</sup>

*See Appendix.*

XIII. And for a further accomplishment hereof it was suggested, to enact that no money should be carried forth from the realm by letter of Lombard or otherwise, on pain of forfeiture and imprisonment.

*Acts made for no money to be transported.*

XIV. The king answered that he had heretofore by statute provided sufficient remedy, and otherwise was pursuing the same object with the holy father the pope, and so minded to do from time to time, until he had obtained redress, as well for the matters before, as for the articles ensuing, being in a manner all one.<sup>7</sup>

XV. That the pope's collector, a French subject, and other aliens the king's enemies, lived here, spying for English dignities and disclosing of the secrets of the realm, to the great prejudice of the realm.<sup>8</sup>

XVI. That the same collector, being also receiver of the Pope's pence, keepeth a great hostel in London, with clerks and officers thereto, as it were a prince's custom-house, transporting thence to the pope twenty thousand marks on an average yearly.<sup>9</sup>

*The pope's collection, what it cometh to. The best dignities in England in the cardinals.*

XVII. That cardinals, and other clerks, aliens and denizens, reside at Rome, whereof one cardinal is dean of York, another of Salisbury, another of Lincoln, another archdeacon of Canterbury, another archdeacon of Durham, another archdeacon of Suffolk, another archdeacon of York, another prebendary of Thame and Nassington, another prebendary of Bucks in the church of Lincoln: and many others aliens living at Rome have divers of the best dignities and

(1) *Ex Archivis Regiæ Majestatis*, an. 50. Reg. Ed. tit. 95.

(2) *Ibid.* tit. 96, 97.

(3) Tit. 98, 99.

(4) Tit. 100.

(5) Tit. 101.

(6) Tit. 102.

(7) Tit. 103.

(8) Tit. 104.

(9) Tit. 105.

*Edward III.*

A. D.  
1370.

The pope maintaineth the king's enemies with the king's money. The law of præmunire renewed.

benefices in England, and have sent over to them yearly twenty thousand marks, over and above that which English brokers living there have.<sup>1</sup>

XVIII. That the pope, to ransom Frenchmen taken prisoners by the English, and to maintain his wars in Lombardy, doth levy a subsidy of the clergy of England.

XIX. That the pope, on the vacancy of a bishopric by death or otherwise, maketh four or five translations of other bishops, to have the first fruits of each : and the same by other dignities within the realm.<sup>2</sup>

XX. That the pope's collector hath this year (for the first time) taken to his use the first fruits of all benefices bestowed by collation or provision, whereas he never used to take first fruits but for vacancies in *Curiâ Romanâ*.<sup>3</sup>

XXI. Whereupon it was suggested to renew all the Statutes against Provisors from Rome, and against papal reservations ; since the pope reserveth all the benefices of the world for his own proper gift, and hath this year created twelve new cardinals, so that now there are thirty, where were wont to be but twelve ; and all those cardinals, except two or three, are the king's enemies.<sup>4</sup>

XXII. That the pope, in time, will give the temporal manors of those dignities to the king's enemies, since he so daily usurpeth upon the realm and the king's regalities.<sup>5</sup>

XXIII. That all houses and corporations of religion, which until the present king's reign had free election of their own heads, the pope hath encroached the same to himself.<sup>6</sup>

English money payeth the pope's legacies.

XXIV. That in all legacies from the pope whatsoever, the English clergy bear the charge of the legates, and all for the love of the realm and of our money.<sup>7</sup>

XXV. And so it appeareth, that if the money of the realm were as plentiful as ever it was, the collectors aforesaid, with the proctors of cardinals, would soon convey the same away.<sup>8</sup>

The pope's collector driven out of the realm.

XXVI. For remedy hereof may it be provided, That no foreign collector or proctor do remain in England, on pain of life and limb ; and that no Englishman, on the like pain, become any such collector or proctor to others residing at Rome.<sup>9</sup>

The pope's collector examined.

XXVII. For better information herein, and namely touching the pope's collector, for that the whole clergy being at his mercy dare not displease him, it were good that Mr. John Strensale, parson of St. Botolph's, living in Holborn, in the same house where Sir W. Mirfield used to live, may be sent for to come before the lords and commons of this parliament ; who, being straitly charged, can declare much, for that he lived with the said collector as clerk full five years.<sup>10</sup>

Englishmen good asses.

And thus much of this bill, touching the pope's matters ; whereby it may appear not to be for nought what hath been of us reported by the Italians and other strangers, who used to call Englishmen good asses : for they bear all burdens that be laid upon them.

### Certain other Notes of Parliament.

Order against usury.

Item, In the said parliament it was provided also, that such order as is taken in London against the horrible vice of usury, may be observed throughout the whole realm.<sup>11</sup>

Complaint against the archbishop of York and his officers for their excessive taking for their admissions.

The commons of the diocese of York complain of the outrageous taking of the archbishop and his clerks, for admission of priests to their benefices.<sup>12</sup>

To these records of the parliament above prefixed, of the fiftieth year of this king Edward, we will adjoin also other notes collected out of the parliament in the year next following, which was held the fifty-first year of this king's reign, and the last of his life, on Tuesday the Quindime of St. Hilary [January 27, A.D. 1377] : although in the printed book these Statutes are said to be made at the parliament holden, as above, in the fiftieth year : which is much mistaken, and ought to be referred to the one and fiftieth year, as by the records of the said year manifestly doth appear.

(1) Tit. 106.

(2) Tit. 107.

(3) Tit. 108 : see vol. i. p. 11.

(4) Tit. 109.

(5) Tit. 110.

(6) Tit. 111.

(7) Tit. 112.

(8) Tit. 113.

(9) Tit. 114.

(10) Tit. 115.

(11) Tit. 158.

(12) Tit. 171.

In that parliament, the bishop of St. David's, being lord chancellor, made a long oration, taking his theme out of St. Paul, "*Libenter suffertis insipientes,*" &c.: declaring in the said oration many things; as first, showing the joyful news of the old king's recovery; then, declaring the love of God toward the king and realm in chastising him with sickness; afterwards, showing the blessing of God upon the king in seeing his children's children; then, by a similitude of the head and members, exhorting the people, as the members of one body, to conform themselves unto the goodness of the head; lastly, he turned his matter to the lords and the rest, declaring the cause of that assembly: that forsomuch as the French king had allied himself with the Spaniards and Scots, the king's enemies, who had prepared great powers, conspiring to blot out the English tongue and name, the king, therefore, wished to have therein their faithful counsel.<sup>1</sup>

This being declared by the bishop, Sir Robert Ashton, the king's chamberlain, declaring that he was to move them on the part of the king for the profit of the realm (the which words perchance lay not in the bishop's mouth, for that it touched the pope), protesting first, that the king was ready to do all that ought to be done for the pope; but, because divers usurpations were done by the pope to the king's crown and realm, as by particular bills in this parliament should be showed, he required of them to seek redress.<sup>2</sup>

In this present parliament petition was made by the commons, that all provisors of benefices from Rome, and their agents, should be out of the king's protection; whereunto the king answered, that the pope had promised redress, which if he did not give, the laws in that case provided should then stand.<sup>3</sup>

It was also in that parliament prayed, that every person of what sex soever, being professed of any religion, continuing the habit till fifteen years of age and upward, may, upon proof of the same in any of the king's courts, be in law utterly forebarred of all inheritance, albeit he have dispensation from the pope; against which dispensation, is the chief grudge. Whereunto the king and the lords answered, saying, that they would provide.<sup>4</sup>

Item, In the said parliament the commons prayed, that the Statutes of Provisors at any time made be executed, and that remedy might be had against such cardinals as, within the provinces of Canterbury and York, had purchased reservations with the clause '*Anteferri,*' to the value of twenty or thirty thousand gold crowns of the sun yearly: also against the pope's collector, who had been wont to be an Englishman, but was now a mere Frenchman, residing at London, and keeping a large office at an expense to the clergy of three hundred pounds yearly, and who conveyed yearly to the pope twenty thousand marks, or twenty thousand pounds; and who, this year, gathered the first fruits of all benefices whatsoever: alleging the means to meet these reservations and novelties to be, to command all strangers to depart the realm during the wars; and that no Englishman become their farmer, or send to them any money without a special license, on pain to be out of the king's protection. Whereunto was answered by the king, that the statutes and ordinances for that purpose made, should be observed.<sup>5</sup>

In the rolls and records of such parliaments as were in this king's time held, divers other things are to be noted very worthy to be marked, and not to be suppressed in silence; wherein the reader may learn and understand, that the state of the king's jurisdiction here within this realm was not straitened in those days (although the pope then seemed to be in his chief ruff), as afterwards in other kings' days was seen; as may appear in the parliament of the fifteenth year of this king Edward III., and in the twenty-fourth article of the said parliament: where it is to be read, that the king's officers and temporal justices did then both punish usurers, and impeach the officers of the church for extortion in the money taken for redemption of corporal penance, probate of wills, solemnizing of marriage, &c., all the pretended liberties of the popish church to the contrary notwithstanding.<sup>6</sup>

Furthermore, in the parliament of the twenty-fifth year it appeareth, that the liberties of the clergy, and their exemptions in claiming the deliverance of men by their book under the name of clerks, stood then in little force, as appeared by one Hawktime Monby, knight; who, for imprisoning one of the king's subjects till he made fine of twenty pounds, was on that account executed,

Edward  
III.

A. D.  
1370.

The effect  
of the  
chancel-  
lor's ora-  
tion.

This par-  
liament  
chiefly for  
the pope's  
usurpa-  
tion  
against  
the king.

Against  
the pope's  
provi-  
sions  
from  
Rome.

Against  
the pope's  
dispensa-  
tions.

By this  
'Ante-  
ferri' is  
meant  
the pre-  
eminence  
above the  
king.

See  
Appendix.

The  
pope's  
law of  
'præ-  
eminire,'  
which  
now we  
corruptly  
call 'præ-  
munire,'  
debarred  
by the  
king.  
Punish-  
ment of  
the clergy  
in the  
temporal  
men's  
hands.  
Clerks  
subject to  
temporal  
law.

(1) Ex Archivis Reg. Edw. III. reg. 51, tit. 4—12.

(2) Tit. 13.

(3) Tit. 36.

(4) Tit. 62

(5) Tit. 78, 79.

(6) Ex Actis Parliamenti in an. 15. Reg. Edw. III. tit. 24.

See  
Appendix.

*Edward III.* notwithstanding the liberty of the clergy, who by his book would have saved himself, but could not.

*A.D. 1374.* The like also appeareth by judgment given against a priest at Nottingham, for killing his master.

And likewise by hanging certain monks of Combe.<sup>1</sup>

The arraignment of the archbishop of Canterbury.

Item, In the parliament of the fifteenth year, by the apprehending of John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, and his arraignment; concerning which his arraignment all things were committed to Sir William of Kildisby, keeper of the privy seal.<sup>2</sup>

John Wickliff sent with the king's ambassadors.

Besides these truths and notes of the king's parliaments, wherein may appear the toward proceedings of this king and of all his commons against the pretended church of Rome; this is, moreover, to be added to the commendation of the king, how in the book of the Acts and Rolls of the king appeareth, that the said king Edward III. sent also John Wickliff, reader then of the divinity lecture in Oxford, with certain other lords and ambassadors, over into the parts of Flanders, to treat with the pope's legates concerning affairs betwixt the king and the pope, with full commission: the tenor whereof here followeth expressed:<sup>3</sup>—

The King's Letter authorizing John Wickliff and others to treat with the Pope's Legates.

The king, to all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye, that we, reposing assured confidence in the fidelity and wisdom of the reverend father, John, bishop of Bangor, and our well-beloved and trusty Mr. John Wickliff, professor of sacred theology, Mr. John Guter, dean of Segovia, and Mr. Simon Multon, doctor of laws, Sir William de Burton, knight, John Bealknap, and John de Henyngton, have directed them as our special ambassadors, nuncios, and commissioners to the parts beyond the seas: giving to the said our ambassadors, nuncios, and commissioners, to six or five of them, of whom we will the aforesaid bishop to be one, authority and power, with commandment special, to treat and consult mildly and charitably with the nuncios and ambassadors of the lord pope, touching certain affairs, whereupon, of late, we sent heretofore the aforesaid bishop and Sir William, and friar Ughtred, monk of Durham, and master John de Shepeye, to the see apostolical; and to make full relation to us and our council of all things done and passed in the said assembly: that all such things as may tend to the honour of holy church and the maintenance of our crown and our realm of England may, by the assistance of God and wisdom of the see apostolical, be brought to good effect, and accomplished accordingly. In witness whereof, &c. Given at London the twenty-sixth day of July. [48 Ed. III. A.D. 1374.]

By the which it is to be noted, what good-will the king then bare to the said Wickliff, and what small regard he had to the sinful see of Rome.

Of the which John Wickliff, because we are now approached to his time, remaineth consequently for our story to entreat of, so as we have heretofore done of other like valiant soldiers of Christ's church before him.

### The Story of John Wickliff.

\*Although<sup>4</sup> it be manifest and evident enough, that there were divers and sundry before Wickliff's time, who have wrestled and laboured in the same cause and quarrel that our countryman Wickliff hath done, whom the Holy Ghost hath from time to time raised and

(1) Ex Parliam. an. 23. Edw. III.

(2) Ibid. lit. 49.

(3) "Rex universis, ad quorum notitiam presentes literæ pervenerint," &c. [This commission is in Rymer, whence the translation has been revised. See Appendix.—Ed.]

(4) From the Edition of 1663, p. 85, except a few words from the Edition of 1570, p. 528.—Ed.



stirred up in the church of God, something to work against the bishop of Rome, to weaken the pernicious superstition of the friars, and to vanquish and overthrow the great errors which daily did grow and prevail in the world; amongst the which number in the monuments of histories are remembered Berengarius, in the time of the emperor Henry III., A.D. 1051; and John Scotus, who took away the verity of the body and blood from the sacrament; Bruno bishop of Angers; Okleus the second; the Waldenses; Marsilius of Padua; John de Janduno; Ocham; with divers other of that sect or school:<sup>1</sup> yet notwithstanding, forsomuch as they are not many in number, neither yet very famous or notable, following the course of years, we will begin the narration of this our history<sup>2</sup> with the story and tractation of John Wickliff; at whose time this furious fire of persecution seemed to take his first original and beginning. After all these, then, whom we have heretofore rehearsed, through God's providence stepped forth into the arena<sup>3</sup> the valiant champion of the truth, John Wickliff,\* our countryman, and other more of his time and same country; whom the Lord with the like zeal and power of spirit raised up here in England, to detect more fully and amply the poison of the pope's doctrine and false religion set up by the friars. In whose opinions and assertions albeit some blemishes perhaps may be noted, yet such blemishes they be, which rather declare him to be a man that might err, than who directly did fight against Christ our Saviour, as the pope's proceedings and the friars' did. And what doctor or learned man hath been from the prime age of the church so perfect, so absolutely sure, in whom no opinion hath sometime swerved awry? and yet be the said articles of his neither in number so many, nor yet so gross in themselves and so cardinal, as those Cardinal enemies of Christ, perchance, do give them out to be; if his books which they abolished were remaining to be conferred with those blemishes which they have wrested to the worst, as evil will never said the best.

Edward  
III.A. D.  
1371.See  
Appendix.

The blemishes of Wickliff made worse than they be.

This is certain and cannot be denied, but that he, being the public reader of divinity in the university of Oxford, was, for the rude time wherein he lived, famously reputed for a great clerk, a deep schoolman, and no less expert in all kinds of philosophy; the which doth not only appear by his own most famous and learned writings and monuments, but also by the confession of Walden, his most cruel and bitter enemy, who in a certain epistle written unto pope Martin V. saith, "That he was wonderfully astonished at his most strong arguments, with the places of authority which he had gathered, with the vehemency and force of his reasons," &c. And thus much out of Walden. It appeareth by such as have observed the order and course of times, that this Wickliff flourished about A.D. 1371, Edward III. reigning in England; for thus we do find in the Chronicles of Caxton: "In the year of our Lord 1371," saith he, "Edward III., king of England, in his parliament was against the pope's clergy: he willingly hearkened and gave ear to the voices and tales of heretics, with certain of his council conceiving and following sinister opinions against the clergy; wherefore, afterwards, he tasted

The testimony of Walden, an enemy, in commendation of Wickliff.

The time Wickliff flourished.

A.D. 1371.

(1) "Divers others:" Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln; Fitz-ralph, archbishop of Armagh; Nicholas Orem; the author of the Ploughman's Complaint, and others. See also p. 712; and the beginning of Book V. p. 727, and Foxe's Prefaces, pp. xxi. xxii.—Ed.

(2) The reader will observe, that the Latin Edition opens with the history of Wickliff, and the first English Edition had said very little of any previous confessors to the truth.—Ed.

(3) "In arenam prosiit," in the Latin edition only, p. 1.—Ed.

Edward  
III.A.D.  
1372.A de-  
scription  
of Wick-  
liff's time.

and suffered much adversity and trouble. And not long after, in the year of our Lord," saith he, "1372, he wrote unto the bishop of Rome, that he should not by any means intermeddle any more within his kingdom, as touching the reservation or distribution of benefices; and that all such bishops as were under his dominion should enjoy their former and ancient liberty, and be confirmed of their metropolitans, as hath been accustomed in times past," &c. Thus much writeth Caxton. But, as touching the just number of the year and time, we will not be very curious or careful about it at present: this is out of all doubt, that at what time all the world was in most desperate and vile estate, and that the lamentable ignorance and darkness of God's truth had overshadowed the whole earth, this man stepped forth like a valiant champion, unto whom that may justly be applied which is spoken in the book called Ecclesiasticus, of one Simon, the son of Onias: "Even as the morning star being in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon being full in her course, and as the bright beams of the sun; so doth he shine and glister in the temple and church of God" [chap. l. v. 6.]

Thus doth Almighty God continually succour and help, when all things are in despair: being always, according to the prophecy of the Psalm [Ps. lx. v. 9.], "a helper in time of need;" which thing never more plainly appeared, than in these latter days and extreme age of the church, when the whole state and condition, not only of worldly things, but also of religion, was so depraved and corrupted: that, like the disease named lethargy amongst the physicians, even so the state of religion amongst the divines, was past all man's help and remedy. The name only of Christ remained amongst Christians, but his true and lively doctrine was as far unknown to the most part, as his name was common to all men. As touching faith, consolation, the end and use of the law, the office of Christ, our impotency and weakness, the Holy Ghost, the greatness and strength of sin, true works, grace and free justification by faith, the liberty of a christian man, wherein consisteth and resteth the whole sum and matter of our profession, there was almost no mention, nor any word spoken. Scripture, learning, and divinity, were known but to a few, and that in the schools only; and there also they turned and converted almost all into sophistry. Instead of Peter and Paul, men occupied their time in studying Aquinas and Scotus, and the Master of Sentences. The world, leaving and forsaking the lively power of God's spiritual word and doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and human traditions, wherein the whole scope, in a manner, of all christian perfection, did consist and depend. In these was all the hope of obtaining salvation fully fixed; hereunto all things were attributed; insomuch that scarcely any other thing was seen in the temples or churches, taught or spoken of in sermons, or finally intended or gone about in their whole life, but only heaping up of certain shadowy ceremonies upon ceremonies; neither was there any end of this their heaping.

The people were taught to worship no other thing but that which they did see; and did see almost nothing which they did not worship.

The church, being degenerated from the true apostolic institution

above all measure, reserving only the name of the apostolic church, but far from the truth thereof in very deed, did fall into all kind of extreme tyranny; whereas the poverty and simplicity of Christ was changed into cruelty and abomination of life. Instead of the apostolic gifts and continual labours and travails, slothfulness and ambition was crept in amongst the priests. Beside all this, there arose and sprang up a thousand sorts and fashions of strange religions; being only the root and well-head of all superstition. How great abuses and depravations were crept into the sacraments, at the time they were compelled to worship similitudes and signs of things for the very things themselves; and to adore such things as were instituted and ordained only for memorials! Finally, what thing was there in the whole state of christian religion so sincere, so sound, and so pure, which was not defiled and spotted with some kind of superstition? Besides this, with how many bonds and snares of daily new-fangled ceremonies were the silly consciences of men, redeemed by Christ to liberty, ensnared and snarled; insomuch that there could be no great difference perceived between Christianity and Jewishness, save only the name of Christ: so that the state and condition of the Jews might seem somewhat more tolerable than ours! There was nothing sought for out of the true fountains, but out of the dirty puddles of the Philistines; the christian people were wholly carried away as it were by the nose, with mere decrees and constitutions of men, even whither it pleased the bishops to lead them, and not as Christ's will did direct them. All the whole world was filled and overwhelmed with error and darkness; and no great marvel: for why? the simple and unlearned people, being far from all knowledge of the holy Scripture, thought it quite enough for them to know only those things which were delivered them by their pastors and shepherds, and they, on the other part, taught in a manner nothing else but such things as came forth of the court of Rome; whereof the most part tended to the profit of their order, more than to the glory of Christ.

*Edward  
III.*

*A. D.  
1372.*

*All good  
things  
defiled  
and spotted  
with  
superstition.*

The christian faith was esteemed or accounted none other thing then, but that every man should know that Christ once suffered; that is to say, that all men should know and understand that thing which the devils themselves also knew. Hypocrisy was accounted for wonderful holiness. All men were so addicted unto outward shows, that even they themselves, who professed the most absolute and singular knowledge of the Scriptures, scarcely did understand or know any other thing. And this did evidently appear, not only in the common sort of doctors and teachers, but also in the very heads and captains of the church, whose whole religion and holiness consisted, in a manner, in the observing of days, meats, and garments, and such like rhetorical circumstances, as of place, time, person, &c. Hereof sprang so many sorts and fashions of vestures and garments; so many differences of colours and meats, with so many pilgrimages to several places, as though St. James at Compostella<sup>1</sup> could do that, which

*The cap-  
tains of  
the  
church  
seduced,  
as well as  
the infe-  
rior sort.*

(1) "St. James at Compostella." This refers to a famous but most wearisome pilgrimage, much esteemed in former times, to the tomb of St. James at Compostella, in the province of Galicia in Spain. The distance from Rome was about twelve hundred English miles, and yet from thence, as also from the most distant parts of Europe, have millions of Christians, to their own cost and misery, traversed rocks and mountains to visit that tomb.—See Dr. Michael Geddes' *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. ii.—Ed.

*Edward  
III.*

*A.D.  
1372.*

Palestine  
deemed  
holy for  
Christ's  
walking  
there.

Richard  
king of  
England.

*See  
Appendix.*

Frederic,  
the em-  
peror of  
Rome.

Philip,  
king of  
France.

Christ could not do at Canterbury; or else that God were not of like power and strength in every place, or could not be found but by being sought for by running gadding hither and thither. Thus the holiness of the whole year was transported and put off unto the Lent season. No country or land was counted holy, but only Palestine, where Christ had walked himself with his corporal feet. Such was the blindness of that time, that men did strive and fight for the cross at Jerusalem, as it had been for the chief and only force and strength of our faith. It is a wonder to read the monuments of the former times, to see and understand what great troubles and calamities this cross hath caused almost in every christian commonwealth; for the Romish champions never ceased, by writing, admonishing, and counselling, yea, and by quarrelling, to move and stir up princes' minds to war and battle, even as though the faith and belief of the gospel were of small force, or little effect without that wooden cross. This was the cause of the expedition of the most noble prince king Richard unto Jerusalem; who being taken in the same journey, and delivered unto the emperor, could scarcely be ransomed home again for thirty thousand marks. In the same enterprise or journey, Frederic, the emperor of Rome, a man of most excellent virtue, was drowned in a certain river there, A.D. 1190; and also Philip, the king of France, scarcely returned home again in safety, and not without great losses: so much did they esteem the recovery of the holy city and cross.<sup>1</sup>

Upon this alone all men's eyes, minds, and devotions were so set and bent, as though either there were no other cross but that, or that the cross of Christ were in no other place but only at Jerusalem. Such was the blindness and superstition of those days, which understood or knew nothing but such things as were outwardly seen; whereas the profession of our religion standeth in much other higher matters and greater mysteries. What was the cause why Urban did so vex and torment himself? Because Jerusalem with the holy cross was lost out of the hands of the Christians; for so we do find it in the Chronicles, at what time as Jerusalem with king Guido and the cross of our Lord was taken, and under the power of the sultan, Urban took the matter so grievously, that for very sorrow he died. In his place succeeded Albert, who was called Gregory VIII., by whose motion it was decreed by the cardinals, that (setting apart all riches and voluptuousness) "they should preach the cross of Christ, and by their poverty and humility first of all should take the cross upon them, and go before others into the land of Jerusalem." These are the words of the history<sup>2</sup>; whereby it is evident unto the vigilant reader, unto what grossness the true knowledge of the spiritual doctrine of the gospel was degenerated and grown in those days; how great blindness and darkness were in those days, even in the first primacy and supremacy of the bishop of Rome: as though the outward succession of Peter and the apostles had been of greater force and effect to that matter. What doth it force in what place Peter did rule or not rule? It is much more to be regarded that every man should labour and study with all his endeavour to follow the life and confession of Peter; and that man seemeth unto me to be the true successor of Peter against whom the gates of hell shall not prevail. For if Peter in the Gospel

The know-  
ledge of  
the gospel  
grossly  
expound-  
ed by the  
Roman-  
ists.

(1) See Appendix.

(2) Ibid.

do bear the type and figure of the christian church (as all men, in a manner, do affirm), what more foolish or vain thing can there be, than through private usurpation, to restrain and to bind that unto one man, which, by the appointment of the Lord, is of itself free and open to so many?

Edward  
IIIA. D.  
1372.

\* But 'let it be so that Peter did establish his chair and seat at Rome, and admit that he did the like at Antioch: what doth this place of Peter make, or help, to the remission of sins, to the interpretation of Scriptures, or to have the authority or keys of binding and loosing? The which things, if they be the works of the Holy Ghost and of christian faith, and not of the place, surely very foolishly do we then refer them unto the see of Rome; including, and hedging them in, as it were, within certain borders and limits, as though there were no faith, or that the Holy Ghost had no operation or power, in any other place but only at Rome. What doth it make matter, where Peter served the Lord? We ought rather to seek and know wherein Peter was acceptable unto his Lord, or wherefore? that we likewise, with all our whole power and endeavour, may go about by the same mean and way, to do the like.

Wherefore if we do think or judge that Christ had given unto Peter any singular or particular privilege, which was not also granted unto the residue of the apostles, more for any private affection or love of the man (such as many times reigneth amongst us now-a-days), we are far deceived. But if that he, for the most high, divine, and ready confession, which not he alone, but for, and in the name of them all, did pronounce and express, obtained any singular privilege; then he who doth succeed in the place and chair of Peter, doth not, by and by, show forth Peter's faith; but whosoever doth nearest follow Peter in faith (in what chair or see soever he do sit) is worthily to be counted the successor of Peter, and is his successor indeed; in such sort and wise that he getteth thereby no kind of worldly honour.<sup>2</sup> For the apostleship is an office, and no degree of honour; a ministry or service, and no mastership or rule; for as amongst the apostles themselves there was no pre-eminence of place or dignity, but that they altogether, with one mind, spirit, and accord, went about and did the work of their Master, and not their own business, so he who was the least amongst them was most set by before Christ, witness to himself.<sup>3</sup> Whereby their succession deserved praise before God, but neither dignity nor promotion in the world. For, as Polycarp answered very well in Eusebius, unto the under-consul, "How doth the profession of them (said he) who have forsaken all things for Christ's sake, accord or agree with these worldly riches and earthly promotions?"

But the bishops in these days<sup>4</sup> (I know not by what means of ambition, or desire of promotion) have altered and changed the ecclesiastical ministration into a worldly policy, that even as prince succeedeth prince, so one bishop doth succeed another in the see, as by right and title of inheritance, flowing and abounding moreover in all

(1) These three paragraphs, with the few words at the close of the succeeding one, are reprinted, with the aid of the Latin, from the edition of 1563, p. 87. See also the Latin edition of 1559, pp. 3, 4.—Ed.

(2) See Appendix.

(3) I. e. "as he himself testifieth:" see Luke ix. 48. "Sic ut qui minor inter ipsos foret, pluris haberetur apud Christum testem." Lat. Edition 1559, p. 4.—Ed.

(4) "Their days," Edition 1563. "Horum temporum," Edition 1559.—Ed.



*Edward  
III.**A. D.  
1376.*

kind of wealth and riches here in earth ; being also guarded, after the fashion and manner of the world, with routs and bands of men, challenging unto himself rule and lordship, in such manner that the whole governance and rule of all things fully did rest and remain in his power and hands. All other pastors and shepherds of other churches had no power or authority, more than was permitted and granted unto them by him. He alone did not only rule and govern over all churches, but also reigned over all kingdoms ; he alone was feared of all men ; the other ministers of Christ were little or nothing regarded ; all things were in his power, and at his hands only, all things were sought for. There was no power to excommunicate, no authority to release, neither any knowledge of understanding or interpreting the Scriptures, in any other place, but only in the cloister at Rome.\*

The rising up of  
Wickliff  
in trou-  
blous  
times.

Thus, in these so great and troublous times and horrible darkness of ignorance, what time there seemed in a manner to be no one so little a spark of pure doctrine left or remaining, this aforesaid Wickliff, by God's providence, sprang and rose up, through whom the Lord would first waken and raise up again the world, which was overmuch drowned and whelmed in the deep streams of human traditions. Thus you have here the time of Wickliff's original : \* now we will also in few words show somewhat of his troubles and conflicts.\*

Wickliff,  
a divine  
of Oxford.

This Wickliff, after he had now a long time professed divinity in the university of Oxford, and perceiving the true doctrine of Christ's gospel to be adulterated and defiled with so many filthy inventions of bishops, sects of monks, and dark errors : and that he, after long debating and deliberating with himself (with many secret sighs, and bemoaning in his mind the general ignorance of the whole world), could no longer suffer or abide the same, at the last determined with himself to help and to remedy such things as he saw to be wide, and out of the way. But, forso much as he saw that this dangerous meddling could not be attempted or stirred without great trouble, neither that these things, which had been so long time with use and custom rooted and grafted in men's minds, could be suddenly plucked up or taken away, he thought with himself that this matter should be done by little and little, \* even as he that plucked out the hairs out of the horse tail, as the proverb saith.\* Wherefore he, taking his original at small occasions, thereby opened himself a way or mean to greater matters. And first he assailed his adversaries in logical and metaphysical questions, disputing with them of the first form and fashion of things, of the increase of time, and of the intelligible substance of a creature, with other such like sophisms of no great effect ; but yet, notwithstanding, it did not a little help and furnish him, who minded to dispute of greater matters. So in these matters first began Keningham, a Carmelite, to dispute and argue against John Wickliff.

See  
Appendix.

By these originals, the way was made unto greater points, so that at length he came to touch the matters of the sacraments, and other abuses of the church ; touching which things this holy man took great pains, protesting, as they said, openly in the schools, that it was his chief and principal purpose and intent, to revoke and call back the church from her idolatry, to some better amendment ; especially in the matter of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. But this boil or sore could not be touched without the great grief and pain of the whole world : for, first of all, the whole glut of monks and

begging friars was set in a rage and madness, who, even as hornets with their sharp stings, did assail this good man on every side ; fighting, as is said, for their altars, paunches, and bellies. After them the priests and bishops, and then after them the archbishop, being then Simon Sudbury, took the matter in hand ; who, for the same cause, deprived him of his benefice, which then he had in Oxford.<sup>1</sup> \*At<sup>2</sup> the last, when their power seemed also not sufficient to withstand the truth which was then breaking out, they ran wholly unto the lightnings and thunderbolts of the bishop of Rome, as it had been unto the last refuge of most force and strength. For this is their extreme succour and anchor-hold, in all such storms and troubles, when the outcries of monks and friars, and their pharisaical wickedness, cannot any more prevail.\* Notwithstanding, he being somewhat friended and supported by the king, as appeareth, continued and bore out the malice of the friars and of the archbishop all this while of his first beginning. till about A.D. 1377 ; after which time, now to prosecute likewise of his troubles and conflict, first I must fetch about a little compass, as is requisite, to introduce some mention of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, the king's son, and lord Henry Percy, who were his special maintainers.

Edward III.

A. D. 1377.

Wickliff deprived of his benefice at Oxford.

Duke of Lancaster, and lord Henry Percy, great maintainers of Wickliff.

See Appendix.

As years and time grew on, king Edward III., who had now reigned about fifty-one years, after the decease of prince Edward his son, who departed the year before, was stricken with great age, and with such feebleness withal, that he was unwieldy, through lack of strength, to govern the affairs of the realm. Wherefore, a parliament being called the year before his death, it was there put up, by the knights and other the burgesses of the parliament, because of the misgovernment of the realm (by certain greedy persons about the king, raking all to themselves, without seeing any justice done), that twelve sage and discreet lords and peers, such as were free from note of all avarice, should be placed as tutors about the king, to have the doing and disposing under him (six at one time, and in their absence, six at another) of matters pertaining to the public regiment. Here, by the way, I omit to speak of Alice Perris, the wicked harlot, who, as the story reporteth, had bewitched the king's heart, and governed all, and sat upon causes herself, through the devilish help of a friar Dominic ; who, by the duke of Lancaster, was caused to be taken, and was convicted, and would have suffered for the same, had not the archbishop of Canterbury and the friars, more regarding the liberty of their church than the punishment of vice, reclaimed him for their own prisoner. This Alice Perris, notwithstanding she was banished by this parliament from the king, yet afterwards she came again, and left him not, till at his death she took all his rings upon his fingers and other jewels from him, and so fled away like a harlot. But this of her by the way.

Alice Perris, the king's concubine. The king bewitched by a woman through the help of a friar.

These twelve governors, by parliament aforesaid being appointed to have the tuition of the king, and to attend the public affairs of the realm, remained for a certain space about him ; till afterwards it so fell out, that they being again removed, all the regiment of the realm next under the king, was committed to the duke of Lancaster, the king's son ; for as yet Richard, the son of prince Edward, lately departed, was very young and under age.

Twelve governors assigned about the king.

(1) See Appendix.

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 88. Lat. Ed. 1559, p. 5.—ED.

*Edward  
III.*

*A. D.  
1377.*

*A prac-  
tice of the  
prelate  
against  
the duke  
of Lan-  
ca-ster.*

This duke of Lancaster had in his heart of long time conceived a certain displeasure against the popish clergy; whether for corrupt and impure doctrine, joined with like abominable excess of life, or for what other cause, it is not precisely expressed; only by story the cause thereof may be guessed to arise by William Wickham, bishop of Winchester.<sup>1</sup> The matter is this:

The bishop of Winchester, as the saying went then, was reported to affirm, that the aforesaid John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, was not the son of king Edward, nor of the queen; who, being in travail at Gaunt, had no son, as he said, but a daughter, which, the same time, by lying upon of the mother in the bed, was there smothered. Whereupon the queen, fearing the king's displeasure, caused a certain man-child of a woman of Flanders, born the very same time, to be conveyed, and brought unto her instead of her daughter aforesaid; and so she brought up the child whom she bare not, who now is called duke of Lancaster. And this, said the bishop, did the queen tell him, lying in extremity on her death-bed, under seal of confession; charging him if the said duke should ever aspire to get the crown, or if the kingdom by any means should fall unto him, he then should manifest the same, and declare it to the world, that the said duke of Lancaster was no part of the king's blood, but a false heir of the king. This slanderous report of the wicked bishop, as it savoureth of a contumelious lie, so seemeth it to proceed of a subtle zeal towards the pope's religion, meaning falsehood: for the aforesaid duke, by favouring of Wickliff, declared himself to be a professed enemy against the pope's profession; which thing was then not unknown, neither unmarked of the prelates and bishops then in England. But the sequel of the story thus followeth.

"This slanderous villany of the bishop's report being blazed abroad, and coming to the duke's ear; he, therewith being not a little discontented, as no marvel was, sought again, by what means he could, to be revenged of the bishop. In conclusion the duke, having now all the government of the realm, under the king his father, in his own hands, so pursued the bishop of Winchester, that by act of parliament he was condemned and deprived of all his temporal goods; which goods were assigned to prince Richard, of Bourdeaux, the next inheritor of the crown after the king; and, furthermore, he inhibited the said bishop from approaching nearer to the court than twenty miles." Further as touching this bishop, the story thus proceedeth: "Not long after (A.D. 1377), a parliament was called by means of the duke of Lancaster, upon certain causes and respects; in which parliament great request and suit was made by the clergy, for the deliverance of the bishop of Winchester. At length, when a subsidy was asked in the king's name of the clergy, and request also made, in the king's behalf, for speedy expedition to be made for the dissolving of the parliament, the archbishop therefore accordingly convented the bishops for the tractation thereof. To whom the bishops with great lamentation complained for lack of their fellow and brother, the bishop of Winchester, whose injury, said they, did derogate from the liberties of the whole church; and therefore they refused to join themselves in

*William Wick-  
ham, bi-  
shop of Winches-  
ter de-  
prived.*

*Liberti-  
es of the  
church a  
great  
matter.*

(1) *Ex Chron. Monasterii Albani.*

tractation of any such matters, before all the members together were united with the head; and, seeing the matter touched them altogether in common, as well him as them, they would not otherwise do. And they seemed, moreover, to be moved against the archbishop because he was not more stout in the cause, but suffered himself so to be cited of the duke."

*Edward  
III*

*A. D.  
1377.*

The archbishop, although he had sufficient cause to excuse himself, wherefore not to send for him, (as also he did,) because of the perils which might ensue thereof, yet being forced and persuaded thereto by the importunity of the bishops, directed down his letters to the aforesaid bishop of Winchester, willing him to resort unto the convocation of the clergy; who, being glad to obey the same, was received with great joy by the other bishops; and, at length, by means of Alice Perris, the king's paramour, above mentioned, having given her a good quantity of money, the said Winchester was restored to his temporalities again.

*Bishop of  
Winches-  
ter sent  
for to the  
convoca-  
tion.*

As the bishops had thus sent for Winchester, the duke in the mean time had sent for John Wickliff, who, as is said, was then the divinity reader in Oxford, and had commenced in sundry acts and disputations contrary to the form and teaching of the pope's church in many things; who also, for the same had been deprived of his benefice, as hath been before touched. The opinions which he began at Oxford, in his lectures and sermons, first to treat of, and for which he was deprived, were these: That the pope had no more power to excommunicate any man, than hath another. That if it be given by any person to the pope to excommunicate, yet to absolve the same is as much in the power of another priest, as in his. He affirmed, moreover, that neither the king, nor any temporal lord, could give any perpetuity to the church, or to any ecclesiastical person; for that when such ecclesiastical persons do sin 'habitualiter,' continuing in the same still, the temporal powers ought and may meritoriously take away from them what before hath been bestowed upon them. And that he proved to have been practised before here in England by William Rufus; "which thing" (said he) "if he did lawfully, why may not the same also be practised now? If he did it unlawfully, then doth the church err" (said he) "and doth unlawfully in praying for him." But of his assertions more shall follow, Christ willing, hereafter. The story which ascribeth to him these assertions, being taken out (as I take it) of the monastery of St. Alban's, addeth withal, That in his teaching and preaching he was very eloquent, "but a dissembler" (saith he) "and a hypocrite." Why he surmiseth him to be a hypocrite the cause was this:—

*John  
Wickliff  
sent for  
by the  
duke of  
Lancaster.*

*Example  
of Wil-  
iam  
Rufus.*

First, Because he resorted much to the orders of the begging friars, frequenting and extolling the perfection of their poverty:

Secondly, Because he and his fellows usually accustomed in their preaching to go barefoot, and in simple russet gowns.

By this, I suppose, may sufficiently appear to the indifferent the nature and condition of Wickliff, how far it was from that ambition and pride, which in the slanderous pen of Polydore Virgil, reporting in his nineteenth book of him, that because he was not preferred to higher honours and dignities of the church, conceiving there-for indignation against the clergy, he became their mortal

*See  
Appendix.*

*The slan-  
derous  
pen of  
Polydore.*

*Edward  
III.**A.D.  
1377.*Wickliff  
falsely  
charged  
with am-  
bition by  
Polydore.Wickliff  
beginneth  
to touch  
the mat-  
ter of the  
sacra-  
ment.The lat-  
ter writ-  
ers of the  
church  
to be mis-  
doubted.  
The acci-  
dents not  
to be in  
the sacra-  
ment  
without  
the sub-  
stance.

enemy. How true was this, He only knoweth best, that rightly shall judge both the one and the other.

In the mean time, by other circumstances and parts of his life we may also partly conjecture what is to be thought of the man. But however it was in him, whether true or false, yet it had been Polydore's part, either not so intemperately to have abused his pen, or at least to have showed some greater authority and ground of that his report: for to follow nothing else but flying fame, so rashly to defame a man whose life he knoweth not, is not the part of a faithful story-writer.

But to return from whence we digressed. Beside these his opinions and assertions above recited, with others which are hereafter to be brought forward in order, he began then something nearly to touch the matter of the sacrament, proving that in the said sacrament the accidents of bread remained not without the subject, or substance; and this, both by the holy Scriptures, and also by the authority of the doctors, but especially by such as were most ancient. As for the later writers, that is to say, such as have written upon that argument under the thousand years since Christ's time, he utterly refused them, saying, That after these years Satan was loosed and set at liberty; and that since that time the life of man hath been most subject to, and in danger of, errors; and that the simple and plain truth doth appear and consist in the Scriptures, whereunto all human traditions, whatsoever they be, must be referred, and especially such as are set forth and published now of late years. This was the cause why he refused the later writers of decretals, leaning only to the Scriptures and ancient doctors; most stoutly affirming out of them, that in the sacrament of the body, which is celebrated with bread, the accidents are not present without the substance; that is to say, that the body of Christ is not present without the bread, as the common sort of priests in those days did dream. As for his arguments, what they were, we will shortly, at more opportunity, by God's grace, declare them in another place, lest that with so long a digression we seem to defer and put off the reader. But herein the truth, as the poet speaketh very truly, had gotten John Wickliff great displeasure and hatred at many men's hands; and especially of the monks and richest sort of priests.

Albeit, through the favour and supportation of the duke of Lancaster and lord Henry Percy he persisted, hitherto, in some mean quiet against their wolfish violence and cruelty: till at last, about A.D. 1377, the bishops, still urging and inciting their archbishop Simon Sudbury, who before had deprived him, and afterward prohibited him also not to stir any more in those sorts of matters, had obtained, by process and order of citation, to have him brought before them; whereunto both place and time for him to appear, after their usual form, was to him assigned.

The duke, having intelligence that Wickliff, his client, should come before the bishops, fearing that he being but one, was too weak against such a multitude, calleth to him, out of the orders of friars, four bachelors of divinity, out of every order one, to join them with Wickliff also, for more surety. When the day was come, assigned to the said Wickliff to appear, which day was Thursday, the nineteenth



of February, John Wickliff went, accompanied with the four friars aforesaid, and with them also the duke of Lancaster, and lord Henry Percy, lord marshal of England; the said lord Percy also going before them to make room and way where Wickliff should come.

*Edward  
III.*

*A.D.  
1377.*

Thus Wickliff, through the providence of God, being sufficiently guarded, was coming to the place where the bishops sat; whom, by the way, they animated and exhorted not to fear or shrink a whit at the company of the bishops there present, who were all unlearned, said they, in respect of him (for so proceed the words of my aforesaid author, whom I follow in this narration), neither that he should dread the concourse of the people, whom they would themselves assist and defend, in such sort, as he should take no harm.<sup>1</sup> With these words, and with the assistance of the nobles, Wickliff, in heart encouraged, approached to the church of St. Paul in London, where a main press of people was gathered to hear what should be said and done. Such was there the frequency and throng of the multitude, that the lords, for all the puissance of the high marshal, unnet with great difficulty could get way through; insomuch that the bishop of London, whose name was William Courtney, seeing the stir that the lord marshal kept in the church among the people, speaking to the lord Percy, said, that if he had known before what masteries he would have kept in the church, he would have stopped him out from coming there; at which words of the bishop the duke disdaining not a little, answered the bishop and said, that he would keep such mastery there, though he said 'nay.'

*Striving  
of the  
lords to  
pass by  
the peo-  
ple.*

*The words  
of the bi-  
shop of  
London to  
the lord  
Percy.*

At last, after much wrestling, they pierced through and came to Our Lady's Chapel, where the dukes and barons were sitting together with the archbishops and other bishops; before whom Wickliff, according to the manner, stood, to know what should be laid unto him. To whom first spake the lord Percy, bidding him to sit down, saying, that he had many things to answer to, and therefore had need of some softer seat. But the bishop of London, cast eftsoons into a fumish chafe by those words, said, he should not sit there. Neither was it, said he, according to law or reason, that he, who was cited there to appear to answer before his ordinary, should sit down during the time of his answer, but that he should stand. Upon these words a fire began to heat and kindle between them; insomuch that they began so to rate and revile one the other, that the whole multitude, therewith disquieted, began to be set on a hurry.

*Strife be-  
tween the  
lord mar-  
shal and  
bishop of  
London.*

Then the duke, taking the lord Percy's part, with hasty words began also to take up the bishop. To whom the bishop again, nothing inferior in reproachful checks and rebukes, did render and requite not only to him as good as he brought, but also did so far excel him in this railing art of scolding, that to use the words of mine author, "Erubuit dux, quod non potuit prævalere litigio;" that is, the duke blushed and was ashamed, because he could not overpass the bishop in brawling and railing, and, therefore, he fell to plain threatening; menacing the bishop, that he would bring down the pride, not only of him, but also of all the prelacy of England. And speaking, moreover, unto him: "Thou," said he, "bearest thyself so brag upon thy parents, who shall not be able to help thee; they shall

*Strife be-  
tween the  
duke of  
Lancas-  
ter and  
bishop of  
London,  
who over-  
goeth the  
duke in  
scolding.*

*See  
Appendix.*

(1) Ex Hist. Monachi D. Albani ex accommodato D. Matth. Archiepis. Cant.

*Edward  
III.*

*A. D.  
1377.*

The duke threaten-  
eth to draw  
their  
bishop by  
the hair  
out of the  
church.

Petitions  
put up in  
parlia-  
ment a-  
gainst the  
city of  
London.

*See  
Appendix.*

Hasty  
counsel of  
the Lon-  
doners.

*See  
Appendix.*

The ora-  
tion of the  
lord Fitz-  
Walter to  
the Lon-  
doners.

have enough to do to help themselves;" for his parents were the earl and countess of Devonshire.<sup>1</sup> To whom the bishop again answered, that to be bold to tell truth, his confidence was not in his parents, nor in any man else, but only in God in whom he trusted. Then the duke softly whispering in the ear of him next by him, said, That he would rather pluck the bishop by the hair of his head out of the church, than he would take this at his hand. This was not spoken so secretly, but that the Londoners overheard him. Whereupon, being set in a rage, they cried out, saying, that they would not suffer their bishop so contemptuously to be abused. But rather they would lose their lives, than that he should so be drawn out by the hair. Thus that council, being broken with scolding and brawling for that day, was dissolved before nine o'clock, and the duke, with the lord Percy, went to the parliament; where, the same day before dinner, a bill was put up in the name of the king by the lord Thomas Woodstock and lord Henry Percy, that the city of London should no more be governed by a mayor, but by a captain, as in times before; and that the marshal of England should have all the ado in taking the arrests within the said city, as in other cities besides, with other petitions more, tending to the like derogation of the liberties of London. This bill being read, John Philpot, then burgess for the city, standeth up, saying to those who read the bill, that that was never seen so before; and adding, moreover, that the mayor would never suffer any such things, or other arrest to be brought into the city; with more such words of like stoutness.

The next day following the Londoners assembled themselves in a council, to consider among them upon the bill for changing the mayor, and about the office of the marshal; also, concerning the injuries done the day before to their bishop.

In the mean time, they, being busy in long consultation of this matter, suddenly and unawares entered into the place two certain lords, whether come to spy, or for what other cause, the author leaveth it uncertain; the one called lord Fitz-Walter, the other lord Guy Bryan. At the first coming in of them the vulgar sort was ready forthwith to fly upon them as spics, had not they made their protestation with an oath, declaring that their coming in was for no harm toward them. And so they were compelled by the citizens to swear to the city their truth and fidelity: contrary to the which oath if they should rebel, contented they would be to forfeit whatsoever goods and possessions they had within the city.

This done, then began the Lord Fitz-Walter, in this wise, to persuade and exhort the citizens; first declaring how he was bound and obliged to them and to their city, not only on account of the oath now newly received, but of old and ancient good will from his great grandfather's time; besides other divers duties, for the which he was chiefly bound to be one of their principal fautors; forsomuch as whatsoever tended to their damage and detriment redounded also no less unto his own: for which cause he could not otherwise choose, but that what he did understand to be attempted against the public profit and liberties of the city, he must needs communicate the same to them; who unless they with speedy circumspection do occur, and

(1) This bishop of London was William Courtney, son to the earl of Devonshire.

prevent perils that may and are like to ensue, it would turn in the end to their no small incommodity. And as there were many other things which required their vigilant care and diligence, so one thing there was, which he could in no wise but admonish them of; which was this, necessary to be considered of them all: how the lord marshal Henry Percy, in his place within himself had one in ward and custody, whether with the knowledge, or without the knowledge of them, he could not tell: this he could tell, that the said lord marshal was not allowed any such ward or prison in his house within the liberties of the city; which thing, if it be not seen to in time, the example thereof being suffered, would, in fine, breed to such a prejudice unto their customs and liberties, as that they should not, hereafter, when they would, reform the injury thereof.

These words of the lord Fitz-Walter were not so soon spoken, but they were as soon taken of the rash citizens; who in all hasty fury running to their armour and weapons, went incontinent to the house of the lord Percy, where, breaking up the gates, by violence they took out the prisoner, and burned the stocks wherein he sat in the midst of London. Then was the lord Percy sought for, whom, saith the story, they would doubtless have slain if they might have found him. With their bills and javelins all corners and privy chambers were searched, and beds and hangings torn asunder. But the lord Percy, as God would, was then with the duke, whom one John Yper the same day with great instance had desired to dinner.

The Londoners not finding him at home, and supposing that he was with the duke at the Savoy, in all hasty heat turned their power thither, running as fast as they could to the duke's house; where also, in like manner, they were disappointed of their cruel purpose. In the mean while, as this was doing, cometh one of the duke's men, running post haste to the duke and to the lord Percy, declaring what was done. The duke being then at his oysters, without any further tarrying, and also breaking both his shins at the form for haste, took boat with the lord Percy, and by water went to Kingston, where then the princess, with Richard the young prince did lie; and there declared unto the princess all the whole matter concerning the outrage of the Londoners, as it was. To whom she promised again, such an order to be taken in the matter as should be to his contentation. At what time the commons of London thus, as is said, were about the duke's house at Savoy, there meeteth with them a certain priest, who, marvelling at the sudden rage and concourse, asked what they sought. To whom answer was given again of some, that they sought for the duke and the lord marshal, to have of them the lord Peter de la Mare, whom they wrongfully had detained in prison. To this the priest answered again more boldly than opportunely: "That Peter," said he, "is a false traitor to the king, and worthy long since to be hanged." At the hearing of these words, the furious people, with a terrible shout, cried out upon him, that he was a traitor, and one that took the duke's part, and so falling upon him with their weapons, strove who might first strike him; and after they had wounded him very sore, they had him, so wounded, to prison; where, within few days, for the soreness of his wounds, he died.

*Edward III.*

A. D.  
1377.

*See Appendix.*

The citizens of London break up the lord Percy's house at Savoy

God's provision in saving his servants.

*See Appendix.*

The house of the duke of Lancaster searched by the Londoners.

The duke and lord Percy fly to the prince.

*See Appendix.*

A priest in the duke of Lancaster's house cruelly killed.

*Edward  
III.*

*A. D.  
1377.*

*The villany of the Londoners against the duke.*

*See  
Appendix.*

*The message of the princess to the Londoners.*

*See  
Appendix.*

*The duke revenged of the Londoners.*

*The Londoners caused to bear a taper of wax in procession, in honour of the duke.*

Neither would the rage of the people thus have ceased, had not the bishop of London, leaving his dinner, come to them at Savoy, and putting them in remembrance of the blessed time, as they term it, of Lent, had persuaded them to cease and to be quiet.

The Londoners seeing that they could get no vantage against the duke, who was without their reach, to be-wreak their anger they took his arms, which in most despiteful ways they hanged up in the open places of the city, in sign of reproach, as for a traitor. Insomuch that when one of his gentlemen came through the city, with a plate containing the duke's arms, hanging by a lace about his neck, the citizens, not abiding the sight thereof, cast him from his horse, and plucked his escutcheon from him, and were about to work the extremity against him, had not the mayor rescued him out of their hands, and sent him home safe unto the duke his master. In such hatred then was the duke among the vulgar people of London.

After this the princess, understanding the hearts and broil of the Londoners, set against the aforesaid duke, sent to London three knights, Sir Aubrey de Ver, Sir Simon Burley, and Sir Lewis Clifford, to entreat the citizens to be reconciled with the duke. The Londoners answered, that they, for the honour of the princess, would obey and do with all reverence, what she would require; but this they required and enjoined the messengers to say to the duke by word of mouth: that he should suffer the bishop of Winchester, before-mentioned, and also the lord Peter de la Mare, to come to their answer, and to be judged by their peers; whereby they might either be quit, if they were guiltless; or otherwise, if they be found culpable, they might receive according to their deserts after the laws of the realm. What grief and displeasure the duke conceived and retained in his mind hereof; again, what means and suit the Londoners on their part made to the old king for their liberties; what rhymes and songs in London were made against the duke; how the bishops, at the duke's request, were moved to excommunicate those malicious slanderers; and, moreover, how the duke at last was revenged of those contumelies and injuries; how he caused them to be brought before the king; how sharply they were rebuked for their misdemeanour by the worthy oration of the lord chamberlain, Robert Aston, in the presence of the king, archbishops, bishops, with divers other states, the king's children, and other nobilities of the realm; in conclusion, how the Londoners were compelled to this at length, by the common assent and public charges of the city to make a great taper of wax, which, with the duke's arms set upon it, should be brought with solemn procession to the church of St. Paul, there to burn continually before the image of Our Lady; and, at last, how both the said duke and the Londoners were reconciled together, in the beginning of the reign of the new king, with the kiss of peace; and how the same reconciliation was publicly announced in the church of Westminster, and what joy was in the whole city thereof: these, because they are impertinent and make too long a digression from the matter of Wickliff, I cut off with brevity, referring the reader to other histories, namely of St. Alban's, where they are to be found at large.

As these aforesaid things for brevity's sake I pass over, so I cannot

omit, though I will not be long, that which happened the same time and year to the bishop of Norwich, to the intent that this posterity now may see, to what pride the clergy of the pope's church had then grown. At the same time that this broil was in London, the bishop of Norwich, a little after Easter, coming to the town of Lynn, belonging to his lordship; being not contented with the old accustomed honour due unto him, and used of his predecessors before in the same town, required, moreover, with a new and unused kind of magnificence to be exalted: insomuch that when he saw the chief magistrate or mayor of that town to go in the streets with his officer going before him, holding a certain wand in his hand, tipped at both ends with black horn, as the manner was, he, reputed himself to be lord of that town, as he was, and thinking to be higher than the highest, commanded the honour of that staff due to the mayor, to be yielded and borne before his lordly personage. The mayor or bailiff, with other the townsmen, courteously answered him, that they were right willing and contented, with all their hearts, to exhibit that reverence unto him; and would so do, if he first of the king and council could obtain that custom, and if the same might be induced, after any peaceable way, with the good wills of the commons and body of the town: otherwise, said they, as the matter was dangerous, so they durst not take in hand any such new alteration of ancient customs and liberties, lest the people, who are always inclinable and prone to evil, do fall upon them with stones, and drive them out of the town. Wherefore, kneeling on their knees before him, there humbly they besought him that he would require no such thing of them; that he would save his own honour, and their lives, who, otherwise, if he intended that way, were in great danger. But the bishop, youthful and haughty, taking occasion, by their humbleness, to swell the more in himself, answered, that he would not be taught by their counsel, but that he would have it done, though all the commons (whom he named ribalds) said 'nay.' Also he rebuked the mayor and his brethren for mecocks and dastards, for so fearing the vulgar sort of people.

The citizens perceiving the wilful stoutness of the bishop, meekly answering again, said, they minded not to resist him, but to let him do therein what he thought good: only they desired him that he would license them to depart, and hold them excused for not waiting upon him, and conducting him out of the town with that reverence which he required, for if they should be seen in his company, all the suspicion thereof would be upon them, and so should they be all in danger, as much as their lives were worth. The bishop, not regarding their advice and counsel, commanded one of his men to take the rod borne before the mayor, and to carry the same before him: which being done, and perceived of the commons, the bishop after that manner went not far, but the rude people running to shut the gates, came out with their bows, some with clubs and staves, some with other instruments, some with stones, and let drive at the bishop and his men as fast as they might, in such sort, that both the bishop and his horse under him, with most part of his men, were hurt and wounded. And thus the glorious pride of this jolly prelate, ruffling in his new septré, was received and welcomed there: that is, he

*Edward  
III.*

*A. D.  
1377.*

*A story of  
the bishop  
of Nor-  
wich.*

*See  
Appendix.*

*Example  
of pride in  
the pope's  
clergy.*

*The cour-  
tesy of  
the  
townsmen  
to the  
bishop.*

*The stout  
answer of  
the bishop  
to the  
township.*

*The town  
of Lynn  
riseth  
against  
the  
bishop.*



*Edward  
III.**A.D.  
1377.*

Pride will  
have a  
fall.  
Power  
usurped  
will never  
stand.  
The  
usurped  
power of  
the pope  
would  
have a  
bridle.

was so pelted with bats and stones, so wounded with arrows and other instruments fit for such a skirmish, that the most part of his men, with his mace bearer, all running away from him, the poor wounded bishop was there left alone, not able to keep his old power, who went about to usurp a new power more than to him belonged. Thus, as is commonly true in all, so is it well exemplified here, that which is commonly said, and as it is commonly seen, that pride will have a fall, and power usurped will never stand. In like manner, if the citizens of Rome, following the example of these Lynn men, as they have the like cause, and greater, to do by the usurped power of their bishop, would after the same sauce handle the pope, and unsceptre him of his mace and regality, which nothing pertain to him; they, in so doing, should both recover their own liberties, with more honour at home, and also win much more commendation abroad.<sup>1</sup>

The death  
of king  
Edward.

This tragedy, with all the parts thereof, being thus ended at Lynn, which was a little after Easter (as is said) about the month of April, A.D. 1377, the same year, upon the 21st day of the month of June next after, died the worthy and victorious prince, king Edward III., after he had reigned fifty-one years; a prince not more aged in years than renowned for many singular and heroical virtues, but principally noted and lauded for his singular meekness and clemency towards his subjects and inferiors, ruling them by gentleness and mercy without all rigour or austere severity. Among other noble and royal ornaments of his nature, worthily and copiously set forth of many, thus he is described of some, which may briefly suffice for the comprehension of all the rest: "To the orphans he was as a father, compatiens to the afflicted, mourning with the miserable, relieving the oppressed, and to all them that wanted, an helper in time of need,"<sup>2</sup> &c. But, chiefly, above all other things in this prince, in my mind, to be commemorated is this, that he, above all other kings of this realm, unto the time of king Henry VIII., was the greatest bridler of the pope's usurped power, and outrageous oppression: during all the time of which king, not only the pope could not greatly prevail in this realm, but also John Wickliff was maintained with favour and aid sufficient.<sup>3</sup>

The com-  
menda-  
tion of  
king  
Edward.

But before we close up the story of this king, there cometh to hand that which I thought good not to omit, a noble purpose of the king in requiring a view to be taken in all his dominions of all benefices and dignities ecclesiastical remaining in the hands of Italians, and aliens, with the true valuation of the same, directed down by commission; whereof the like also is to be found in the time of king Richard II., the tenor of which commission of king Edward III., I thought here under to set down for worthy memory.

The king directed writs unto all the bishops of England in this form:

Edward, by the grace of God king, &c. to the reverend father in Christ, N., by the same grace bishop of L., greeting. Being desirous upon certain causes to be certified what and how many benefices, as well archdeaconries and other dignities, as vicarages, parsonages, prebends and chapels, within your diocese, be at this present in the hands of Italians and other strangers, what they be, of what kind, and how every of the said benefices be called by name; and

(1) Ex Chron. Monach. D. Albani.

(2) "Orphanis erat quasi pater, afflictis compatiens, miseris condolens, oppressos relevans, et cunctis indigentibus impendens auxilia opportuna."

(3) The reign of Edward III. closes here in the second and third editions.—Ed.

how much every of the same is worth by the year, not as by way of tax or extent, but according to the true value of the same; likewise of the names of all and singular such strangers being now incumbents or occupying the same and every of them; moreover, the names of all them, whether Englishmen or strangers, of what state or condition soever they be, who have the occupation or disposition of any such benefices with the fruits and profits of the same, in the behalf, or by the authority of any the aforesaid strangers, by way of farm, or title, or procurator, or by any other ways or means whatsoever, and how long they have occupied or disposed the same; and withal whether any of the said strangers be now residents upon any of the said benefices, or not; we command you, as we heretofore commanded you, that you send us a true certificate of all and singular the premises, into our high court of chancery under your seal distinctly and openly, on this side the Quindene of Easter [April 16th] next coming, at the farthest: returning unto us this our writ withal. Witness ourself at Westminster, the sixth day of March, in the forty-eighth year of our reign over England and over France the thirty-fifth year. (A.D. 1374.)

Edward  
III.A.D.  
1374.

By virtue hereof, certificate was sent up to the king into his chancery, out of every diocese of England, of all such spiritual livings as were then in the occupation either of priors aliens, or of other strangers; whereof the number was so great, as being all set down, it would fill almost half a quire of paper. Whereby may appear that it was high time for the king to seek remedy herein, either by treaty with the pope or otherwise; considering so great a portion of the revenues of his realm was, by this means, conveyed away and employed either for the relief of his enemies, or the maintenance of the foreigners; amongst which number the cardinals of the court of Rome lacked not their share, as may appear by this which followeth.

### View of Ecclesiastical Benefices.

The lord Francis of the title of St. Sabine, priest and cardinal of the holy church of Rome, doth hold and enjoy the deanery of the cathedral church of Lichfield, in the jurisdiction of Lichfield, which is worth five hundred marks by the year; and the prebend of Brewood, and the parsonage of Adbaston to the same deanery annexed, which prebend is worth by the year fourscore marks, and the parsonage twenty pounds; which deanery with the prebend and parsonage aforesaid, he hath holden and occupied for the space of three years. And one Master de Nigris, a stranger, as proctor to the said cardinal, doth hold and occupy the same deanery with other the premises with the appurtenances, by name of proctor, during the years aforesaid, and hath taken up the fruits and profits, for the said cardinal, dwelling not in the realm.

Lord William, cardinal of St. Angelo, a stranger,<sup>2</sup> doth hold the archdeaconry of Suffolk, by virtue of provision apostolical, from the feast of St. Nicholas last past; he is not resident upon his said archdeaconry. And the said archdeaconry, together with the procurations due by reason of the visitation, is worth by year sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence. And Master John of Hellington, &c., doth occupy the seal of the official of the said archdeaconry, &c.

Lord Reginald of St. Adrian, deacon-cardinal,<sup>3</sup> hath in the said county the parsonage of Godalming, worth by year forty pounds, and one Edward Teweste doth farm the said parsonage for nine years past.

The lord Anglicus of the holy church of Rome, priest and cardinal, a stranger,<sup>4</sup> was incumbent, and did hold in possession the deanery of the cathedral church of York, from the eleventh day of November, A.D. 1366, and it is yearly worth, according to the true value thereof, four hundred pounds; and Master John of Stoke, canon of the said church, doth occupy the said deanery and the profits of the same, in the name or by the authority of the said lord dean, &c. But the said dean was never resident upon the said deanery since he was admitted thereunto. Item, lord Hugh of our lady in \* \* \* deacon and cardinal, a stranger,<sup>5</sup> doth possess the prebend of Driffield, in the said church of York, from

Coventry  
and Lich-  
field.

Norwic.

Ebor.

[in Por-  
ticu.]

*Edward  
III.*

A.D.  
1374.

the seventh day of June, A. D. 1363 : from which day, &c. John of Gisbourne, and George Coupemanthorp, &c., do occupy the said prebend, worth by year one hundred pounds; the said lord Hugh is not resident upon the said prebend.

Item, Lord Simon of the title of St. Sixt, priest and cardinal, &c.,<sup>6</sup> doth possess the prebend of Wistow in the said church of York, worth by year one hundred pounds; and the aforesaid Master John of Stoke doth occupy the aforesaid prebend and the profits thereof, &c.; but the said lord Simon is not resident upon the said prebend.

Item, Lord Francis of the title of St. Sabine, priest and cardinal, a stranger; doth possess the prebend of Stransal, in the said church of York, worth by year one hundred marks. And Master William of Merfield, &c., doth occupy the said prebend, &c.; but the said lord Francis is not resident upon the said prebend.

Lord Peter of the title of St. Praxed, priest and cardinal, a stranger;<sup>7</sup> doth hold the archdeaconry of York, worth by year one hundred pounds, and Master William of Mirfield, &c., for farmers.

Salisbu.  
The  
deanery  
of Salis-  
bury.

The deanery of the cathedral church of Sarum, with churches and chapels underwritten to the same deanery annexed, doth remain in the hands of lord Reginald of the title of St. Adrian, deacon and cardinal;<sup>8</sup> and so hath remained these twenty-six years, who is never resident; his proctor is one Lawrence de Nigris, a stranger, and it is worth by year two hundred and fifty-four pounds, twelve shillings, and four pence.

Richard, bishop, doth hold the vicarage of Meere, to the deanery annexed, and hath holden the same for nineteen years; worth by year forty pounds.

Robert Codford, the farmer of the church of Heightredbury, to the same annexed, worth by year fifty pounds.

The church of Stoning and the chapel of Rescomp, to the same deanery annexed, worth by year seventy marks.

The chapel of Herst, to the same deanery annexed, worth by year forty pounds.

[*Woking-  
ham*]

The chapel of Wokenhame, to the same deanery annexed, worth by year thirty-six pounds.

The chapel of Sandhurst, worth by year forty shillings.

The church of Godalming, to the same deanery annexed, in the diocese of Winchester, worth by year forty pounds.

Treasu-  
rer of the  
church of  
Sarum.

The dignity of treasurer in the church of Sarum, with church and chapels underwritten to the same annexed, is in the hands of lord John of the title of St. Mark, priest and cardinal;<sup>9</sup> and hath so continued twelve years, who was never resident in the same; worth by year one hundred and thirty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence.

The church of Fighelden, to the same annexed, worth by year twenty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence.

The church of Alwardbury with the chapel of Putton, worth by year ten pounds.

The prebend of Calne to the same treasurer annexed, worth by year one hundred pounds.

[*North-  
morton*]

The archdeaconry of Berks, in the cathedral church of Salisbury, with the church of Morton to the same annexed, is in the hands of lord William, of the title of St. Stephen,<sup>9</sup> who was never resident in the same, worth by year eight score marks.

The archdeaconry of Dorset, in the church of Salisbury, with the church of Gissiche to the same annexed, in the hands of lord Robert, of the title of the Twelve Apostles, priest and cardinal;<sup>10</sup> and is worth by year one hundred and three marks.

The prebend of Woodford and Willeford, in the church of Salisbury, is in the hands of Robert, the cardinal aforesaid, and is worth forty marks.

The prebend of Heyworth, in the church of Salisbury, is in the hands of the lord cardinal of Agrifolio,<sup>9</sup> who is never resident, worth by the year eighty pounds.

The prebend of Netherbarnby and Beminster, in the church of Salisbury, one Hugh Pelegrine a stranger, did hold twenty years and more, and was never resident in the same; worth by the year eight score marks.

The church prebendary of Gillingham, in the nunnery<sup>a</sup> of Salisbury, lately holden of lord Richard, now bishop of Ely, is in the hands of the lord Peter of the title of St. Praxed, priest and cardinal, &c.<sup>7</sup> worth by the year eighty pounds.

Lord William, of the holy church of Rome cardinal, a stranger,<sup>11</sup> doth hold the archdeaconry of Canterbury, and is not resident; the true value of all the yearly fruits, rents and profits, is worth seven hundred florins.

The lord cardinal of Canterbury<sup>6</sup> is archdeacon of Wells, and hath annexed to his archdeaconry the churches of Hewish, Berwes, and Southbrent, which are worth by year, with their procuration of visitations of the said archdeaconry, one hundred threescore pound.

Item, The lord cardinal<sup>6</sup> is treasurer of the church of Wells, and hath the moiety of the church of Mertock annexed thereunto, worth by year sixty pounds.

Item, The lord cardinal of Agrifolio<sup>9</sup> is archdeacon of Taunton in the church of Wells, and is worth by year, with the procurations and the prebend of Mylverton to the same annexed, eighty pounds.

Note. Like matter is also found in the time of king Richard II., upon what occasion it is uncertain; but, as it seemeth by record of that time, a new pope being come in place, he would take no knowledge of any matter done by his predecessors, that might any way abridge his commodity; and, therefore, this king was forced to begin anew, as may appear by this following.<sup>b</sup>

Lord cardinal of Agrifolio<sup>9</sup> is prebendary of the prebend of Coringham, together with a portion of St. Mary of Stow to the same annexed; the fruits whereof, by common estimate, be worth by year one hundred and sixty-five pounds; Master John, vicar of Coringham, and Master Robert, person of Ket-telthorpe, and W. Thurlly, be farmers.

Lord cardinal Albanum<sup>4</sup> is prebendary of the prebend of Sutton, the fruits whereof be commonly esteemed worth by year four hundred marks. Roger Skyret of Buckingham, and William Bedeford of Sutton, do farm the same prebend. The lord cardinal Glandaven<sup>12</sup> is prebendary of the prebend of Nassington, worth, by estimation, three hundred marks. Robert of Nassington, and John, son of Robert of Abbethorpe, do occupy the same prebend.

Lord cardinal Nonmacen<sup>8</sup> is parson of Adderbury, worth, by estimation, one hundred pounds; Adam Robelyn, clerk, is his proctor, and occupieth the same.

Lord cardinal of St. \*\*\*<sup>12</sup> is prebendary of Thame, worth yearly, by common estimation, two hundred marks; John Heyward and Thomas \*\*\* a layman, do occupy the same prebend.

Lord Peter de Yeverino, cardinal,<sup>13</sup> is prebendary of Aylesbury, worth yearly, by common estimation, eighty marks. Holy Duse of Aylesbury doth occupy the same prebend.

The cardinal of St. Angelo<sup>2</sup> hath the archdeaconry of Suffolk, and is worth by year, by common estimation, a hundred marks.

Lord cardinal Neminacem,<sup>8</sup> treasurer of the church of Sarum, hath the archdeaconry of Sarum, with the church of Figheldon to his dignity annexed, which is let to farm to Grace, late wife of Edmund Swayne, deceased, paying yearly fifty marks. He hath also, in the same archdeaconry and county, the said church of Alwardbury, with the chapels of Putton and Earle to the same annexed, which is let to farm to the lord prior of the house of Ederose for the yearly rent of twenty-three pounds; he hath also the prebend of Calne in the said archdeaconry and county, worth by year one hundred pounds, and the farmer thereof is Raymund Pelegrine.

Lord cardinal of Agrifolio<sup>9</sup> hath the archdeaconry of Berks, worth by year one hundred and twenty marks, and remaineth in his own hands. Item, He hath the prebend of Worth, worth by year a hundred pounds; Raymund Peregrine is farmer there.

Lord cardinal Gebanen<sup>10</sup> hath the prebend of Woodford and Willeford in the county of Wiltshire, let to farm to John Bennet of Sarum, worth by year forty marks.

Lord Audomar de Rupy is archdeacon of Canterbury,<sup>14</sup> to the which archdeacon belongs the church of Lymin within the same diocese, worth by year, after the taxation of the tenth, twenty pounds. The church of Tenham, worth by year, after the said taxation, one hundred and thirty pounds, six shillings,

Richard II.

A. D. 1378.

Canterbury.  
Bath and Wells

The archdeaconry of Stow.

[Albanensis.]

[Glandavensis.]  
The archdeaconry of Northampton.  
[Nemausensis.]

The archdeaconry of Oxon.

The archdeaconry of York.

The diocese of Norwich.  
The diocese of Sarum.  
[Nemausensis.]

[Gebennensis.]

The diocese of Canterbury.  
[Lymne.]

(a) Monastery. There was no nunnery at Salisbury.—ED. (b) An. 2. Rich. 2. [See Appendix.]

*Richard II.*

A. D.  
1378.

The diocese of  
York.

The diocese of  
Durham.  
[*Göben-nensis.*]

and eight-pence. The church of Hakington near Canterbury, worth by year twenty marks. The church of St. Clement in Sandwich, worth by year, after the taxation aforesaid, eight marks. The church of St. Mary in Sandwich, worth by year nine pounds, of the which the said archdeacon receiveth only six marks: the profits of all which premises Sir William Latimer, Knight, hath received, together with the profits arising out of the jurisdiction of the archdeaconry, worth by year twenty pounds.

Anglicus, of the church of Rome priest and cardinal,<sup>4</sup> hath the deanery of the cathedral church of York, worth by year three hundred and seventy-three pounds, six shillings, and eight pence, and the prebend of Southcave, valued yearly at one hundred and sixty marks.

Lord cardinal Gebanen<sup>10</sup> doth hold the church of Wearmonth, and the archdeaconry of Durham, worth by year two hundred marks. And John of Chambre, and Thomas of Harington, of Newcastle, be the farmers and proctors of the said cardinal.

(Ex Bundello Brevium Regis de an. 2. Rich. II. part. i.)

Some pains have been taken to discover the identical returns from which Foxe compiled the foregoing "View" of Benefices held by Aliens; but without success. Many returns of a similar nature, and referring to the period, have been found, both in the Tower and the Exchequer records, some of which exactly tally with Foxe's statements. The printed "*Taxatio Ecclesiastica*" of Pope Nicholas IV., made about a century previous to these returns (circa A.D. 1291), confirms Foxe's accuracy as nearly as could be expected. Several decided mis-spellings have been corrected.

The following table is compiled from the List of Cardinals in Moreri's Dictionary, article 'Cardinal;' and will serve to illustrate and correct Foxe's text. Figures of reference are given to assist the reader.

	CREATED	DIED
1 Francis Thebaldeschi, a Roman, cardinal of St. Sabine, and archpriest of St. Peter's . . . . .	A. D. 1368	A. D. 1383
2 William Noellet or de Nouveau, a Frenchman, deacon-cardinal of St. Angelo . . . . .	A. D. 1371	A. D. 1394
3 Reginald des Ursins, a Roman, deacon-cardinal of St. Adrian . . . . .	A. D. 1350	A. D. 1374
4 Anglie de Grimoard de Grisac, a Frenchman, bishop of Avignon, priest-cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, afterward made bishop of Albano . . . . .	A. D. 1366	A. D. 1387
5 Hugh de St. Martial, a Frenchman, deacon-cardinal of St. Mary in Porticu . . . . .	A. D. 1364	A. D. 1403
6 Simon de Langham, an Englishman, ex-abp. of Canterbury, cardinal of St. Sixt . . . . .	A. D. 1368	A. D. 1376
7 Peter Gomez d'Albornos, a Spaniard, abp. of Seville, cardinal of St. Praxed . . . . .	A. D. 1371	A. D. 1374
8 John de Blausic, a Frenchman, bp. of Nismes, priest-cardinal of St. Mark . . . . .	A. D. 1361	A. D. 1379
9 William d'Aigrefeuille, a Frenchman, priest-cardinal of St. Stephen in Cælio Monte . . . . .	A. D. 1367	A. D. 1401
10 Robert de Genève, a Frenchman, bp. of Cambray (afterward Clement VII.), priest-cardinal of the twelve Apostles . . . . .	A. D. 1371	A. D. 1394
11 William Judicis or de la Jugie, a Frenchman, nephew of Clement VI., deacon-cardinal of St. Mary in Cosmedin (See Hasted's Kent, tom. iv. 782) . . . . .	A. D. 1342	A. D. 1374
12 Bertrand Lagier, a Frenchman, bp. of Glandèves in Provence, priest-cardinal of St. Prisca. The Parliamentary Notes of the fiftieth year of Edward III. (suprà, p. 787) make the same cardinal prebendary both of Thame and Nassington: we should therefore, probably, supply Prisca in the hiatus at p. 809, making this Lagier the prebendary of Thame . . . . .	A. D. 1371	A. D. 1392
13 Peter Flandrin, a Frenchman of the diocese of Viviers, in le Vivarez, deacon-cardinal of St. Eustace . . . . .	A. D. 1371	A. D. 1381
14 Andomar de Rupe is mentioned in Hasted's Kent (tom. iv. 782) as archd. of Cant. next but one to William Judicis (above, No. 11): in a Patent of June 3d, 2 Rich. II., printed in Rymcr, he is called "Adomar de la Roche, archd. of Cant.," and is therein deprived for taking part with the French.		



## APPENDIX TO VOL. II.

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PAGE 5, last line but one.]—Ingulph mentions a council held at London A.D. 833, to debate on the measures to be taken in consequence of the Danish invasion: the defeat at Charmouth was, no doubt, the occasion of the council.

Page 6, line 1. "*Notwithstanding, in the next battle,*" &c.]—This sentence no doubt refers to the battle of Hengisdown, in Cornwall, and ought to have been placed at the close of the paragraph, according to the best authors (Saxon Chron., Hoveden, Rapin, Henry), and even according to Foxe himself; for the first words of the next sentence imply, that when the Danes landed in the West of England they had experienced no check since their victory at Charmouth; and the only occasion on which Egbert is anywhere reported to have rallied against the Danes, was at the battle of Hengisdown, consequent upon their descent in the West, of which Foxe presently speaks.

Page 6, note (4).]—Foxe's account of the reign of Ethelwolp is confused, for want of due attention to the chronological arrangement of his materials: for though he was misled by Fabian into the notion, that the Danes did not trouble Ethelwolp till toward the *close* of his reign (see p. 12, note 3); yet he here proceeds at once to introduce Ethelwolp's Charter to the Church, which speaks of the ravages of the Danes as the moving cause which led him to propitiate the Divine favour by liberality toward the Church. An improved arrangement has, therefore, been adopted from Malmesbury, from whom Foxe appears to have derived his materials for this reign.

Page 7, line 18. "*Sergius II., who first brought in,*" &c.]—Authors differ on this subject. Hoffman supports Foxe's statement: "Hic [Sergius II.] primus Pontificum nomen mutavit, cum antea Petrus Buccaporcius diceretur." But Moreri says that *Adrian III.* was the first to change his name, which had been Agapitus, on being made pope A.D. 884. He also says that it was Sergius the *Fourth* who was called Petrus or Porci or Bocca di Porco, before he was made pope A.D. 1009. "Sergius II. n'osant porter le nom de Pierre, par respect de celui du Prince des Apôtres, prit celui de Sergius, qui détruit l'opinion du vulgaire, qui s'innagine que ce Pape se nommoit Groin du Pourceau, et que ce fut ce qui le porta à changer de nom. On prend le change en ceci; car cette histoire ne peut regarder que Sergius IV., qui étoit d'une famille de ce nom."—*Moreri's Dictionary*.

Page 7, note (1).]—Aventine seems to be the first who really disputed the current story. About one hundred and fifty good catholic writers assert or recognise it. One of the first modern antagonists is Florimond de Remond in his "*Anti-Papesse*," in 1607, which was replied to by Alexander Cooke in his "*Pope Joane*," in 1625. But the most notorious—perhaps the best—is the Protestant Blondel, first in French, rather mysteriously, in his "*Familier Eclaircissement*," &c. Amst. 1647; after his death, through the editorship of Steph. de Courcelles (Curcellæus), in a Latin translation, "*De Joanna Papissa*," 1657, with a long Apology for his friend; neither of whom was any friend to the Anti-remonstrants of Holland. The French was answered in 1655 by the Sieur Congnard, Advocate of the parliament of Normandy; the Latin by Sam. des Marets (Maresius) in his "*Joanna Papissa restituta*," Groningæ, 1658, the year after Curcellæus's edition, whose Apology he examines point by point, reprinting the whole. After these appeared, on the same side, F. Spanheim and L'Enfant. Gieseler, in his valuable Text-Book, ii. 20, 21, was either ignorant of these writers, or has purposely suppressed them, although they all pretty powerfully attack his "*decisive*" proofs. The numismatic champion, Garampi, may be

told, that the obverse and reverse of a coin are not necessarily in every case synchronous; that his chronology is not the best supported; and that there is such a place as Padua. He has known better, however, than to conceal the names of the opponents of his Thesis.—*De Nummo Argenteo Ben. III.* Rom. 1749, pp. 8, 9.

Page 8, line 15. “*By this pope [Nicholas I.] priests began to be restrained,*” &c.]—Foxe here follows the authority of Volaterran and others (see *infra*, vol. v. p. 326): but he rather inclines himself to say this of Nicholas II.; to whom also he considers the ensuing letter to be addressed, but by whom—both he and the critics are undecided. (See pp. 12, 97, and vol. v. pp. 305, 311, 314, 326—331.)

Page 10, last line. “*Augustine was less than Hierome.*”]—There is an allusion here to a passage of St. Augustine's writings. Speaking of himself a bishop and Jerome a priest, he says:—“*Quamquam enim, secundum honorum vocabula quæ jam ecclesie usus obtinuit episcopatus presbyterio major sit, tamen in multis rebus Augustinus Hieronymo minor est: licet etiam à minore quolibet non sit refugienda vel dedignanda correctio.*” *Inter Epistolas Hieron. Epist. 77, in fine.*—*Hieron. Opera*, Ed. Bened. Paris, 1706, tom iv. col. 641.

Page 10, note (1).]—The consequences of the constrained celibacy enjoined by the Romish Church on her clergy are, unhappily, so notorious, that (as Bishop Hall intimates) it would be irrelevant to dispute about the *number* of infants' heads found in the pope's fish-pond. To suppose that 6,000 infants, or even 1,000 (for Martene, *Ampl. Coll.* i. 449, reads “*plusquam millia,*” leaving out “*sex*”), should have been murdered and thrown into one pond within so short a period as the story implies, is out of the question; and some critics have even thought this circumstance sufficient to prove the letter a forgery, though they allow that it came to our hands “*à pontificiis.*” (See Mansi's edition of *Fabricii Bibliotheca Med. et Inf. Latinitatis*, vol. vi. p. 285, and Theiner's *Einführung der Erzwungenen Ehelosigkeit*, i. 467.) Nothing, however, is more common than errors as to numbers in ancient documents. Indeed, the number itself would not have been so incredible had the story referred to the age of Erasmus, who states in one part of his works, “*Nunc videmus mundum esse plenum sacerdotibus concubinariis. Est apud Germanos episcopus quidam, qui ipse dixit in convivio, uno anno ad se delata undecim millia sacerdotum palam concubinariorum: nam tales singulis annis pendunt aliquid episcopo.*”—*Erasm. Opera, Jug. Bat.* tom. ix. p. 485. Erasmus wrote this in defending his published opinion respecting the celibacy of the clergy against the attacks of a papist.

Page 12, line 23. “*By this Adrian [III.] it was first decreed,*” &c.]—The emperor *had no share* in the election or confirmation of *Adrian II.* mentioned in the preceding line; for the emperor's ambassadors, who were at Rome at the time, were not invited to the election. On complaining of this they were told, that the ceremony had not been omitted out of any disrespect to the emperor, but to prevent, for the future, the ambassadors of any prince from pretending to interfere with the election of a pope. At page 464 we find that transaction referred to as the first instance of the exclusion of the emperor from a voice in the election of a pope. But no *decree* of exclusion was issued till the time of *Adrian III.*, as stated in the text here and *suprà*, p. 6. The decree (according to Martinus Polonus) was, “*Ut Imperator non se intromitteret de electione.*” (See the note in this Appendix on p. 464, line 6.) Hoffman, in his *Lexicon*, says briefly:—

“*Adrianus II. Nicholao successit, sine consensu Imperatoris, ægrè id legatis ferentibus.*”

“*Adrianus III. legem tulit, ut pontificis designati consecratio sine præsentia regis aut legatorum procederet.*”

See also Sandini *Vite Pontiff. Rom.* p. 340.

Page 12, note (3).]—The document translated at the top of the next page, and which will be found in Hoveden, says expressly “*ab exordio regni Ethelwulphi regis usque ad adventum Normanorum et Willielmi regis, ad ducentos annos et triginta;*” which carries us back to the very beginning of Ethelwolph's reign. Hoveden himself says in his text, that the Danes came “*primo anno regni sui.*”—*Script. post Bedam.* p. 412.

Page 16, line 3. "*These things thus done,*" &c.]—Asserius and the "*Annales Bertiniani*" both assert, that Ethelwolph went to Rome in A.D. 855 and continued there twelve months; that he visited the French court early in July A.D. 856; and that he was married by Hincmar, abp. of Rheims, October 1st. P. Pagi adopts these dates (Crit. in Baronium), and says that the grants mentioned in the text were made—not to Leo. IV., who died July 17th A.D. 855, but to his successor—Benedict III. The Benedictine Authors of "*L'Art de Vérifier des Dates*" follow this account.

Page 18, line 9. "*Reigned both together the term of five years, one with the other.*"—*i.e.* for two years and a half each from their father's death; after which period Ethelbert reigned sole monarch for about six years, when he was succeeded by Ethelred A.D. 866.

Page 19, line 18 from the bottom. "*Inguar and Hubba . . . slain at Englefield.*"—Brompton states that they escaped after the battle of Englefield into Ireland, and died there. Hoveden (p. 416), cited by Foxe at p. 23, gives a different account of their death: see the note in this Appendix on that passage.

Page 21, line 1.]—Foxe, misled by Fabian, reads, "*Winborn or Woburn.*" (See page 37, line 8.) Spelman in his life of Alfred states, that the following inscription was formerly to be read on Ethelred's tomb at Wimborne, afterwards destroyed in the civil wars:—"In hoc loco quiescit corpus S. Ethelredi regis West Saxonum, martyris, qui Anno Domini *cccc lxxiii*, *xxiii*. Aprilis, per manus Danorum paganorum occubuit." (Camden's *Britannia*, and Spelman, p. 43.) Alfred certainly came to the throne in April, A.D. 872, according to the chronicle cited at page 32, note (1), which states that he died Oct. 28th A.D. 901 after a reign of twenty-nine years and six months.—See *Mr. Sharon Turner's Anglo-Saxon History*, vol. i. p. 537.

Page 21, line 2. "*For lack of issue of his body.*"—Other authors say, that it was by virtue of his father's will, and that Ethelbald at least left children behind him who survived Alfred.—*Turner*, vol. i. p. 536.

Page 22, line 16. "*In the next year,*" &c.]—Foxe says, "the same" year: but see *L'Art de Vér. des Dates*. Also, it is plain that the three Danish kings left Cambridge A.D. 876; for they wintered after the battle of Wilton at London A.D. 872-3; at Torksey in Lindsey A.D. 873-4; at Repton A.D. 874-5; at Cambridge A.D. 875-6; and in A.D. 876 they seized Wareham Castle.

Page 22, line 27. "*But they, falsely breaking their league,*" &c.]—This statement is rather too elliptical. The treaty was broken toward the close of A.D. 876 by some of the Danes breaking out of Wareham, seizing the horses of Alfred's coast-guard, and making their way to Exeter. Of the rest, some attempted to follow by sea early next year, A.D. 877, when they were wrecked at Swanawic, or Swanage: the others escaped from Wareham to Exeter on foot.—*Rapin*, and *Spelman*, p. 49.

Page 22, line 29. "*At Swanawic,*"—says Huntingdon; *i.e.* Swanage on the Dorsetshire coast, not Sandwich, as Foxe says.

Page 23, line 31. "*Their ensign, called the Raven, was taken.*"—"The Danish standard called *Reafan*, or the Raven, was the great confidence of those pagans. It was a banner with the image of a raven magically wrought by the three sisters of Inguar and Hubba, on purpose for their expedition in revenge of their father Lodebroch's murder, made (they say) almost in an instant, being by them at once begun and finished in a noon-tide, and believed by the Danes to have carried great fatality with it; for which it was highly esteemed of them. It is pretended that, being carried in battle (Asser. *Annal.* ad an. 878, Gale ii. 167), toward good success it would always seem to clap the wings, and do as if it would fly; but toward the approach of mishap it would hang them right down and not move. The prisal of it by the Christians was of no little consequence; for the pagans when they came to lose it, could not but lose withal their hearts and confidence."—*Spelman's Life of Alfred*, p. 61: see the note on the Italian Caroccio, mentioned by Foxe at p. 479.

Page 23, line 32. "*In the same conflict both Inguar and Hubba were slain.*"—For a different account, see p. 19. The *Annals of Ulster* say that Inguar died in Ireland A.D. 872, and that Halden or Halfden was killed in

Ireland at the battle of Lochraun A.D. 876; and the Saxon Chronicle says that he died in Ireland.—*Turner*, vol. i. pp. 538, 540.

Page 21, line 11. "*Coming to Winchester*," &c.]—The Saxon Chronicle says, that Guthrum was baptized at Aulre, near Etheling, but that the chrismal was pulled off him eight days after at Wedmore. In MS. Digby, p. 196, this place is called "Westm.," and soon after he says that the twelve days' feasting which followed was at London.—*Hearne's Note to Spelman's Life of Alfred*, p. 66, and *Turner*, vol. i. p. 575.

Page 21, line 21 from the bottom. "*He likewise sent to India*," &c.]—Mr. Sharon Turner (vol. ii. p. 158) devotes a long Appendix to an examination into the probability of Alfred's embassy to St. Thomas, and decides in its favour.

Page 24, line 5 from the bottom. "*The fourth year after this, which was the nineteenth year of the reign of king Alfred*."—Foxe says "the third," but he had last mentioned the "fifteenth" year of the reign. The year was A.D. 890 according to the Saxon Chronicle.

Page 25.]—This page describes, though in a confused manner, the operations of the Danes under their famous Captain Hastings during three or four years. The Saxon Chronicle says that they came from Boulogne to "Limene-muthan" in East Kent, A.D. 893. The same Chronicle places their arrival at Lea in A.D. 895 or 896.—*Turner*, vol. i. pp. 587—602.

Page 25, line 20.]—"Chester" (the Chronicles call it Legacestria) must mean Caerleon; see p. 5, note (5): this supposition alone can explain how the Danes should go thence "by North Wales to Northumberland." In confirmation of this it may be observed that Hoveden says, ad an. 905, "Civitas, quæ Karlegion Britannicè, Legacestria Saxonicè, dicitur, restaurata est;" referring, no doubt, to the damage which the city had sustained from these Danes. (See the notes in this Appendix on pages 28 and 37, line 17 from the bottom.)

Page 28, line 20 from the bottom.]—Tanner in his *Bibliotheca Britanno-Hibernica*, p. 32, discusses the story about the two schools in Oxfordshire, and explodes this etymology.

Page 28, note (1).]—"Chester, in South Wales," clearly means the "Chester" so often mentioned by Foxe, viz., *Caerleon*. "*Galfridus*" mentioned in the text is Galfridus Monumetensis, or Geoffry of Monmouth. In the place of his history referred to (lib. ix. cap. 12) he calls the place which Foxe denominates "Chester in South Wales" "*Urbs Legionum*." Arthur is therestated to have selected this place for his coronation on account of its beauty, and because "*Habebat gymnasium ducentorum philosophorum, qui astronomia atque cæteris artibus eruditi cursus stellarum diligenter observabant, et prodigia eo tempore ventura regi Arturo veris argumentis prædicabant*." (See on p. 25.)

Foxe might have mentioned, besides, the famous school of Dubritius (afterwards archbp. of Caerleon) on the banks of the Wye—also that of Ilmtus a little later, in Glamorganshire, at Llantuyt, so called from him. Dubritius died Nov. 4, A.D. 522.—*Godwin de Præsulibus*, and *Ussher's Antiq. Brit. Eccl.* cap. 5.

Page 28, note (2).]—The passage in Bede reads thus:—"Quæ in Gallia bene disposita vidit imitari volens, instituit scholam in quâ pueri literis erudirentur, juvante se episcopo Felice, quem de Cantia acceperat, atque pædagogos ac magistros juxta morem Cantuariorum præbente." Felix became bishop A.D. 630.—*Wharton, Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. Malmesbury (de Vitis Pontif.) says, that Felix was a *Burgundian*, whom Sigebert had become acquainted with during his exile in France, and that his *successor* in the see of Dunwich was a *Kentish* man.

Page 29, line 2. "*Then his mother*."—This must have been Alfred's step-mother, Judith, who married his eldest brother, Ethelbald, after Ethelwolf's death, and remained in England some time after Ethelbald's death in A.D. 860; after which she married Baldwin, earl of Flanders, A.D. 862 (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*). See *Mr. Sharon Turner's Anglo-Saxon History*, vol. ii. pp. 500, 505—507.

Page 29, last line, and page 30.—"*Grinbald, Asserius, Wecfrith, Neotus, Johannes Scotus*."—Grinbald was a very accomplished and courteous man, and

was so attentive to Alfred on his way to Rome at Rheims, that he afterwards begged Fulco, Archbishop of Rheims, to send him over to England.

Asser the uncle and the nephew were monks of St. David's. The uncle wrote Alfred's Life, and was Archbishop of St. David's. The other was made Bishop of Sherborne.

Werefrith was Bishop of Worcester, A.D. 873—892.

Neotus, called for his piety St. Neot, was the companion of Alfred's youth: he was buried at St. Guerrir's church, near Ginesbury, in Cornwall. Hence his body was removed to a monastery built on the site of the Duke Alric's palace, in Huntingdonshire. Thence the bones were removed in 1213 to Croyland Abbey.

Johannes Scotus, or Erigena, was very learned in Greek, Chaldee, and Arabic; he was patronized by Charles the Bald of France: he came over to England at Alfred's invitation, and taught publicly at the monastery of Malmesbury, where he was murdered by his scholars with their penknives. He is sometimes confounded with another John, a monk of St. David's, and called John the Monk; and whom Alfred, in his preface to Gregory's Pastoral, calls his mass-priest.—*Spelman's Life of Alfred*, p. 133, &c.

Page 30, line 23.]—Charles the Bald reigned over France A.D. 843—877.

Page 31, line 9.]—The Council of Vercelli was held Sept. 1st A.D. 1050.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 32, line 21.]—Pleimund is said at page 103 to have been archbishop only twenty-nine years, and in M. West. to have been elected A.D. 889, and died A.D. 915, which only gives twenty-six years: Godwin gives him but nineteen or twenty years.

Page 32, line 24.]—On the duration of the archbishopric of Odo, see the note in this Appendix on p. 50, line 6.

Page 32, note (1).]—All the concurrents of time given in this note agree, by Sir H. Nicolas's Tables; so that the date may be looked on as certain. As Alfred died in his 53d year, he must have been born A.D. 848 or 849.

Page 33, line 5. "*Bishop of Porto*."]—Porto was a small place at the mouth of the Tiber, opposite to Ostia, and gave the title to one of the seven cardinal bishops. Those were the bishops of Ostia, St. Rufine, Porto, St. Sabine, Præneste (hod. Palestrine), Tusculum (hod. Frascati), and Albano.—*Moreri's Dict. v. Cardinal*.

Page 33, line 6.]—"Cum aliquando in sinistram suspicionem venisset"—are the words of Siebert, ad an. 900. The authority which Foxe here follows is "Siebert Gemblacensis Cœnobitæ Chronographia, ab an. 381 ad an. 1112," reprinted in Pistorius's "*Germ. Rer. Script.*" tom. i. (edit. Ratisb. 1726, p. 804.)

Page 33, line 28.]—"Præsertim cum ipse Formosus à Marino papa absolutus fuerit à perjurio."—*Siebert* (ibidem).

Page 33, line 31. "*Who then marching*," &c.]—Siebert says (ibidem):—"Romam venit; sed non admissus, Romam Leonianam obsedit. Lepusculo forte versus Romam fugiente, et exercitu cum clamore nimio sequente, Romani timentes se de muro projiciunt et hostibus per factos acervos murum ascendendi locum faciunt." From which Foxe derives the following:—"Who then marching towards Rome, was there prevented by the Romans from entering. But in the siege (saith the author) the Romans within so played the lions, &c." The pun in "lions" is not perceived, from Foxe's not fully translating "Romam Leonianam."

Page 34, note (2).]—Foxe says "The French king, Eudo," but it must have been Charles the Simple: for Eudo, or Eudes, died Jan. 1st A.D. 898; but John IX. did not succeed to the papacy till the July following, and he held a council at Rome that year in favour of Formosus, the acts of which were ratified by the council of Ravenna that same year. So that the French king there present must have been Charles the Simple, who succeeded Eudes and was present at the council of Turin the July following. Siebert (p. 805) confirms this opinion.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 35, note (1).]—"Formosum sepulcro extractum in sede pontificatûs



sacerdotaliter indutum decollari præcepit." (Sigebert, ad an. 907.) See an allusion to this history by Pilkington *infra*, vol. viii. p. 292.

Page 36, line 9. "*Stephen VII. or VIII.*"—For the reason of the uncertainty, see the note in the Appendix to vol. i. p. 372, line 14.

Page 36, line 17. "*Might be further applied than to that Marozia of Rome.*"—The allusion is to Catharine of Aragon, wife of Prince Arthur, and afterwards of his brother Henry VIII. See *infra*, vol. v. pp. 45—55.

Page 36, line 22. "*Ordo Cluniacensis.*"—The Abbey of Clugny was founded by William the Pious, Earl of Auvergne and Duke of Aquitaine, by a chart dated Sept. 11th, A.D. 910; at which time Sergius III. was pope. (*L'Art de Vérifier des Dates.*) The first abbot was Berno, who was succeeded at his death, A.D. 927, by St. Odo, who died A.D. 941. (Moreri, v. Clugni.) See the note in this Appendix on page 57, line 25, 26.

Page 37, line 8. "*Wimborne.*"—So Polychronicon, Fabian, Grafton, adding "near Bath." Foxe seems to have taken the reading of "*Woburn*" from a former passage of Fabian; see the note in this Appendix on p. 21, line 1.

Page 37, line 17 from the bottom.]—"Chester" here, as in other places, means *Caerleon*. Polychronicon ad an. 908 says, "Hoc anno civitas Caerlegion sive Legecestria, quæ modo Cestria dicitur, ope Etheldredi ducis Merciorum et Ellfedæ uxoris suæ post confractiones per Danos factas restaurata est, &c." See also the notes in this Appendix on page 25, line 20, and page 28, note (1).

Page 38, line 12.]—This list of places occurs in Polychronicon sub an. 912.

Page 40, line 8 from the bottom. "*To lie for the whetstone.*"—The same phrase, intended to point out a fabricator of lies, the whetstone being an emblem of lying, occurs in vol. iii. 359, and v. 682. See Nares' Glossary; or Brand's Popular Antiquities, iii. 212.

Page 43, line 9. "*Middleton and Michelenes,*"—i. e. Melton, in Dorsetshire, and Michaelney, in Somersetshire. See *infra*, vol. v. p. 374, and *Tanner*.

Page 44, note (2.)—These directions concerning a bishop's duties are printed by Mr. Thorpe at p. 547 of his collection of Anglo-Saxon Laws, and in Saxon with an English translation at p. 426.

Page 45, line 16.]—The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey states that Athelstan died "6 Cal. Novemb. feria 4. Indictione 14," i. e. Wednesday, October 27th, A.D. 941, which concurrents of time (by Nicolas's Tables) all fit. The Saxon Chronicle gives the same date; so that it may be considered as fixed. It also agrees with Foxe's statement here, that Athelstan reigned "sixteen years," if we suppose him to have come to the throne A.D. 925, as stated above.

Page 45, line 17.]—Foxe here states that Edmund reigned "six years," and at line 24 and page 50, line 18, "six years and a half." In each case "four years and a half" has been substituted; for the Saxon Chronicle says he died May 26th A.D. 946: the Melrose Chronicle adds the day of the week and the Indiction, which confirm that date. So that Edmund, by this account, reigned only "four years and a half:" it is proper to observe, however, that Foxe had authority for "six years and a half;" for the Saxon Chronicle, inconsistently with itself, assigns that period to his reign.

Page 47, line 19 from the bottom.]—"Alfridus" means Alfrid, treasurer of Beverley Minster. "Alfredus Beverleacensis [seu Fibroleganus] in septentrionalibus Angliæ partibus natus et Cantabrigiæ educatus. In patriam reversus evectus est ad canonicatum in ecclesia S. Johannis Beverlacensis, in quâ postea thesaurarius constitutus. Ab hoc officio 'Thesaurarius' cognomine notus erat inter scriptores. Annales (lib. ix.) edidit Thos. Hearne. Obiit anno 1136, et Beverlaci sepultus erat (Bale, Pits); vel anno 1126, quo et Annales suos finiit. (Vossius)."—*Tanner's Bibliotheca*. Alfrid is referred to by Mr. Turner on the matter in the text.

"Pulcher," two lines lower, is a corruption of "Sepulchre," and "Pulcher-church" is still further corrupted into "Tuckle-church;" which is now a small village seven miles N.E. of Bristol, and, according to Camden, was once a royal manor.

Page 48, line 18. "*Odo being a Dane born.*"—Osberne in his life of Odo says that he was son of one of the Danes who came over with Inguar and Ubba.

Page 50, line 6. "*This Odo continued bishop the space of eighteen years.*"—Foxye gives different accounts of the duration of Odo's episcopate: he here, and at pp. 32, 103, says "twenty years;" next page he says "twenty-four." Godwin (de Præsulibus, &c.) prefers "eighteen years," which is here adopted in the text.

Page 50, line 18.]—Edmund died May 26th, A.D. 946. (Sax. Chron.) The same Chronicle states that Edred died Nov. 23d, A.D. 955, having reigned (as Foxye states) "nine years and a half."

Page 50, line 26. "*In his time Dunstan was promoted . . . to be bishop of Worcester.*"—This seems incorrect, and is certainly inconsistent with the statement in this and the next page, "that he was as yet but abbot of Glastonbury" after the death of Edred, and even of Edwin.

Page 51, line 21 from the bottom. "*Not crowned till fourteen years after.*"—This statement is not quite correct: the Chronicles have been misunderstood. Doubtless, Edgar was crowned with great pomp at Bath, Whitsunday A.D. 973 (see pp. 62, 63); but that was after a *seven-years'* penance, part of which was, according to Malmesbury, "*diademate carere septennio*"—according to Osberne, "*ut in toto spatio (septenni) coronam sui regni non gestaret.*" In explanation of the term "*gestare*" it may be remarked, that it was the custom of our ancient kings to *wear* their crowns in public at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide (Lord Lyttelton's Hen. II. vol. ii. p. 282); and that it was the prerogative of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or his deputy, to put the crown on the king's head on those occasions, as well as at the original coronation. (See the notes in this Appendix on pp. 62, 63, and 110.) Speed, on the authority of Polydore Virgil, says that Edgar was crowned originally at Kingston; but no other author mentions this: most probably, however, it was the fact; and the very nature of the penance seems to require it. Mr. Taylor in his "*Glory of Regality*," p. 237, takes this view of the subject.

Page 51, line 18 from the bottom.]—On the promotion of Dunstan, see the notes in this Appendix on pp. 50, 74.

Page 51, line 15 from the bottom. "*Odo, archbishop twenty-four years.*"—See the note on page 50, line 6.

Page 54, line 31.]—John Cassian was born about the middle of the fourth century—Gennadius says in Scythia; but others say (with more probability) in Provence. Having conceived an earnest desire to become acquainted with the monks of Egypt, then very famous, he visited the Thebaid about A.D. 390: after residing there several years he went to Constantinople, where he was ordained deacon about A.D. 409. He retired to Marseilles about A.D. 414, and there founded two monasteries, one that of St. Victor, in which he had 5,000 monks, the other for nuns. He died A.D. 440 or 448, at the age of ninety-seven years. (See Moreri and Biographie Universelle.) His printed works are: "*De institutis Cœnobiorum, libri xii.*;" "*Collationes Patrum, libri xxiv.*;" "*Johannis Cassiani de Christi Incarnatione, libri vii.*;" "*Flores Cassiani, sive illustriores sententiæ ex ejus operibus collectæ.*"

Page 56, line 24. "*Mazises.*"—Alardus Gazæus was a Benedictine monk in the abbey of St. Vedast at Arras, who wrote a Commentary on Cassian's works. His dedication of this Commentary is dated "*Michaelis apparitione* [May 8th] A.D. 1615." In his Commentary on this place in Cassianus he says: "*Mazices sive μάζικας Ptolemæus in eâ Ægypti, sive Africa, parte locat in quâ Cassianus. Eorundem ut barbarorum et immanium hominum meminit Palladius (Lausiaca 7) in Arsacio, quos tamen Mazicos vocat: Et Nestorius apud Evagrium lib. i. Hist. Ecclesiast. cap. 7: Et Nicephorus, lib. xiv., cap. 13. In Vitis Patrum Gens Mazicorum dicitur, lib. iv. c. 15.*"—*Cassiani Opera*, Lips. 1733, p. 212.

Page 57, line 25. "*Basil's rule—Benet's rule.*"—St. Basil was the founder of Monks in the East, St. Benedict in the West.

St. Basil, surnamed the Great, became bishop of Cæsarea A.D. 370, and died A.D. 378. He was an intimate friend of Gregory Nazianzen.—*Cave's Hist. Litt.*

St. Benedict was born in Italy A.D. 480, and died A.D. 543. He built a

monastery at Monte Cassino, Naples, which was destroyed by the Lombards, but rebuilt under the sanction of Gregory III., who died A.D. 741. Zachary, who followed him in the popedom, sent them the MS. rule, and made them independent of all but papal jurisdiction. Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon, founded a Benedictine monastery at Fulda with the pope's sanction, and Pepin, king of France, made it independent of all but papal jurisdiction. Beruo introduced the rule into Clugny, of which he was the first abbot, A.D. 910. One of his pupils and his successor, Odo, introduced it into Fleury, which had been plundered by the Normans. He died A.D. 944. St. Benedict's body was brought to Fleury, which became the head quarters of the order in the West. See *Sharon Turner's Anglo-Saxon Hist.* vol. ii. p. 233.

Page 57, line 26. "*Cluniacenses, first set up by Otho.*"—The abbot Odo, mentioned in the last note and the note on p. 36, line 22, must be intended. For Sigebert mentions the rise of Clugny first ad an. 893, under the reign of "Odo," [Eudo,] "*King of France*, thus:—*Hoc tempore floruit in Burgundiâ Beruo, ex comite abbas Gigniacensis cœnobii à se fundati; qui etiam ex dono Avæ comitissæ constituit Cluniacum cœnobiū in cellam Gigniacensem.*" But afterwards ad an. 912, we read:—"Ordo Cluniacensis incipit. Beruo abbas moriturus Odonem olim musicum constituit abbatem, ea conditione ut ecclesia Cluniacensis solveret annuatim ecclesiæ Gigniacensi census duodecim denariorum." St. Odo greatly advanced the popularity of the Order of Clugny. It is, therefore, of *St. Odo* that we must understand Foxe to speak.

Page 57, line 29.]—The congregation of Benedictine monks of *Fallombrosa*, on the Apennines, was founded by John Gualbert, a Florentine, about A.D. 1030.—*Soames's Mosheim*, vol. ii. p. 356.

Page 57, line 34.]—The "*Flagellants*" originated in Italy, A.D. 1260, and spread over a large part of Europe. See an account of them in *Soames's Mosheim*, vol. ii. p. 598.

Page 59, line 3 from the bottom.]—Respecting these drinking cups, see the note on p. 168. The following words of Malmesbury will confirm Foxe, though the actual law has not been found:—"In tantum et in frivolis pacis sequax, ut quia compatriotæ in tabernis convenientes jamque temulenti pro modo bibendi contenderent, ipse clavos argenteos vel aureos vasis affigi jussit, ut dum metam suam quisque cognosceret, non plus subserviente verecundia vel ipse appeteret vel alium appetere cogeret."—*Script. post Bedam*, p. 56, line 26.

Page 62, line 27. "*Stayed and kept back from his Coronation.*"—See the notes in this Appendix on p. 51, line 21 from the bottom, and p. 63, line 17. According to the view there taken, we should here read, "from the use of his crown," rather than "from his coronation."—Foxe in the next line says, that Edgar was "crowned at the age of one-and-thirty, A.D. 974, as is by the Saxon Chronicle of Worcester church to be proved." The new edition and translation, however, of the Saxon Chronicle read "A.D. 973," and add the day, "5 Id. Maii, die Pentecostes" (i. e. Whit-Sunday, May 11th), which proves (see Nicolas's Tables) that 973 is the true reading. Also in the next page Foxe calls it "the one-and-thirtieth year of his age," which is here adopted instead of "the age of one-and-thirty."

Page 62, line 35. "*Osberne.*"—"Osbernus, gente Anglus, ecclesiæ Cantuariensis præcentor et monachus, Lanfranco archiepiscopo familiarissimus, clauit circa annum 1070. Præter summam artis musicæ peritiam, condendis Sanctorum Vitis incubuit. Notandum Osbernum duobus libris Dunstani vitam et miracula descripsisse. Priorem tantum cum posterioris prologo dedit Whartonius, eo quod liber secundus parum ad rem historicam conferre videbatur."—*Cave*.

Page 63, line 6.]—The following is the Latin Penance in Osberne (see *Wharton's Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 111):—"Septennem ei pœnitentiam indixit. In toto spatio coronam regni sui non gestaret. Jejunium in hebdomadâ biduale transigeret. Avitos pauperibus thesauros large dispergeret. Super hoc sacrandis Deo virginibus monasterium quoddam fundaret; quatenus qui unam per peccatum Deo virginem abstulisset, plures ei per plura sæculi volumina aggregaret. Clericos etiam male actionales de ecclesiis propelleret, Monachorum agmina introduceret: justas Deoque acceptas legum rationes sanciret:

sanctas conscriberet Scripturas, per omnes fines imperii sui populis custodiendas mandaret." It will be observed that no nunnery is here named: "Shaftesbury" is Foxe's addition, and erroneous, see p. 24. Rumsey, in Hants, was probably the nunnery founded by Edgar on this occasion, A.D. 974.—See *Tanner's Notitia Monastica*.

Page 63, line 17. "*Set the crown upon the king's head, at Bath.*"—This was done at the feast of Pentecost, May 11th, A.D. 973. (Osborne, &c.)—It seems probable (as before intimated) that the crowning at Bath was not properly the coronation, but the conclusion of a seven years' penance, during which time Edgar had not worn his crown. The resuming it was made a great event, for example's sake. For Malmesbury himself says, that Edgar for his crime—"Septennem pœnitentiam non fastidivit; dignatus Rex affligi jejuniis, simulque diademate carere septennio." (Script. post Bedam, p. 60.) In the life of Dunstan, he adds—"Ita ut proceres ad specimen et normam Regis compositi, parum vel nihil contra jus et æquum auderent." (Ibid. p. 202.) See the notes on pp. 51, 62.

Page 63, line 19.]—Foxe reads here "thirteenth year of his reign," but "fourteenth" at p. 51. He also says he was "only three years crowned king;"—more probably "ten," including the first seven years of his reign. See the last note.

Page 63, note (2).]—Foxe reads here rather obscurely, "mention of Elfleda and Editha, and also of Ulfred and Dunstan."

Page 65, line 13.]—Hoveden dates the death of Edgar "the 32d year of his age, the 19th of his reign over Mercia and Northumberland, the 16th of his reign over all England, Indictione 3, 8 Id. Julii, feria quinta" (Script. post Bedam, p. 426), i. e. Thursday, July 8th, A.D. 975: these concurrents agree, by Nicolas's Tables.

Page 65, line 24.]—Here should follow the address of Edgar to his clergy, which is given afterwards at page 101.

Page 66, last line.—The birth and parentage of Editha are stated at page 61.

Page 69, line 15.]—Osborne and Brompton both represent the council as being held at Winchester. (See page 84, line 16 from the bottom.) Osborne speaks as if it were held a considerable period before that of Calne. But Wharton (*Anglia Sac.* vol. ii. p. 112) shows that the council of Winchester sat about A.D. 963, and that of Calne about seven years later.

Page 69, line 19. "*Jornalensis here maketh rehearsal,*" &c.]—Foxe's reference to *Jornalensis* (or Brompton) is not quite accurate. Brompton says nothing about praying to the rood: Osborne says, that the council fell to entreating *Dunstan* in favour of the priests; and that while he sat perplexed what to do, the image spoke. Foxe also says, that the inscription was put *under the feet* of the rood; which was the more usual place for an inscription; but Brompton says—"In cujus rei memoriam in capite refectorii ejusdem monasterii *suprà caput* crucifixi, &c." (Decem Scriptores, col. 870.) This quotation will suggest to the reader the meaning of "*frater*:" it is a corruption of "*fratry*," which is either a corruption of *refectory*, or is derived from *fratres*, being a room in which they could all assemble. The "*fratry*" is still shown at Carlisle cathedral. For further information on the point, see Davies's *Rites and Customs of the Cathedral Church of Durham*; Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*, Oxford, p. 96; Fosbroke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 103; and Fosbroke's *British Monachism*, v. *Refectory*. It is hardly necessary to add, that a "*rood*" was a large wooden image of Christ crucified, such as may frequently be seen in France by the road-side: Osborne describes it on this occasion as "*Dominici corporis forma vexillo crucis fixa.*" There are other allusions to roods in Foxe. (See Index.)

Page 71, line 7. "*Pope John XII.*"—Foxe is rather inconsistent in his numbering of this pope, the reason of which is, that the old authors differ. Here, and at p. 462, Foxe calls him John XIII; but at p. 464, and vol. iii. p. 212, he calls him John XII. As John XI. is the last pope John named by Foxe (p. 36), this pope is in the present edition always numbered John XII.

The numbering of several following Popes John has been altered in consequence of the change made here.

Page 72, line 21. "*Pope John XIV.*"]—This pope is not acknowledged by the Romish church, and is not inserted in the list given in "*L'Art de Vérifier des Dates*," which numbers the next three popes mentioned in this page XIV. XV. XVI.

Page 72, line 7 from the bottom. "*John XVI.*"]—The pope John preceding Gregory V. is numbered XV. in the list of "*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*," and his popedom dated A.D. 986—996. But see the last two notes.—There were two councils held at Rheims during his papacy, according to the lists of Councils; the first, June 17th, A.D. 991, wherein archbishop Arnold, or Arnulph, was deposed; and a second, July 1st, A.D. 995, wherein Arnulph was restored. (*L'Art de Vér.*) The advancement of Gilbert to the papacy is mentioned at pp. 94, 95.

Page 73, line 15 from the bottom.]—"Elfrida" is substituted for Foxe's "Alfrith," "Elfrida" being his reading in all other cases.

Page 73, note (2).]—These verses are taken from *Locorum communium collectanea a Joh. Manlio pleraque ex lectionibus Ph. Melancthonis excerpta*, &c., tom. iii. p. 198 (8vo. Basil. 1563), and were written apparently by John Strigelius. They embrace the seven Electorates of Germany, both ecclesiastical and civil.

Page 74, line 6 from the bottom. "*About the eleventh year*," &c.]—The marginal date, A.D. 988, proceeds on this supposition, and is that chosen by Godwin. If Dunstan was archbishop for twenty years, as Foxe states at p. 103, then he was appointed A.D. 968; or if he died in the *ninth* year of Egelred, then he was appointed A.D. 966, in the seventh year of Edgar's reign. Some date his appointment A.D. 959, the first year of Edgar, which makes him archbishop at least twenty-seven years. (See the notes in this Appendix on pp. 50, 51.)

Page 74, line 4 from the bottom. "*After him Elfric*, &c.]—See the note on p. 104, line 9.

Page 75, line 1.]—This "northern island" was Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, mentioned before at p. 5. St. Cuthbert was for twelve years abbot of a famous monastery there, the ruins of which are still visible.

Page 75, line 2.]—"Chester-le-street" is a village six miles north of Durham, so called from being on the Roman highway. Foxe says "Rochester," by mistake.

Page 75, line 19. "*Danegilt*." See the note on p. 104, line 9.

Page 78, line 17. "*Sailed into Denmark*."—For the real reason why Canute at this time went to Denmark, see the note on p. 81.

Page 78, line 26.]—The ancient Chronicles, including the Saxon, (see the new Edition,) date the death of Egelred St. George the Martyr's Day, *i. e.* April 23d, A.D. 1016.

Page 80, note (1).]—There are plenty of authorities for Foxe's statement in the text respecting the sons of Edmund Ironside; see Hoveden, Brompton, Rastal's Chronicle, Fabian, Grafton, &c. But William of Malmesbury simply says—"Filii ejus [Edmundi] Edwius et Edwardus missi ad regem Suevorum ut perimerentur: sed miseratione ejus conservati Hunorum regem petierunt; ubi dum benignè aliquo tempore habiti essent, major diem obiit, minor Reginæ sororem Agatham in matrimonium accepit." (*Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 73.) And afterwards he says:—"Rex Edwardus prout in senium, . . . misit ad Regem Hunorum, ut filium fratris Edmundi Edwardum cum omni familia sua mitteret." (*Ibid.* p. 93.) Subsequent writers, in their attempts to fill in the names, have made blunders. For example, the contemporary king of Sweden was named *Olave* (*L'Art de Vér.*), who is said to have been half-brother to Canute (Speed). His being named "Suanus" probably arose from the circumstance of the *u* in his patronymic "Suavus" (of Sweden) being taken for an *n*: whence Olave might be called "rex Suanus," or "rex Suanorum;" and the combination of the two would give, "Suanus, king of Sweden." It is remarkable that Foxe in the next page, line 5, calls him "Suanus, king of Denmark," where he is copying Fabian and Grafton, who cite "Guido and others." (See vol. i. p. 347, note (3).) This variation may be explained by the circumstance



related in Brompton (p. 907), that Walgar, Canute's domestic, was charged to carry the princes into *Denmark*; but that, conscious of his master's designs, instead of carrying them into Denmark he conducted them to the king of *Sweden*, who, to avoid quarrelling with Canute, passed them forward to his kinsman, the king of Hungary.—Again, Salomon, king of Hungary, did indeed in A.D. 1063 marry Sophia, sister of the emperor Henry IV., and thus became brother-in-law to that emperor; but that was almost fifty years too late for the present purpose. It is no less true, however, that *Stephen*, the first king of Hungary, in A.D. 1008 married Gisela, sister of the emperor Henry II.: whence, Papebroche and Lingard would have us here substitute the name of Stephen for Salomon. It is worthy of remark, however, that Fordun in his *Scoti-chronicon* says, that Stephen was called *Salomon* before his baptism, which may in some degree vindicate the introduction of that name here, and also may have led to the error of introducing Henry IV., Stephen being confounded with the other Salomon. (*Scoti-chron. lib. vi. capp. 20, 22.*)—Who Agatha was is not clear, for her name does not appear among the daughters or sisters of any of the emperors of this period, and very likely she was only a daughter of some *germanus* of Stephen or his queen. (See the note on p. 83.)

Page 81, line 1. "*The king of churls*" or "*ceorls.*"]—So called from his popularity with the common people.

Page 81, line 5.—"*His brother, Suanus, king of Denmark.*"]—See the note above on p. 80, note (1).

Page 81, line 7. "*Suanns, king of Denmark,*" &c.]—Here again Foxe has Fabian and Grafton for authorities. The statement, however, seems incorrect, as we nowhere read in the ancient chronicles that Canute had a brother "*Suanus.*" This looks like a patch of Danish history, relating Canute's accession to the throne of Denmark in consequence of his father Swanus's death. Danish history informs us that he had a younger brother *Harold*, who was left regent of Denmark when Swanus and Canute first went to England; and that on the death of Swanus he attempted to seize the throne of Denmark; but that Canute immediately went over and settled matters in Denmark, before he ventured to encounter the English (*L'Art de Vér.*). The statement in the text is probably only a variation of this story. The Saxon Chronicle says, that Canute sent for Emma before the Kalends of August, A.D. 1017, and agreed to Edgar's laws A.D. 1018.

Page 81, line 17.]—The Saxon Chronicle dates Canute's visit to Rome A.D. 1031, and his death at Shaftesbury 2 Id. Nov. A.D. 1035.

Page 81, line 28. "*Against the Norwegians.*"]—Godwin and his English troops distinguished themselves against the *Vandals*, A.D. 1019. (Malmesbury, Huntingdon, Rapin.) The Saxon Chronicle dates the expedition against *Norway* A.D. 1028, and Godwin does not appear to have been concerned in it.

Page 82, note (2). "*Which son he had by his wife, Hardicanute's daughter.*"] It seems very improbable that Godwin should have married first the sister or daughter of Canute (see some lines higher), and then the daughter of Hardicanute. But the reader must remember, that he has here before him the different version of Alfred's story, which commenced with the preceding paragraph and continues to "losing all his lands in England" (next page). Consequently the Hardicanute of one writer may be identical with the Canute of another.

Page 83, line 22 from the bottom.]—Gunilda, or Cunegunda, was married to the emperor Henry III. A.D. 1036; she died two years after. Henry III. then married Agnes, by whom he had Henry IV., Sophia, and other children. Salomon, king of Hungary, married Sophia, and was thus brother to Henry IV. But it is plain that Agatha, who had brought Edward four children in A.D. 1057, could not have been a daughter of Henry IV. (See p. 80, note (1).)

Page 83, line 6 from the bottom. "*St. Benet's in Norfolk.*"]—A solitary place among the marshes, then called Cowholm and Calvescroft, was given by a petty prince, named Horn, to some religious hermits A.D. 800, and destroyed by the Danes A.D. 870. Seven companions were collected and placed here by

one Wolfric in the next century. After sixty years Canute founded and endowed the place as an abbey of black monks, in honour of St. Benedict, A.D. 1020.—*Tanner's Notitia Monastica.*

Page 83, line 5 from the bottom. "*St. Edmundsbury.*"—Sigebert, king of East Anglia, founded a monastery A.D. 633 at Betrichesworth, in which he spent his closing days. The corpse of king Edmund was buried here, when the town changed its name, A.D. 903. Canute expelled the secular priests, and placed Benedictine monks in their room A.D. 1020.—*Tanner.*

Page 84, line 16 from the bottom. "*The image of the crucifix before mentioned.*"—The allusion is to the occurrence mentioned in page 69; the words "being then at Winchester," which presently follow, leave it undecided whether that occurrence happened at Winchester.

Page 85, line 23.]—The Saxon Chronicle (New Edition) states under the year 1043, that Edward was that year crowned at Winchester with great pomp on Easter-day, 3 Non. April, *i. e.* April 3d; and Easter-day fell that year on April 3d. Foxe's "1042" has, therefore, been changed into "1043."

Page 86, line 8 from the bottom.]—"Eustace" is put in from *L'Art de Vérifier des Dates*. Foxe only says, "a certain earl of Boulogne."

Page 87, note (1). "*Son Wilmot, and grandson Hacus.*"—Foxe, from Polydore, reads "his two sons Biornon and Tostius;" but he clearly meant to adopt the reading in the text, because he refers to it next page, line 16, as preferable to Polydore's account.

Biornon was an earl, whom Swannus, one of Godwin's sons and father of Hacus, had slain three or four years before this.

Page 87, note (3). "*Marianus Scotus.*"—Under the year 1052 he writes—"Ego Marianus seculum reliqui;" col. 427, edit. Basileæ, 1559.

Page 89, line 20. "*Offa, king of Mercia.*"—See vol. i. pp. 316, 317. Foxe inadvertently places his name after Ine, "as of Ine, Offa, Alfred," &c.

Page 89, line 21. "*Mercenelega,*" "*West-Saxenelega,*" "*Danelega.*"—Bishop Nicholson, in his letter to Dr. Wilkins, prefixed to his edition of the Saxon Laws, asserts, that this threefold division of the English laws is imaginary, and proceeded from the Norman interpreters mistaking the meaning of the word "laga," which they thought was the same with the word ley, or law; whereas "laga" signifies region, territory, or province, as is plain (he says) from several places in the Saxon laws, wherein Danelaga means the same as among the Danes, or in the territories of the Danes. (See pp. 53, 135, of Dr. Wilkins's Anglo-Saxon Laws.) He also says that the author of the Dialogue de Scaccario was the first that led the way in this error, lib. i. cap. 16. But Mr. Thorpe, in the Glossary appended to his Anglo-Saxon Laws, *v.* Lagu, differs from the bishop, and maintains the other sense to be correct.

Page 92, note (2).]—Foxe inadvertently says "Gerardus" in the text, instead of "Giraldus." "Giraldus Cambrensis, in his booke called Itinerarius."—*Fabian.* The following extract from Higden's Polychronicon, sub a. 1066, will illustrate the text: "Vult tamen Giraldus Cambrensis in suo Itinerario, quòd Haraldus multis confossus vulneribus oculoque sinistro sagitta perduto, ad partes Cestrie victus evasit, ubi sanctâ conversatione vitam, ut creditur, anachoriticam in cella Sancti Jacobi, juxta ecclesiam Sancti Johannis, feliciter consummavit, quod ex ejus ultima confessione palam fuit." "In the selle of St. James, faste by Saynt Johan's church."—*Fabian.*

Page 93, line 1.]—"Cousin-germans removed," *i. e.* "one remove;" for Edward and Robert (William's father) were first cousins. (See the Table, p. 4.)

Page 93, line 33.]—"Cometh in the order and name of cardinals," &c.]—The name was in use much earlier, having been used (according to Moreri) to distinguish the more dignified parochial clergy of towns from those of chapels and oratories. But Foxe is here alluding to the decree passed A.D. 1059 by pope Nicholas II., vesting the nomination of the pope in the college of cardinals. (Gratiani Decret. Distinct. 23, cap. 1.) "Ex hoc decreto, quo electio pontificis Romani imprimis cardinalibus permittitur, ipsum cardinalium nomen post celebrari magis atque magis cœptum." (Sigon. de regno Italiæ, lib. ix. ann. 1059;

Chronie. Reicherspergens. ad ann. 1059.) On this subject see Ussher, "De Christ. Eccl. Success. et Statu," cap. iv. § 22. The reader can hardly need to be reminded, that Foxe's "1030 years after Christ" is equivalent to "A.D. 1060," thirty years being the period then commonly allowed for our Lord's life. (See page 726 of this volume, *bis*.)

Page 94, note (2). "*Petrus Premonstratensis*."]—Vossius (De Script. Latinis) says that he was author of a chronicle intitled "*Biblia Pauperum*." He is cited again at page 711.

Page 95, line 16. "*Saying mass*," &c.]—"Dum in basilicâ Sanctæ Crucis in Hierusalem Romæ sacrificaret, fato moriturum se statim cognovit."—*Platina*.

Page 96, line 3. "*And placed in his room Peter, the king of Hungary*," &c.]—This fact is related by Benno, in a letter printed at fol. 39 of the "*Fasciculus*" of Orthuinus Gratius, and of which Foxe translates a portion at page 124. Benno says that Henry sent Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, against Peter, who took him prisoner at the first onset. Henry does not appear to have retained any grudge against Peter, for (according to Lambert Schafnaburgensis) he made three expeditions into Hungary A.D. 1042, 1043, to restore him to his throne. Sylvester II. is said to have erected Hungary into a kingdom on purpose to be a balance against the Empire, which will account for the pope's sending to the king of Hungary on this occasion.

Page 96, line 16 from the bottom.]—Foxe calls Bruno, by mistake, "bishop of Cologne;" probably he was misled by the designation of another Bruno, who founded the Carthusian order, and was called "Bruno of Cologne." (See page 141, line 3 from the bottom.)

Page 97, line 18. "*Another bishop, a German*."]—This was Gebhard, bishop of Eichstat.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 98, line 5. "*Sienna*."]—Foxe says "Sens." The Latin says "ad Senas." *Senæ* is Sienna in Italy; the Latin for Sens is *Senones*. Several slight corrections are made in the following sentence from the Universal History.

Page 98, line 19. "*Johannes, archpriest of the church of St. John 'ad portam latinam'*."]—Foxe reads "archdeacon ad Portam Latinam." The correction is made from the List of the Popes given in *L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 98, line 6 from the bottom. "*Berengarius of Tours, archdeacon of Augers*."]—A correction for Foxe's "Berengarius Andegavensis, an archdeacon."—See *Cave's Hist. Litt.*

Page 100, line 10. "*Anselm, bishop of Lucca*."]—See the List of the Popes given in *L'Art de Vér. des Dates*. Foxe only says "another bishop, Anselm."

Page 100, line 19. "*Anno, archbishop of Cologne*."]—See *L'Art de Vérifier des Dates*. Foxe reads "Otho."

Page 101, line 7.]—This passage about Edgar, and his oration to the clergy, should have been introduced at p. 65. The original Latin will be found in the Chronicle of Ethelredus, Abbas Rievallensis. (Decem Scriptores, col. 360.)

Page 102, line 20.]—Foxe's reading, "My great grandfather . . . my great great grandfather, Alfred," corresponds better with the Latin, ("proavus meus . . . atavus meus Aluredus" . . .) than with the history. He calls Ethelwold (towards the end of the oration) "Edward," mistaking "Edelwaldus" for "Edelwardus."

Page 103, line 22. "*Pleimund . . . for twenty-nine years*."]—See the note in this Appendix on p. 32, line 21.

Page 103, line 25. "*Odo for twenty years*."]—See the note in this Appendix on p. 50, line 6.

Page 103, line 7 from the bottom. "*Dunstan, who was archbishop for twenty years*."]—See the note in this Appendix on p. 74, line 6 from the bottom.

Page 104, line 9.]—If the Danegilt began A.D. 991 (as stated at p. 75), and by the advice of Siric, archbishop of Canterbury (as here stated), then it is plain that Siric must have preceded Elfric: for Dunstan died, by the earliest computation, A.D. 986; this would just leave time for Siric (if he died

six years after) to give this advice before he died. But if Siric followed Elfric, and so did not come for twelve years after Dunstan, either the Danegilt could not have begun earlier than A.D. 998, or Siric could not have advised it.

Page 106, line 10. "*Here, by the way, speaking of laws,*" &c.]—The following royal ordinance granted to the church an independent and separate jurisdiction, such as it did not enjoy under the Saxon kings, but which the church was everywhere struggling to obtain. This ordinance may be said to have occasioned that licentiousness in the clergy, which forced Henry II. to enact the Constitutions of Clarendon, and to maintain the arduous contest with archbishop Becket, described at pp. 196—252.

Page 107, line 9 from the bottom. "*Two hundred and thirty years.*"—See before, p. 13, line 13.

Page 108, line 11 from the bottom.]—"Eodem anno concilium magnum in octavis Paschæ Wintoniæ celebratum est, jubente et præsentente rege Willielmo, domino Alexandro papa consentiente, et per suos legatos Hermenfredum Seduncensem episcopum et presbyteros Johannem et Petrum cardinales sedis apostolicæ suam auctoritatem exhibente. In quo concilio Stigandus, Doro-berniæ archiepiscopus, degradatur tribus de causis: sc. quòd episcopatum Wintoniæ cum archiepiscopatu, injustè possidebat; et quòd, vivente Roberto archiepiscopo, non solùm archiepiscopatum sumpsit, sed etiam ejus pallio, quod Cantuariæ remansit, dum vi et injustè ab Angliâ pulsus est, in missarum celebratione aliquandiu usus est; et à Benedicto quem sancta Romana ecclesia excommunicavit, eo quòd pecuniis sedem apostolicam invasit, pallium accepit." (Hoveden, Scriptores post Bedam, p. 453.) Wilkins has transferred the passage into his "*Concilia*," tom. i. p. 322. As Easter fell on April 4th, in A.D. 1070 (by Nicolas's Tables), the Octaves fell on April 11th.

Page 109, lines 1—7.]—This passage is very inaccurate in Foxe: some changes have been made in his text on the authority of the passage cited from Hoveden in the note preceding this.

Page 109, line 19. "*Thomas, a Norman, and canon of Baieux.*"—Godwin. Foxe says "a canon of Bayonne" ("Baion," Fabian); and in the next line "*Cadomonencie*" (Fabian's corrupt rendering of "*Cadomense*" [cœnobium]), meaning the abbey of St. Stephen at Caen.

Page 109, note (3).]—After the words in the text "was pressed to pay" Foxe adds, "a little before the council of Basil:" the reader will find the reason why these have been omitted, in the note in this Appendix on p. 261, note (1).

Page 110, line 13. "*At his second coronation, for Radulph would not suffer the first coronation to stand, because it was done by the bishop of York, without his assent.*"—Foxe has the authority of archbishop Parker for this statement, who seems, however, to have misapprehended the real state of the case. The occasion referred to was the coronation of Henry's second queen, at Windsor, Jan. 30th, A.D. 1121, at which the bishop of Salisbury claimed to do the honours, Windsor being in his "parish." Radulph resisted this, and (as too old for the exertion) appointed the bishop of Winchester to perform the ceremonial for him. As the archbishop was about to begin the service at the altar, he spied the king sitting with his crown on his head, on which he questioned him who had placed it there, as in his [the archbishop's] presence nobody else had a right to do it. The king said that inadvertently he had put it on himself: the archbishop then, taking it off, replaced it on his head. (Parker, *Antiq. Brit.*, Hanovix, 1605, p. 124, and Eadmer, pp. 136, 137.) The real explanation of this affair is, that our kings anciently wore their crowns at the three great festivals, and on state occasions; and that the archbishop of Canterbury claimed to put the crown on, either by himself or by deputy, on all such occasions, as well as at the original coronation. Thus Eadmer informs us (p. 105), that at the Christmas after Anselm's death the king held a solemn assembly, at which the archbishop of York claimed to put on the crown and perform mass; but the bishop of London claimed, and was allowed. Nothing would be more natural than that the king should wear his crown at his *new queen's coronation*, and that the archbishop of Canterbury should assert his prerogative, especially as the bishop of Salisbury had shown a disposition to interfere with it. But archbishop Parker

has given the affair a different turn, and says that Radulph was displeased at the king's putting on his own crown as having never been *properly* crowned at all, "quòd absente, *ut suprà diximus*, Anselmo à Thoma Eboracensi archiepiscopo in consecratione diadema ei impositum est" (Antiqu. Brit. p. 124); where archbishop Parker forgets that (at p. 117, line 46) he had said—"Rufo autem mortuo successit frater ejus Henricus, a *Mauricio Londinensi* consecratus." All the historians say the same thing, except that M. Paris and M. Westm. join the archbishop of York with Maurice in the ceremonial. Maurice, no doubt, acted by Anselm's direction; and Eadmer, who says that on Anselm's arrival the king apologised to him for not deferring his coronation, gives no hint of Anselm's expressing any dissatisfaction. Some years after, Becket, writing to the pope (Epist. D. Thomæ, lib. v. 45), distinctly asserts that the rights of his see in regard to the *coronation* had never yet been infringed; for that Stigand, as an usurper, had no right to crown the Conqueror; and that Anselm crowned Henry I. by the bishop of *Hereford* as his deputy, and repeated the ceremonial on arriving in England. (See the note on p. 159, line 15.) Archbishop Parker and Foxe are therefore incorrect, in representing this affair at Windsor as Henry's "*second coronation*;" and in so doing have made the same mistake as Malmesbury seems to have made respecting Edgar's crowning at Bath, Whitsunday, May 11th, A.D. 973, which (strictly speaking) was not his *coronation*, but his *resuming the use of his crown at the great festivals*; and it would be archbishop Dunstan's prerogative, on such an occasion, to place it on his head. (See the notes on pp. 51, 62, 63.)—Foxe is mistaken in saying the "twenty-seventh" year of Henry, as it was Jan. 30th, A.D. 1121, which was 21 Hen. I.; and Radulph died October A.D. 1122, which was 23 Henry I.—See *Richardson's Godwin de Præsulibus*.

Page 110, line 31.]—It was on this occasion that the Humber was made the division of the two provinces.—*Godwin de Præsulibus*.

Page 113, line 24. "*Of such like contentions*," &c.]—The following quarrel is related by a contemporary writer, supposed to be Waltram, bishop of Naumburg, in the "*De Conservandâ Unitate Ecclesiæ*," lib. ii. cap. 13. (See the note on p. 155, line 8.)

Page 114, line 9. "*Notwithstanding*," &c.]—The reader will find extracts from the letters presently named in Eadmer's "*Historia Novorum*" (edit. Selden), p. 127.

Page 114, line 21. "*For the order of sitting*," &c.]—As the order of precedence among the English prelates here laid down has obtained ever since, the reader may feel interested to see the original canon, together with the preamble which introduces it, as given by Wilkins, Conc. tom. i. p. 363.

"Et quia multis retro annis in Anglico regno usus conciliorum obsoleverat, renovata sunt nonnulla, quæ antiquis etiam canonibus noscuntur definita.

"Ex concilio igitur Toletano quarto Milevitano atque Bracharensi statutum est, ut singuli secundum ordinationis suæ tempora sedeant, præter eos, qui ex antiqua consuetudine, sive suarum ecclesiarum privilegiis, digniores sedes habent: de qua re interrogati sunt senes et ætate proveci, quid vel ipsi vidissent, vel a majoribus atque antiquioribus veraciter ac probabiliter accepissent [see the remarks on *recordatio et recognitio* in the note on p. 216]; super quo responso petitæ sunt induciæ, ac concessæ, usque in crastinum. Crastina autem die concorditer perhibuere, quod Eboracensis archiepiscopus ad dextram Doro-bernensis sedere debeat; Lundeniensis episcopus ad sinistram; Wentanus juxta Eboracensem. Si vero Eboracensis desit; Lundeniensis ad dextram, Wentanus ad sinistram."—Ex *vetusto registro Wigorn. eccles. collat. cum MS. Cantuar. eccles. A. vii. 6*.

Page 114, note (3).]—Foxe renders the word "*villæ*" in the second canon "*villages*," both in this place and at page 140; but at p. 113 he renders it "*townships*."

Page 115, line 1.]—Godwin ("*De Præsulibus*") states that Lanfranc only ornamented the cathedral with new buildings, but "*palatium archiepiscopale quod est Cantuariæ fere totum construxit*." Foxe repeats his statement at page 718.

Page 115, line 16. "*As Marcellus*," &c.]—See vol. i. pp. 21—25.



Page 115, note (1).]—Foxe, in this and the next three pages, seems to have had before him Illyricus's "Cat. Test." cols. 1304, 1305 (Edit. Geneva, 1603).

Page 116, line 13. "*And this election,*" &c.]—This and the next two sentences are considerably improved from Aventine, whom Foxe is here translating, though probably he was immediately citing Illyricus. (See Aventine, "Annalium Boiorum, lib. vii." Ed. Cisner, fol. Bas. 1580, p. 446, and Francofurti 1627, p. 345.)

Page 117, line 12. "*Dominion of the West.*"—So Aventine. Foxe says "both of the East and West church."

Page 117, line 28. "*Also bishops,*" &c.]—Hence to the bottom of the page will be found in Aventine (ut antea), p. 448; whence the proper names have been a little amplified.

Page 119, line 1.]—This and the next page are taken by Foxe (or rather Illyricus, col. 1335) from Lambert's "Historia Germanorum," sub annis 1074, 1075. This Lambert was born at Aschaffenburg near Mentz, and became a monk March 15th, A.D. 1058, in the abbey of Hirsfeld. The same year he was ordained priest, and set off to Jerusalem, and afterwards returned to Hirsfeld. He wrote a history, "ab orbe condito ad annum usque 1077: qua res gestas ante annum 1050 ordine chronologico, eoque brevissimo, percurrit; deinceps verò res Germanicas ad annum 1077 fusissimè enarrat." (Cave, Hist. Lit.) He is a much esteemed author, and has been several times printed.

Page 120, note (1).]—As several corrections have been made in Foxe's text hereabout, the reader is presented with the original:—

"Ad ultimum congregata synodo in Erfordia mense Octobri, A.D. 1074, pressius jam imminebat, ut, relegata omni tergiversatione, in præsentiarum aut conjugium abjurarent, aut sacri altaris ministerio se abdicarent. Multas e contra illi rationes asserebant, quibus instantis perurgentisque improbitatem eludere sententiamque cassare niterentur. Cumque adversus Apostolicæ sedis auctoritatem, qua se ille ad hanc exactionem præter voluntatem propriam compulsum obtendebat, nihil argumenta, nihil supplicationes precesque proficerent; egressi tanquam ad consultandum, consilium ineunt ut in synodum non redeant, sed injussi omnes in domos suas discedant. Nonnulli etiam confusis vocibus clamabant, melius sibi videri, ut in synodum regressi ipsum episcopum, priusquam execrabilem adversum eos sententiam promulgaret, cathedra episcopali deturbarent, et merita morte multato insigne monumentum ad posterum transmitterent, ne quis deinceps successorum ejus talem sacerdotali nomini calumniam struere tentaret. Cùm ad episcopum relatum esset hoc eos machinari, communitus à suis ut tumultum qui oriebatur matura moderatione præverteret, misit ad eos foras, rogavitque, ut sedato pectore in synodum regrederentur; sc, cùm primùm opportunitas arrisisset, Romam missurum, et dominum Apostolicum, si qua posset ratione, ab hac sententiæ austeritate deducaturum. Postero die, admissis in auditorium communiter laicis et clericis . . . subito efflata mente se foras proripiunt . . . Ita soluta est synodus."

Under the next year Lambert adds:—

"Synodus tamen eodem anno, A.D. 1075, mense Octobri, Moguntia congregavit [Sigifridus archiep. Moguntinus], ubi inter alios episcopos qui conveniant aderat Curienensis episcopus, Apostolicæ sedis literas et mandata deferens, quibus ei sub interminatione gradus et ordinis sui præcipiebat, sicut antea quoque multis legationibus præceperat, ut presbyteros omnes, qui intra suam diœcesim essent, cogeret, aut in præsentiarum conjugibus renunciare, aut se in perpetuum sacri altaris ministerio abdicare. Quod dum facere vellet, exurgentibus qui undique assidebant clerici ita eum verbis confutabant, ita manibus et totius corporis gestu in eum debacchabantur, ut se vita comite synodo excessurum desperaret. Sic tandem rei difficultate superatus statuit, sibi deinceps tali quæstione omnino supercedendum, et Romano pontifici relinquendum ut causam, quam ipse toties inutiliter proposuisset, ille per semetipsum, quando et quomodo vellet, peroraret."—*Lambertus Schafnaburgensis De Rebus Germanicis*, printed in the collection of Pistorius, tom. i. p. 391, edit. Ratisbonæ, 1726.

Page 120, note (2).]—Bishop Hall, in his "Honour of the married Clergy," book 3, § 8, observes, that Aventine declares "Hildebrand" to mean "titio amoris," or the brand of love; but that Chemnitius named him "Titio infernalis," or "Hell-brand." (Examen Conc. Trid. pars III. p. 117, Francof. 1606.)

Page 120, note (3).]—It is of consequence to observe, that the substance of the foregoing account from Lambert will be found also in the “German Chronicle of Huldricus Mutius,” lib. xv. (tom. ii. p. 119, of Pistorius’s collection of “Germanici Scriptores”); for Foxe (or rather Illyricus) afterwards refers to this contest at Mentz as recorded by Mutius, not Lambert. (See page 133, note (1).) Mutius says of this Council of Mentz, that it was attended not only by the clergy of the diocese of Mentz, but by—“alii ecclesiastici prælati, inter quos erat Curiensis episcopus, qui linguæ facundiâ vir potens erat: veniebant autem ut caverent schisma ecclesiæ, quod prævidebant futurum ex sacerdotum Moguntinæ ecclesiæ contentione cum Romano pontifice. Aderat etiam apostolicus ex Roma legatus cum bullis pontificiis, quæ continebant horrendas minas,” &c. Lambert above represents the bishop of Coire himself as the pope’s legate at the council.

Page 121, line 22. “*To their master.*”]—The edition of 1563 (p. 24) adds, “Thus much out of Benno, which if it be but a fable, ye have the author thereof.”

Page 121, line 23.]—Foxe’s text has, “And it followeth, moreover, in the Epistle of the said Benno to the cardinals.” But the passage just before cited is, in fact, the conclusion of the epistle. This and the ensuing epistle are printed in the “Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum” of Orthwinus Gratius, and in Illyricus’s “Catalogus Testium;” whence Foxe’s translations have been revised and corrected.

Page 121, line 32. “*John, the master of the singing school.*”]—“Primicerius scholæ cantorum” is Benno’s expression. Ducange observes, that this officer is sometimes improperly confounded with the “Præcentor.” This officer is again mentioned at page 125, line 3.

Page 122, note (1).] “*Propter ecclesiasticum testimonium et propter stilum veritatis,*” are Benno’s words. No constitution exactly of the nature described has been discovered; but the reader may refer for more information to the note in the Appendix on vol. i. p. 193.

Page 122, note (2).]—See the excommunications at pp. 127, 131.

Page 124, note (2).]—Lambert says that Henry went “nudis pedibus et laneis ad carnem indutus:” Benno himself says here “laneis vestibus,” which Foxe probably mistook for “*lineis* vestibus,” for he says “thin garments.” The penance thus enjoined on Henry by Hildebrand is the same as that which in old English is termed “to go woolward.” See this expression *infra*, vol. v. p. 654 (*bis*). Nares, in his Glossary, *v.* “Woolward,” quotes this Latin definition of it, “Nudis pedibus et *absque linteis vestibus* circumire.” This penance was enjoined on our Henry II. by pope Alexander III. after the murder of Becket, and on the murderers themselves: see the notes on pp. 253, 254.

Page 125, line 8.] “*Pedissequus ejus Turbanus.*”—Benno.

Page 126, line 6. “*Herman, bishop of Bamberg.*”]—Naclerus in his history of these transactions calls Herman bishop of *Bremen*, and afterward speaks of *Robert*, bishop of Bamberg. But Foxe is supported by the contemporary writer “*De unitate Ecclesiæ conservanda.*” (See the note on p. 155, line 8.)

Page 126, line 29. Naclerus says that some both of the Saxon and German bishops resisted the decree in the council, especially those of Wurtzburg and Mentz.

Page 127, note (3).]—This use of the term “commencement” is retained in the phrase—“the Cambridge commencement.”

Page 127, note (4).]—Lambert says that the “Teutonic principes,” who met at Oppenheim, September 15th, A.D. 1076, resolved to request the pope to meet them and Henry at “Augusta,” on the feast of the Purification [February 2d] next ensuing, and that the pope set out thither. Some authors, and among them Platina, interpret “Augusta” of Augsburg in Germany; whom Foxe here follows. Naclerus, however, calls it “Augusta Prætoria,” *i. e.* Aosta in Piedmont; and he says that Hildebrand “Augustam Prætoriam venire statuens, venit cum cardinalibus Vercellas.” See *L’Art de Vérifier des Dates*, where this sense of “Augusta” is adopted. See also the note on p. 144, line 28.

Page 128, line 24. "*Adelaide, countess of Savoy.*"—Foxe reads "Adelaus, earl of Savoy," for which he has the authority of Platina and Naclerus. It appears, however, from the list of Earls of Savoy in *L'Art de Vérifier des Dates*, that there never was a count or earl of Savoy of that name; but Amédée I., count of Savoy, appears to have died about A.D. 1072, leaving behind him a widow, Adelaide, who would be dowager countess of Savoy; she afterwards married a second time to Rodolph the Anti-Cæsar. It is most probable, therefore, that for "Adelaus" we should here read "Adelais:" indeed, the following passage from Aventine, relative to this matter, puts it beyond a doubt:—

"Gregorius adhibita Machtyldâ et Adellaide, primariis Italiæ fœminis, Cæsarem epulo pontificio veluti pignoribus redintegratæ amicitiae excipit."

Lambert mentions, as the parties concerned, "Matildam, socrumque suam, et marchionem Azonem, et Cluniacensem Abbatem."

Page 129, line 21. "*Altman, bishop of Passau.*"—Foxe reads "Altman, bishop of Padua." This mistake might easily be made, as "Pataviensis" would stand for either see. Moreri has made the same mistake. It appears, however, from the lists of bishops of the two sees given in the "*Bibliothèque Sacrée*" of Richard and Giraud (Paris, 1824), that S. Altman was bishop of Passau, A.D. 1069—1091, and that there never was a bishop of that name at Padua.

Page 129, line 24. "*This being done,*" &c.]—This account is supported by Aventine; but others represent the crown as being sent on occasion of the second excommunication; see bottom of the next page.

Page 130, line 23.]—Aventine dates this second battle "7 Id. Augusti, 3 die septimanæ, 1078;" i. e. Tuesday, August 7th, A.D. 1078, which would be correct by Nicolas's Tables: the abbot of Ursperg says it was fought at Stronui.

Page 130, note (1).]—The passage in the text between square brackets is introduced on the authority of the best historians, and is necessary to make Foxe consistent with himself; for, having mentioned the first and second battles between Henry and Rodolph in this page, the next which he mentions is the decisive engagement at Merseburg (p. 133) which issued in the death of Rodolph, and which Foxe in the margin calls "the fourth battle." He has Aventine's authority for this:—"Quarto Idus Octobris ducum copiæ in Mysnia juxta Ellestram annem aperto Marte quartò confligunt." Aventine, however, mentions a *third* battle, as well as Platina. A contemporary writer, supposed to be Waltram, bishop of Naumburg (see the note on page 155, line 8), in the "*De conservandâ Ecclesiæ unitate*," lib. ii. cap. 16 (Freheri "*Germ. Script.*" Argent. 1717, tom. ii. p. 284), thus briefly enumerates the four principal battles: 1. In Thuringia, 5 Id. Jun. 1075. 2. In Orientali Francia, 7 August, 1078. 3. In Thuringia, 6 Id. Feb. 1080. 4. 4 Id. Aug. 1080. This account is followed by the Benedictine authors of *L'Art de Vérifier des Dates*.

Page 132, line 28. "*The emperor, on his part,*" &c.]—Foxe most unaccountably makes this council of Brixen to follow the battle of Merseburg; whereas the date of the Sentence, and the date of the battle in Aventine and all the other historians, show that it must be otherwise (see the last note): a portion of the text, therefore, which precedes this paragraph in Foxe, has been transposed to the next page: see the next note.

Page 133, line 15. "*After and upon this,*" &c.]—The whole passage, from these words to "could find no favour with him," (line 34)—would, according to Foxe's arrangement, stand at p. 132, after the paragraph ending "with full authority." The reason for this transposition has been already given in the last note.

Page 133, line 19.]—Aventine says this battle was fought on the banks of the Elster, near Merseburg, which is near Leipsic. Foxe says "at Hyperbolis," meaning *Herbipolis*, or Wurtzburg, near which the *first* of the four battles was fought, but not the *fourth*.

Page 133, line 13 from the bottom.]—Foxe says that Henry "besieged the city all Lent, and after Easter got it." This is too elliptical a mode of speaking: Aventine and Urspergensis say, that Henry sat down before Rome "Vigiliâ Pentecostes, 1081," and took it after two years ("biennium") soon after Easter

A.D. 1083, Friday, June 2d, just before Trinity Sunday; which concurs with time fit, by Nicolas's Tables. A change has, therefore, been made in the text; which also makes it fit better chronologically with what follows.

Page 133, note (1).]—This remark of Foxe's (or rather Illyricus's) stood as a parenthesis in the body of the Sentence, but is better placed at the foot of the page. For explanation of the remark itself, see the note in this Appendix on page 120, note (3).

Page 134, line 2. "*To Sienna.*"] Foxe says "Senas," leaving it untranslated. See the note in this Appendix on p. 98, line 5.

Page 134, line 6. "*Carried him away to Campagna.*"—Urspergensis says he retired to Salerno, and there remained till his death, May 25th, A.D. 1085.

Page 134, line 14 from the bottom. "*Or not long after.*"—About two years and five months intervened; Hildebrand died May 25th, A.D. 1085, William, September 9th, A.D. 1087.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*

Page 134, last line but one.]—Mantes is a town in the Isle of France, twelve miles from the Norman boundary.

Page 135, line 8 from the bottom.]—Foxe here makes the extraordinary statement that William built a monastery "named Barmoundsey, in his country of Normandy." He evidently had before him the following passage of Fabian's Chronicle, cap. 222: "He builded twoo abbaies in Englande, one at Battaile, in Sussex, where he wanne the fieelde against Harold, and is at this daye called the Abbay of Battaile; and an other he set beside London, upon the south side of Thamis, and named it Barmondesay; and in Normandie he builded ii. also." Grafton copies this, only varying the last clause thus:—"And he builded also one in Cane, in Normandie, where he was buried, and dedicated the same unto Saint Steven." It is a mistake, however, to represent the king as the founder of Bermondsey; for it originated in an endowment by Aylwin Child, about A.D. 1082; William Rufus afterwards aided it by adding to it the manor of Bermondsey and other revenues.—*Tanner's Notitia Monastica.* Hollinshed correctly mentions Selby in Yorkshire, as the other English abbey founded by the Conqueror, about A.D. 1069.—*Tanner.*

Page 138, line 9 from the bottom. "*Eulogium.*"—See the note on page 317, note (1).

Page 141, line 3 from the bottom.]—Foxe erroneously calls Bruno "*bishop of Cologne,*" confounding him with another Bruno, who was a bishop: see page 96, line 16 from the bottom.

Page 142, line 1.]—The true Clement III., acknowledged as such by the Romish Church, was not made pope till A.D. 1187, nearly a century later: see pp. 273, 294.

Page 142, note (1).]—Foxe has derived the whole of the paragraph in the text from Fabian, who miscalls Rievale "*Merivale.*" Tanner in his *Notitia Monastica* says, that Walter Espec founded the first Cistercian abbey in England at River (near Helmsley, in Yorkshire), olim Rievall, or Rivaulx, quasi the valley through which the Rie flows. (See *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1754, p. 426.) It is called the abbey of Rivaulx infra, vol. v. p. 148.

Page 142, note (3).]—Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy, was the chief leader of this crusade: he acted as the representative of pope Urban, who excused his personal service. (Fleury, *Ecl. Hist.*) Moreri says that it is not correct, though common, to call Bohemund duke of Apulia; for though his father, Robert Guiscard, was duke of Apulia, the son was only prince of Tarentum. Fabian, and after him Foxe, uses the term "*Puell;*" "*Pouille*" is the French for "*Apulia.*" Raymund was earl of Toulouse: his original title was that here given, which is corrupted by Anna Comnena into *Sangeles.*—*Moreri.*

Page 143, line 7.]—For "*Liege*" Foxe has (from Fabian) "*Eburone,*" "*Eburonum Urbs*" being a Latin name for Liege. Godfrey—son of Eustace II. count of Boulogne, and Ida countess of Bouillon—with his mother's consent sold his estate of Bouillon to Otbert, bishop of Liege, for 7000 marks of silver according to some, others say only 1300 or 1500.—*L'Art de Vérif. des Dates,* and *Gallia Christiana.*

Page 143, line 14. "*Civita.*"]—"Cybelus, which our writers call *Civitol*," was a village near Nice, in Bithynia. (See Nalson's *Crusades*, book i. p. 22.)

Page 143, line 21.] Phirouz, called Pyrrhus by Foxe after the Latin writers, was a Christian at Antioch, of noble birth, who had turned Turk.

Page 143, line 26.]—Kerboga, called by M. Paris Corboran, was prince of Mosul on the Tigris, and commander-in-chief to the Persian monarch.

Page 144, line 15.]—The words, "stand sponsors in baptism to the same child," are introduced instead of Foxe's "christen one child." The following is the decree of Urban II., on the authority of which this change has been made; it is the last but one of those cited in note (4):—*Causa xxx. quæst. 4. cap. 6. "Quòd autem uxor cum marito in baptisinate simul non debeat suscipere puerum, nullâ auctoritate reperitur prohibitum. Sed ut puritas spiritualis paternitatis ab omni labe et infamiâ conservetur immunis, dignum esse decernimus ut utrique insimul ad hoc aspirare minimè præsumant."*

Page 144, line 28. "*This Anselm was an Italian, born in the city of Aosta.*"]—The place of Anselm's nativity is called by Foxe "*Augusta*," which means Aoust or Aosta, in Piedmont. (See the note on page 127, note (4).) Foxe's subsequent account of Anselm is derived from Malmesbury and Eadmer: the latter was the secretary of Anselm, and companion of his exile. The title of Eadmer's work is:—"Eadmeri Monachi Cantuariensis Historiæ Novorum sive sui sæculi Libri vi. Res gestas (quibus ipse non modo spectator diligens sed comes etiam et actor plerumque interfuit) sub Gulielmis I. et II. et Henrico I. Angliæ Regibus, ab anno nempe salutis 1066 ad 1122 potissimum complexi. Edidit Joannes Seldenus, Lond. 1623."

Page 144, note (5).]—Milner, in his Church History, thus defends Anselm's saying in the text: "Eadmer says, that he used to say, 'If he saw hell open, and sin before him, he would leap into the former to avoid the latter.' I am sorry to see this sentiment, which, stripped of figure, means no more than what all good men allow, that he feared sin more than punishment, aspersed by so good a divine as Foxe the martyrologist. But Anselm was a papist, and the best protestants have not been without their prejudices."

Page 144, note (6).]—Malmesbury's words are:—"Peculiaritatis vitium cum in se voluntate, tum in aliis prædicatione, extirpabat; id esse solum dictitans, quod Diabolum è cælo hominem è paradiso eliminaverat, quòd ipsi, Dei transfugæ præcepti, voluntati indulsissent propriæ. Itaque proprio mentis arbitrio indulgentiam auferens," &c.

Page 145, line 26. "*It was to be referred,*" &c.]—"Differendum id ad frequentiore conventum respondit."—*Malmesb.* The council to which it was referred was that of Rockingham, held Sunday, 5 Id. Mart. i. e. 11th of March, A.D. 1095. *L'Art de Vér.*)

Page 147, line 1.]—The king returned home June 10th, A.D. 1095.—*Simcon Duncelm., Flor. Wigorn., and Malmesb.*

Page 147, line 22 from the bottom.]—"Quòd dicis me non debere ire Romam, quòd gravi peccato caream et scientiâ affluam," &c.—*Malmesbury.* Also at the end of the same document—"Dens forsitan procurabit ut non sic res ecclesiasticæ, ut minaris, tuis famulentur compendiis,"—*Malmesbury.*

Page 148, line 1. "*There was not!*" ]—"Papæ" is Malmesbury's word.

Page 148, line 10.]—Anselm left London "feria quinta, 1d. Oct." i. e. Thursday, October 15th, A.D. 1097, and arrived at Clugny three days before Christmas—*Eadmer*, pp. 41, 42.

Page 148, line 21. "*William Warlawast.*" ]—"Electus Exoniensis."—*Malmesbury.*

Page 148, line 28. "*From thence came,*" &c.]—Eadmer says that Anselm left Lyons "feria tertia ante Dominicam diem Palmarum," i. e. Tuesday before Palm Sunday (March 16th, A.D. 1098, by Nicolas's Tables).

Page 149, line 32.]—For the proceedings of the council of Bari, see Labbe, *Concil. Gen. tom. x. col. 611.*



Page 150, line 8 from the bottom. "*Alleging for them the fifth canon.*"—The 5th of the Apostolic Canons is perhaps alluded to; it stands thus in Labbe, Conc. Gen. tom. i. col. 25 :—Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα μὴ ἐκβαλλέτω προφάσει τῆς εὐλαβείας. Ἐὰν δὲ ἐκβάλλῃ, ἀφοριζέσθω ἐπιμένων δὲ, καθαιρεῖσθω. Episcopus, vel presbyter, vel diaconus, uxorem suam ne ejiciat religionis prætextu : sin autem ejecerit, segregetur; et si perseveret, deponatur.

Page 151, note (2).]—Foxe here and in the next page calls Waltram "bishop of Nurenburg." Dodechinus calls him "Episcopus Numbergensis;" Baronius "Hurrenburgensis," to which he puts a marginal conjecture "Nurenburgensis," which conjecture Dodechinus himself adopts elsewhere. (See the note on page 155, line 8.)

Page 153, lines 5, 10 and 19. "*Revested.*"—"*Revestio*" is Malmesbury's word. The following interview between the pope and the king's messenger took place at Christmas, A.D. 1098.—*Eadmer*, p. 52, *Malmesbury*.

Page 153, lines 22 and 32. "*The next council,*" &c.]—This was held April 25th, A.D. 1099 (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*), which was Monday in the third week after Easter that year. (See *Nicolas's Tables*.) Urban died July 29th following.

Page 155, line 8. "*Waltram, bishop of the church of Naumburg.*"—From the *Chronicon* Citizenise of Paulus Langius it appears, that Waltram was bishop of this see for twenty-one years, having been appointed A.D. 1089. Naumburg is a city of Thuringia, in Upper Saxony, whither the episcopal see was removed from Zeitz, A.D. 1026 (*Fabricii Lux. Ev. Exoriens*); hence the bishop is intitled Citizenis, or Naumburgensis. Waltram has been variously intitled by different authors, Megburgensis, Nurenburgensis, Magdeburgensis, Hurrenburgensis. Foxe here (following Dodechinus's Appendix to *Marianus Scotus*) calls him bishop of Megburgh; but at pp. 151, 152, bishop of Nurenburgh. See the observations of *Struvius* on his true title in the first volume of his *Collection of German Historians*. There is a treatise extant "*De Unitate Ecclesiæ conservandâ*" (printed in vol. ii. of "*Freheri Script. Germ.*" with a preface), which is generally ascribed to this Waltram; it was certainly written by some contemporary, and with the same object as this letter to Louis, viz. to recal the Germans to a sense of their duty to the emperor; and it throws much light on the emperor's history. Foxe's translation of Waltram's Letter to Louis has been collated with the Latin in Dodechinus and *Freherus*, and corrected.

Page 155, line 7 from the bottom. "*Rodolph, Hildebrand, Egbert.*"—See pp. 133, 134. Egbert was son of a Saxon marquis, who was *patruelis* to Henry, the reigning emperor; the father contrived, with other nobles, to get young Henry when only six years old, Christmas A.D. 1056, under his tutورشip. The son was very uncertain in his allegiance. ("*De Unitate conserv.*" lib. ii. cap. 33.) He was defeated at a battle in Thuringia, Sunday, Christmas eve, A.D. 1088, and died soon after by being crushed in a mill, A.D. 1090. (*Ibid.* cap. 33—36.)—*Freheri "Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores,"* tom. ii. pp. 304—309.

Page 156. "*The railing answer of Earl Louis,*" &c.]—Louis, surnamed Debonnaire, was landgrave of Thuringia from A.D. 1168 to A.D. 1190 or 1197. (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.) Dodechinus states, that the following reply to Waltram's letter was written at the prince's desire by Stephen Harrand, bishop of Halberstadt, in Saxony. Foxe's translation has been revised from the Latin in Dodechinus and *Freherus*.

Page 156, note (1).]—The passage in the text cited from St. Augustine is in his "*Sermo 62, in Matt. viii.*" (*Opera*, Ed. Bened. tom. v. col. 362.) It is quoted more at length by the archbishop of Sens at page 620 of this Volume.

Page 157, line 13 from the bottom.]—Foxe reads "*Babemberge*" from the original. "*Babenberga*" is a common variation of "*Bamberga*."

Page 159, line 11.]—Grafton calls this Welsh king "*Rees.*"

Page 159, line 15.]—"Began his reign" August 5th, on which day he was crowned by Maurice, bishop of London, assisted by Roger, archbishop of York. Becket, however, says, "by the bishop of Hereford, as Anselm's deputy:" "Post

cujus [Rufi] obitum, cum Sanctus Anselmus Cantuariensis Archi-Episcopus exularet ex eâdem causâ quâ et nos, unus suffraganeorum Cantuariensis Ecclesie S. Girardus Herefordensis, vice Archi-Episcopi sui tunc absentis, Regem Henricum non contradicente Archi-Episcopo Eboracensi consecravit. Revertente autem ab exilio Beato Anselmo, accessit ad eum Rex Henricus, tradens ei Diadema, et rogans ut eum coronaret, nec imputaret illi quòd ipsum necessitate Regni præpediente non expectaverat. Fatebatur enim coram omnibus hanc esse Cantuariensis Ecclesie dignitatem, ut Anglorum Reges inungat et consecret. Et hâc quidem satisfactione placatus sanctus Archi-Episcopus approbavit, quod a suffraganeo suo factum fuerat, et Regi Coronam imposuit."—*Epistolæ D. Thomæ*, lib. v. 45. (See the note on p. 110, line 13.)

Page 159, line 12 from the bottom. "*By the consent of Anselm.*"—Given at the council of Lambeth, where Maud proved that she had not properly entered a religious life. The marriage and coronation were both performed by Anselm on Sunday, St. Martin's day (Nov. 11th), A. D. 1100.

Page 159, line 2 from the bottom.]—Robert landed about the end of July A. D. 1101, at Portsmouth, and left again about Michaelmas. Henry afterwards defeated him at Tenechebray, September 28th, A. D. 1106, and taking him prisoner confined him twenty-eight years in Cardiff Castle, till his death in the year A. D. 1134.

Page 160, line 19. "*Divers strict laws,*" &c.]—Some of these were Anselm's synodical constitutions. In fact, this seems only a summary of the chief acts of the council and convocation mentioned in the next paragraph, and which were held simultaneously at Westminster, A. D. 1102.

Page 160, line 33. "*In the story of William Rufus,*" &c.]—This paragraph and the next two are an anticipation of the subsequent history, and tend rather to perplex the reader. Anselm landed at Dover, September 23d, A. D. 1100 (Eadmer, p. 55); but the council and convocation presently spoken of were not held till Michaelmas, A. D. 1102. It was at the said council that the ambassadors reported their contradictory answers from Rome, as related at p. 164; and it was at the said convocation that the canons given at pp. 167, 168 were passed.

Page 160, line 16 from the bottom. "*And so returned again,*" &c.]—Anselm landed at Dover 9 Cal. Oct. (Sep. 23d,) A. D. 1100. (Eadmer, p. 55.) The council and convocation, however, next mentioned, did not meet till September 28th, A. D. 1102.

Page 161, line 11. "*About the end of the second year of this king, which was by computation A. D. 1102, a variance happened between king Henry and Anselm, the occasion whereof was this.*"—Foxe's account of the "variance" between Anselm and Henry I. is not very clearly arranged. It would have commenced better at the next paragraph—"the king required of Anselm to do unto him homage," &c.; which took place immediately on Anselm's return from his first exile, September 23d, A. D. 1100. The ambassadors sent to Rome for the pope's opinion on the subject (as related at the conclusion of the paragraph, p. 162) went about the end of A. D. 1100, and returned Aug. A. D. 1101. (Eadmer.) A second embassy to Rome then ensued (pp. 162, 163), which made its report about Michaelmas A. D. 1102 at the council of Westminster (as stated at p. 160, line 37). The contradictory nature of the answers only perplexed the matter more (as told at p. 164). The king, standing upon the answer brought by "the three bishops," then proceeded forthwith to invest, and archbishop Gerard to consecrate, the bishops of Salisbury and Hereford (as mentioned pp. 160, 161); upon which Anselm held his convocation, at which he deprived several dignitaries who had taken their investiture from the king (p. 160), and also passed the constitutions afterward given at pp. 167, 168. The issue was, that Anselm left England again for his second exile April 29th, A. D. 1103 (p. 164), and reached Rome the following September. (Eadmer, pp. 70, 72, Malmesbury.) The above statement will tend to clear up Foxe's account, and to prevent the reader from being misled by it, as he otherwise might be. Foxe opens this paragraph by saying—"About the end of the third year of this king, which was by computation A. D. 1104;" but the third year of Henry I. ranged from August 5th, A. D. 1102, to August 1th, A. D. 1103; and the foregoing remarks rather show that the

rupture took place at the council of Westminster, September, 1102, *i.e.* about the end of the *second* year, or the *beginning* of the third.

Page 161, line 4 from the bottom. "*In his council of Rome a little before.*"]—This refers to the council held at Rome by Pascal's predecessor Urban, April 25th, A. D. 1099, and mentioned at page 153 (Eadmer's "*Historia Novorum*," p. 53). Eadmer gives the words of the decree passed at that council (which are presently cited by Anselm) at p. 59 of his "*Historia Novorum*."

Page 162, line 15.]—These messengers were despatched toward the close of A. D. 1100, and returned about August the following year.—*Eadmer*.

Page 162, line 7 from the bottom. "*Two monks, Baldwin of Bec, and Alexander of Canterbury.*"]—Foxe merely says "two monks, Baldwin and Alexander;" the rest is added on the authority of Eadmer, p. 62; Baldwin is afterwards miscalled by Foxe "Abbot of Ramsey." (See the notes on p. 164, line 18, and p. 166, line 30.)

Page 162, line 5 from the bottom. "*Sent two bishops.*"]—Eadmer (p. 62) and Malmesbury both say "tres," including Gerard, archbishop of York. Foxe himself afterwards says "three." (See the note on p. 164, line 11.) It would seem, however, from the tenor of the king's letter in p. 163, that Foxe is strictly correct in *not* reckoning Gerard as one of the original *ambassadors*, though he was competent to be afterwards a *third witness* of what had really taken place at the Papal court. (See p. 164.)

Page 162, last line. "*This your promotion.*"]—Pascal II. was elected August 13th, A. D. 1099.—*L'Art. de Vér.*

Page 164, line 1.]—The messengers returned with contradictory answers a little before Michaelmas, A. D. 1102; and what follows happened at the council in Westminster, mentioned before at p. 160.—*Eadmer*, p. 65.

Page 164, line 6. "*Which, mine author saith, the king did not shew.*"]—This author is Malmesbury; Eadmer does not mention the point, though it may be inferred from his narrative.

Page 164, line 11. "*The testimony of the three bishops.*"]—Foxe here says "the two bishops," of course referring to the bishops of Lichfield and Norwich, mentioned at p. 162; but 12 lines lower he says "the three bishops," and in a marginal note explains that he meant to include Gerard, archbishop of York; but he ought also to have been included in this place; "two," therefore, has been changed into "three."

Page 164, line 18. "*Baldwin, the Monk of Bec.*"]—See the note on p. 162, line 7 from the bottom. Foxe miscalls him "Abbot of Ramsey;" but the abbot of Ramsey was one *Ealdwin*, not *Baldwin*; who, so far from being a friend of Anselm's, was one of those deprived by him at the convocation of Westminster, A. D. 1102, though restored at the council of Westminster, A. D. 1107.—*Eadmer*, pp. 67, 92.

Page 164, line 25. "*Then Anselm seeing,*" &c.]—The circumstance which convinced him of the king's determination to persist was, his investing the two bishops, as mentioned at pp. 160, 161 (see Eadmer, "*Hist. Nov.*" pp. 65, 66).

Page 164, line 20 from the bottom. "*Then was it agreed,*" &c.]—This was about Midlent A. D. 1103, according to Eadmer (p. 69).

Page 164, line 15 from the bottom.]—Anselm left England April 29th, A. D. 1103, quitted the Abbey of Bec in August, and reached Rome about September.—*Eadmer*, pp. 70—72, and *Henry's History of England*.

Page 165, line 29. "*Overtaketh Anselm . . . at Placentia.*"]—It appears from Eadmer (p. 74) that this happened toward the end of November, A. D. 1103.

Page 165, line 15 from the bottom.]—Anselm remained a year and four months at Lyons, and left it in May, A. D. 1105, to visit Adela.—*Eadmer*, p. 79, and *Henry*.

Page 165, last paragraph.]—This letter of Anselm to Henry is given by Eadmer, p. 75.

Page 166, line 24.]—This "reconcilement" took place at L'Aigle in Normandy, July 22d, A. D. 1105.—*Eadmer*, p. 80, and *Henry*.

Page 166, line 29. "*Then were ambassadors,*" &c.]—Henry did not send these ambassadors to Rome till the Christmas following, being in no hurry, till he had gained more ground against his brother in Normandy.—*Eadmer*, p. 82.

Page 166, line 30. "*Baldwin, above named, the Monk of Bec.*"—Foxe here again miscalls him "Abbot of Ramsey;" see the note on p. 164, line 18. *Eadmer*, p. 83, calls him "*Baldwinus Monachus.*" It is observable that the king, in a letter given by *Eadmer*, p. 82, calls him "*Baldwinus de Tornaio.*"

Page 166, line 17 from the bottom. "*The late council holden at London.*"—*i. e.* the council at London mentioned at p. 160, and of which the acts are given at pp. 167, 168.

Page 166, last paragraph. "*Not long after, the messengers being now returned from Rome.*"—The pope (as the result of this last embassy) wrote to Anselm at Bec, permitting him to communicate with those whom the king had invested. The pope's letters, dictating the terms of compromise, are dated "x. Cal. Apr." or March 23d, A. D. 1106. (*Eadmer*, p. 87.) Illness prevented Anselm from going at once to England, and after that he thought proper to wait for Henry's coming over to Normandy. Henry defeated Robert at Tenerchebray, a castle of William, count of Mortaign, Sept. 28th, A. D. 1106.

Page 166, last line. "*At the abbey of Bec, he convented and agreed.*"—This reconciliation took place on the Feast of the Assumption, *i. e.* August 15th, A. D. 1106.—*Eadmer*, p. 89.

Page 167, line 14.]—Anselm landed at Dover, August, A. D. 1106.—*Eadmer*, p. 89, and *Henry*.

Page 167, line 22. "*In the seventh year of his reign,*" &c.]—Foxe says, "about the sixth year;" but, owing to the king's absence in Normandy completing his conquest, and a return of Anselm's illness, the council referred to by Foxe did not meet till August 1st, A. D. 1107, the very end of the seventh year of the reign.—*Eadmer*, p. 91.

Page 167, line 30. "*In another council.*"—Foxe says "In this council," which is a mistake. The canons affecting the clergy were adopted at the council held at Westminster the following Pentecost, May 24th, A. D. 1108. (*Eadmer*, p. 95.) Foxe repeats the error at p. 169, line 13, where it is again corrected. The decrees of this latter council are given at p. 169.

Page 167, note (1).]—Malmesbury says, "*Se nihil de his [ecclesiis] acceptum, quamdiu pastore carerent, promisit;*" for which Foxe gives, "That he should require nothing of the said churches, or provinces, in the time of the seat being vacant."

Page 167, note (2).]—The following canons are those of the council of Westminster, A. D. 1102, and are given in *Eadmer*, pp. 67, 68; see the note on p. 161.

Page 168, line 21. "*That abbots should make no knights.*"—"It was the ancient custom of abbots in those days to make knights, as you may find from the example of Abbot Brand's knighting his nephew Hereward, in the reign of King William I., the form of which I have there, also, set down; and yet this is certain, that, notwithstanding this canon, King Henry I., some years after, granted, and King John confirmed, to the abbot of Reading, the power of making knights, with some cautions for their behaviour therein."—*Tyrrell's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 126.

Page 168, line 33. "*That such persons as did wear long hair,*" &c.]—"This the Church then thought it had cognizance of, as being contrary to the dictates of St. Paul. (1 Cor. xi. 14.) This fashion, having very much prevailed in the last king's reign, was come to that height, that the same author (*Eadmer*) tells us the young gentlemen of the court used to wear their hair very long, and daily combed out like women; which archbishop Anselm not enduring, when several of those gallants came on Ash-Wednesday to hear his mass, he refused to sprinkle ashes on them, or to give them absolution, unless they would cut off their hair; whereupon a good many of them did. But it seems this fashion

could not suddenly be rooted out, and therefore this decree was now made against it, and yet all to little purpose (as you will see anon), till the king himself reformed it by his own example."—*Tyrrell's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 127.

Lord Lyttelton gives another view of the subject:—"The extraordinary fervour of zeal expressed by Anselm, and other churchmen of that age, against this fashion, seems ridiculous; but we find, from the words of Ordericus Vitalis (lib. viii. p. 862, sub. an. 1089), that they combined it with the idea of an affected effeminacy, and supposed it to indicate a disposition to an unnatural vice which was very prevalent in those times. The good prelate, whose piety was so much scandalized by it, would have done well to consider how much more the celibacy to which he forced the clergy, and the number of monasteries in this kingdom, might contribute to increase that abominable wickedness than any mode of dress."—*Lord Lyttelton's Henry II.* vol. ii. p. 336.

Page 168, note (1).]—Our author has, in his translation, given the spirit, though not the letter, of the original canon, which ordains that "Presbyters do not go to drinking bouts, nor drink to pins." Foxe informs us at p. 59, that king Edgar, in order to check the drunkenness introduced among the English by the Danes, directed that none should drink below a certain pin, or peg, to be fixed inside the cups. This regulation soon gave rise to a new abuse, which will be best explained in the words of a distinguished antiquarian: "The *peg-tankards*, to which the old canons allude, when they say, 'Ut Presbyteri non eant ad potationes, nec ad pinnas bibant,' had in the inside a row of eight pins, one above another, from top to bottom. The tankards hold two quarts, so that there is a gill of ale, *i. e.* half a pint of Winchester measure, between each pin. The first person that drank was to empty the tankard to the first peg, or pin; the second, to the next pin, &c.; by which means the pins were so many measures to the computators, making them all drink alike, or the same quantity; and as the distance of the pins was such as to contain a large draught of liquor, the company would be very liable by this method to get drunk; especially when, if they drank short of the pin, or beyond it, they were obliged to drink again." (Anonymiana, 125, Gent. Mag. xxxviii. 426.) "A very fine specimen of these peg-tankards, of undoubted Anglo-Saxon work, formerly belonging to the abbey of Glastonbury, is now in the possession of Lord Arundel of Wardour. It holds two quarts, and formerly had eight pegs inside, dividing the liquor into half-pints. On the lid is the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and John, one on each side the cross. Round the cup are carved the twelve Apostles."—*Fosbroke's Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 258, London, 1835. See also *Hone's "Year Book."* Ducange in his Glossary, v. Potus, mentions a canon being passed at a council in France, which forbade "æquales potus," a canon of the same import with this of Anselm's.

Page 169, line 13. "*At another council . . . May 24th, A. D. 1108.*"—Foxe says, "here, also, at this present council at Westminster, in the year of this king aforesaid." For the reason of the alteration, see the note on page 167, line 30. The following translation of the canons is revised from the Latin in Eadmer, p. 95.

Page 171, line 11 from the bottom. "*Henry and Christian.*"—Henry, surnamed Felix, was appointed archbishop of Mentz, A. D. 1142, and deposed at Pentecost, A. D. 1153. (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*) Having become obnoxious to the clergy by his attempts to reform them, he was complained of to the pope and deposed. Such is the account given of him by Conrad, in his "*Chronicon Moguntiacum*;" but Otho Frisingensis considers him to have been a troublesome man, and justly deposed.—Foxe gives no account of Christian, whose history is also recorded by Conrad, "*Chron. Mogunt.*" thus:—"Non stetit diu in episcopatu [he was elected A. D. 1249]; accusatur enim ad papam quòd omnino inutilis esset ecclesiæ, et quòd evocatus ad expeditiones regis invitus veniret. Hoc autem verum erat, eo quod fierent incendia, sectiones vinearum, devastationes segetum; dicebat etenim, nequaquam decere talia sacerdotem, sed quicquid deberet per gladium Spiritus, quod est Verbum Dei, omnimodè se promptum asserebat et voluntarium servitorem. Quumque ejus predecessorum vestigia sequi moneretur, respondit, Scriptum est, Mitte gladium in vaginam.



Ob hoc in odium regis et multorum incidit laicorum, qui omnes accusantes eum apud papam obtinuerunt eum ab episcopatu omni submoveri. Cessit ergo A. D. 1251."

Page 172, note (1).]—The foregoing account of Arnold is also taken from Conrad's "Chron. Moguntiacum," whence some trifling improvements are made in the text. He was slain on John Baptist's day, A. D. 1160. The two cardinals above referred to were Bernard, a presbyter, and Gregory, a deacon. Conrad's apostrophe to the cardinals runs thus in the Latin:—"O cardinales, hujus rei vos estis initium. Venite ergo, venite, haurite nunc, et ferte architriclino vestro diabolo, eique offerte eum ea quam deglutistis pecunia etiam vosmetipsos." Arnold is the same individual as Arnulph, mentioned at p. 192 as "bishop of Mentz."

Page 173, line 1.]—Foxe omits "at Florence;" but Sabellicus, Ennead ix. lib. 4, says, the council was held at Florence; and he attributes the bishop's conduct to the influence of some prodigies in nature—a very large comet, and an inundation of the sea through a very high tide—which occurred about that time.

Page 173, line 12. "*A general assembly.*"—The diet of Mentz was held on Christmas-day, A. D. 1105.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*

Page 173, line 16.]—"Ingelheim," a town ten miles W.S.W. of Mentz; the diet was held there soon after Christmas. Foxe reads, corruptly, "Hilgesheim."—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*

Page 174, line 11.]—"There for sorrow died," August 7th, A. D. 1106.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*

Page 174, line 13.]—"Five years;" so says Godfridus Viterbiensis; but the Hildesheim Chronicle says only "two."

Page 174, line 24. "*Where he indenteth with him,*" &c.]—i. e. at the council of Lateran, Feb. 12th, A. D. 1111. Henry was crowned April 13th.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*

Page 174, line 32. "*Calling a Synod,*"—i. e. at Lateran, March 18th—23d, A. D. 1112.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*

Page 176, line 17. "*Præmonstratenses.*"—This order was founded by St. Norbert, who was of a noble family in Cologne. He gave up his benefices, and commenced preacher A. D. 1118. He was noticed by Barthelemi, bishop of Laon, at the council of Rheims (A. D. 1119), whither he had gone to obtain the confirmation from Calixtus II. of those privileges which he had received from former popes. St. Bernard seconded Barthelemi's wishes to have him in his diocese, by giving him the valley of Premontre, in the forest of Couci, Picardy, A. D. 1120. The order of Premontre was confirmed by Honorius II. A. D. 1126. (Moreri's Dict.) Their place is said to have been *shown* by the Virgin Mary; whence they derived their name, "Premontres." They first settled in England A. D. 1146, at Newhouse in Lincolnshire. They followed St. Augustine's rule.

Page 176, line 25.]—The council at Rheims met October 19th to the 30th, A. D. 1119.—*L'Art de Vér.*

Page 177, line 16 from the bottom. "*The same year,* A. D. 1114."—Foxe erroneously says, "The next year following." See the Table of Archbps. of Canterbury at page 723 of this volume.

Page 178, line 8. "*A solemn assembly . . . at Salisbury.*"—This was held March 20th, A. D. 1116.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*

Page 180, line 31.]—Gisburn, in Cleveland (so called to distinguish it from another Gisburn in the West Riding), a priory of Austin Canons, was founded by Robert de Brus, A. D. 1129 (*Tanner*). "Reading" Abbey was founded for Austin monks by Henry I. A. D. 1121. The charter is given by Dugdale, dated A. D. 1125; also the instrument presenting the hand of St. James. (*Dugdale*.) Dugdale says that William Fitz-Nigelle founded a priory for Austin monks at Runcorn A. D. 1133 or 1138, which was removed by his son William, constable of Cheshire, to Norton, in Stephen's reign.

Page 181, line 23. "*The second year of his induction.*"—Honorius II. was enthroned December 21st, A. D. 1124 (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*): Simeon of

Durham, therefore, more correctly dates the ensuing affair "*Honorii II. primo anno.*"

Page 181, line 18 from the bottom. "*Assembled the whole clergy together.*"]—This council was held at Westminster Sept. 8th or 9th, A. D. 1125. See Page "Crit. in Baronii Annales," an. 1125. See an account of this council in Simeon of Durham, and Wilkins's *Concilia*, tom. i. p. 408.

Page 181, line 7 from the bottom. "*The next night after,*" &c.]—Baronius is very angry at the charge here made against Crema, and observes, that the historians all follow one leader, *Henry of Huntingdon*, who was peculiarly averse to the celibacy of the clergy; whence Baronius concludes that Huntingdon is not a credible witness. Hoveden copies Huntingdon, except in placing the affair in the following year. Lastly, M. Westminster adds an excuse of Crema's, viz. that he was only in deacon's orders, which must be fictitious; for he was priest-cardinal of St. Chrysogon. Baronius further remarks, that Malmesbury (who, however, makes particular mention of the council) and Wigorniensis (who even speaks as if he had been present) do not mention the affair. He further remarks, that Peter Leoni's (the rival pope) party did all they could by their writings to blacken those cardinals who chose Innocent II. A. D. 1130, the chief of whom was Crema, and yet do not mention this fact. St. Bernard also and others boasted, that the cardinals who chose Innocent were the holiest of all the cardinals. Rapin, however, observes that this is all negative proof, and of no force against the positive testimony of the contemporary historian. Henry, also, quite believes it, and attributes to it the failure of the canon.

Page 182, line 1. "*Certain historians,*" &c.]—Foxe opens this paragraph thus—"Certain histories make mention of one Arnulphus, in the time of this Pope Honorius II. Some say he was archbishop of Lyons, as Hugo, Platina, Sabellicus, Trithemius," &c. The sentence of Illyricus, from which this is taken, runs thus:—"Narrant Hugo, Platina, et Sabellicus, Arnulphum quendam archiepiscopum Lugdunensem, qui magna nominis celebritate magnoque mortalium concursu divinam Legem per Gallias, Italiam, et tandem Romæ prædicabat, impiè à spiritualibus ob reprehensa eorum scelera, libidines, et errores, necatum esse; tulisseque id Honorium Papam iniquo animo, sed tamen quæstione abstinuisse: quod ipsum subindicat, eum non nimium iniquo animo tulisse. Accidit id duodecimo post Christum seculo. Hugo quidem dicit captum et suspensum, quod sine publica autoritate fieri non potuit. Similis fermè per omnia historia narratur et de quodam Illyrico monacho, quæ circiter ante 72 annos Romæ acciderit. Verum adjiciamus sanè narrationem Trithemii de hoc Arnulpho, ex ejus Chronico Hirsaugiensi, quandoquidem id nondum opinor editum esse." (Cat. Test. edit. 1608, col. 1432.) Illyricus here rather assumes that Arnulph was "archbishop of Lyons," than makes Hugo, Platina, and Sabellicus, positively assert it; and, in point of fact, they virtually assert the contrary. Hugo (as he is cited in the Magd. Cent. col. 1710) only calls him a presbyter: Platina calls him merely "*Christianæ religionis concionator insignis,*" and says, "*Fueritne sanctus vir presbyter, an monachus, an eremita, haud satis constat:*" Sabellicus (Ennead. lib. iv. fol. 94) mentions him in the same way, and calls him "*Anulphus.*" But the fact is, that he could not possibly have been archbishop of Lyons, as there never was an archbishop of Lyons of that name, according to the account of that see given in Gallia Christiana. There was one Arnold of Breschia, of whom Aventine speaks thus:—"Arnoldus tum Brixia oppido Italiæ ortus, sacras literas professus, discipulus Petri Abelardi, in avaritiam fastumque sacerdotum pro concione crebro peroravit, tandem captus in crucemque à sacrificulis actus, pœnas temerarii cæpti luit." But Illyricus in the next col. (1433) very properly distinguishes him from this Arnulph. Martinus Polonus, however, may be speaking of Arnulph when he says,—"*Hujus (Conradi II) tempore quidam magister, Arnoldus nomine, prædicavit in urbe Roma, reprehendens luxus et superfluitates. Postea captus, in odium clericorum est suspensus.*" (Col. 196 of his *Supputationes*, subjoined to Marianus Scotus, Bas. 1559.)

Hugo *Atlassiodorensis* is probably the author above referred to. (See Ussher "*De Christ. Eccl. Statu et Suc.*" x. §§. 41, 47, 48.)

"Arnulphus Lugdunensis archiepiscopus, qui a Jacobo Bergomensi et aliis memoratur, nullus fuit: vide Johannem Picardum, ad Auselmi Epist. iii. 117."

Fabricius "de Script. Med. et Infim. Latinitatis." See Gerberon's Edition of Anselm's Works, Paris, 1675, p. 577, col. 1, for Picard's remarks.

Thuanus, Hist. lib. vi. § 16, mentions one Arnold, an associate of Peter Waldo of Lyons, who became eminent as a Waldensian pastor and preacher in the diocese of Albi: he may have been known as "Pastor or Præses Lugdunensis," by some, ignorantly or playfully, turned into "Archiepiscopus Lugdunensis;" and Illyricus may have identified him under that title with this Arnulph. The Magdeburg Centuriators relate the same particulars respecting Arnulph, quoting also Trithemius's account; but they give no hint of his being archbishop of Lyons.—*Cent.* xiii. cols. 46, 1401, 1710.

Gerhohus Reicherspergensis, quoted with other authorities in D'Argentre's *Collectio Judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 27 (Lutet. 1724), writing of an Arnold about this period, says: "Pro qua etiam doctrina non solum ab ecclesia Dei anathematis mucrone separatus, insuper etiam *suspensio* neci traditus. Quin et post mortem incendio crematus, atque in Tiberim fluvium projectus est: ne videlicet Romanus populus, quem sua doctrina illuxerat, sibi eum martyrem dedicaret."

Page 182, line 17.]—"At Rome" is added from Trithemius; "cum ad prædicandum Romam mitteretur;" also, in the next line, "shortly" is put in from the "brevi" of Trithemius.

Page 182, line 28. "*Having expressed,*" &c.].—"Cum hæc altâ voce clamasset, subjunxit" (Trithemius): and, at line 31, "impuritatibus" is the Latin: and at line 33, "Sed Deus est vindex."

Page 182, line 36. "*Sabellicus and Platina say they hanged him.*"—Illyricus says:—"Scribit hic [Trithemius] submersum esse: sed Sabellicus et Platina suspensum esse affirmant; quibus tanquam rerum Romanarum magis gnaris potius credendum esse arbitror." (Illyr. col. 1433.) Sabellicus, however, only says "impie necarunt;" and Platina "insidiis necabant." Illyricus had just before said, "*Hugo* quidem dicit captum et suspensum."

Page 182, line 11 from the bottom. "*Above four hundred years ago.*"—Illyricus says it was written "circa *duodecimum* sæculum;" it would seem, however, from the allusion to the king of Portugal in the next page, as if the work was written in the *thirteenth* century. Illyricus does not connect it with Arnulph, but mentions it at a later page. Foxe's text has been a little improved from Illyricus.

Page 182, line 6 from the bottom. "*Who say,*" &c.].—"Quæ dicunt, quòd plus lucrantur," &c.—*Illyricus*.

Page 182, last line.]—Illyricus refers here, and for what follows, to lib. iii. of the "*Opusculum*," capp. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12.

Page 183, line 12 from the bottom.]—Philip I. took to wife Bertrade, wife of the earl of Anjou, his first wife Bertha being yet alive; for which he was excommunicated by Urban II. A. D. 1094, and again in 1095, and again by the council of Poitiers in 1100.—*L'Art. de Vér. des Dates*.

The king of Portugal, presently alluded to, must have been Sancho II. surnamed Capel, who came to the throne A. D. 1223, and for some time reigned with applause; but, afterwards giving himself up to debauchery, his subjects complained of him, A. D. 1245, to pope Innocent IV. who excommunicated him, put his realm under interdict, and made his brother Alfonso regent. Sancho died A. D. 1248.—*L'Art. de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 184, line 25. "*Upon St. Stephen's day,*"—i.e. Thursday, Dec. 26th, A. D. 1135. Sir H. Nicolas reasons in favour of this date.

Page 184, line 36. "*The Castle of Vies,*"—an old form of "Devises." See Malmesbury, p. 181, and Hoveden, p. 484, in the "Script. post Bedam," Francof. 1601. Grafton reads "Vises."

Page 187, line 27.]—Gratian was monk of St. Felix, at Bologna. (Cave's Hist. Litt.) Cave states that many writers have asserted Gratian, Peter Lombard, and Peter Comestor, to have been all brothers, and born at the same time: but he adds that this assertion does not rest on any good authority.

Page 187, line 3 from the bottom.]—Trivet calls this individual "scutifer" to Charlemagne, and places his death A. D. 1139.

Page 188, line 2.]—For “Furness” and “Fountains” Foxe (misled by Fabian) reads corruptly “Finerneys” and “Fomitance.”

Page 188.]—The following information from Tanner’s “Notitia Mon.” will confirm the account in the text:—“*Feversham Abbey* was founded A.D. 1147 by king Stephen and his wife Maud for monks of Clugny, who being afterward released from their subjection to the foreign monastery, it became Benedictine.

“*Furness*, a Cistercian abbey, founded A.D. 1124, by Stephen, then earl of Morton and Boulogne: removed to Furness, in Lancashire, A.D. 1127.

“*Fontanense cœnobium*, or *Fountains Abbey*, near Ripon, Yorkshire. Most of the historians mention this abbey under Stephen’s reign, not however exactly as built by him. It was founded by the aid of Thurstin, archbishop of York, A.D. 1132. Henry I. made it tithe-free, and Stephen confirmed all previous charters to it. It was burnt A.D. 1140, and was not fairly rebuilt for nearly one hundred years.”

Page 188, line 5. “*The Jews crucified a child in the city of Norwich.*”]—Brompton is the first person who mentions this circumstance, adding that the Jews crucified another child at Gloucester, A.D. 1160. About thirteen or fourteen years after, Gervase says that they crucified another at Bury St. Edmund’s at Easter, and that his bones wrought miracles for some years. See “*Anglia Judaica*,” p. 11, a work by D’Blossiers Tovey, LL.D. principal of New Inn Hall, Oxford, 1738. He throws a doubt on all these accounts, observing that the crime is never said to have happened but when the king was notoriously in want of money, and wanted a pretext against the Jews. However that be, the Romish church has canonized several such alleged victims of Jewish malice. Alban Butler, in his “*Lives of the Saints*,” gives an account of this very child, who was canonized as St. William of Norwich. Butler further states that he was apprentice to a tanner at Norwich, and only twelve years of age when he was seized by the Jews, on Good Friday, and treated in imitation of Christ. On Easter-day they took his body in a sack to Thorp Wood, now a heath, near the gates, to bury him; but, being discovered, they left him hanging on a tree. He was honoured with miracles, and in 1144 his body was removed to the cathedral of the Holy Trinity, and in 1150 into the choir. A chapel was built on the site where he was found, called St. William in the Wood. His day in the English Calendar was March 24th. Butler adds, that pope Benedict XIV. decided that infants, though baptized, dying before the age of reason, could not be canonized, except those slain out of hatred to the name of Christ. Such were the Innocents, St. Simon of Trent (canonized by the archbishop of Trent, with the approbation of Sixtus V., confirmed by Gregory XIII.), St. Richard of Pontoise, A.D. 1182, St. Hugh of Lincoln, A.D. 1255. See Bloomfield’s *History of Norfolk*, and Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*, line 13,425.

Page 189, line 17. “*The first year*,” &c.]—Fabian says, “He increased his heritage so mightily that he won Ireland by strength, and took William, king of Scots, and joined that kingdom to his own. From the south ocean to the north islands of Orcyes he closed all the lands, as it were, under one principate, and spread so largely his empire that men read of none of his progenitors that had so many provinces and countries under their dominion and rule. For, beside the realm of England, he had in his rule Normandy, Gascoyne, and Guion, Anjou and Chinon, and he made subject unto him Auvergne and other lands; and by his wife he obtained, as her right, the mounts and hills of Spain, called Montes Pireni.” Grafton, apparently copying Fabian, says:—“He increased his heritage so mightily that he won Ireland anon after his coronation, by strength, and took the king of Scots prisoner, and joined that kingdom of Scotland to his own. From the south ocean unto the north islands of Orcades, he closed all the lands as it were under one dominion, and spread so largely his empire that we read not that any of his progenitors had so many provinces and countries under their government and rule. For, beside the realm of England and Scotland, he had in his rule Normandy, Gascoyne, and Guienne, Anjou and Poictou; and he made subject unto him Auvergne and other lands. And by Lleanor, his wife, he obtained, as in her right, the earldom of Toulouse.” Grafton afterwards adds, “In his third year he lost Auvergne, warring against the king of France.” Hoveden seems to contradict what is said about the city of Toulouse, Script. post Bedam, p. 491. The Pyrenees and

the north ocean are mentioned as the limits of the king's dominions at page 231, in an epistle of the English bishops to Becket.

Page 189, line 18. "*He subdued Ireland.*"—Rymer gives Adrian's grant of Ireland, "ad subdendum illum populum legibus et viciorum plantaria inde extirpanda," and on condition of paying "de singulis domibus annuam unius denarii beato Petro pensionem, et jura ecclesiarum illius terræ illibata et integra conservare."

Page 189, line 7 from the bottom. "*Against whom it was alleged chiefly,*" &c.]—Foxe says, "Who in their time, according to their gift, did earnestly," &c.; which seems a mis-translation of Illyricus, "Iis præcipuè vitio datum est, quòd docuerint," &c. He calls them "Gerhardus Sagarelli, Parmensis, et Dulcinus Navarrensis," and says that they laboured for at least forty years in Gallia Cisalpina, and Piedmont; and that they were esteemed heresiarchs by the Romanists.—"*Catalogus Testium,*" Genevæ 1608, col. 1762.

Page 190, line 12. "*And now, according to my promise,*" &c.]—The ensuing account of the emperor Frederic I. is apparently taken from Illyricus, col. 1365, &c. For the anecdote which presently follows he cites "*Helmoldus in Chronicis Sclavorum,*" cap. 81.

Page 190, line 27. "*After this, as they were come in,*" &c.]—Illyricus cites for his authority here Barnes "in Vita Hadriani." See also Krantzii Sax. vi. 17.

Page 190, line 34.]—Apulia was now "a Nortmannis occupata."—*Illyri. us.*

Page 190, line 10 from the bottom. "*The next day after,*"—i.e. "4 Cal. Julii, anno regni sui quarto."—Helmoldus in *Chron. Sclavorum*, c. 80.

Page 190, line 5 from the bottom. "*Sendeth to Emmanuel.*"—Illyricus (col. 1367), referring to Naucerus gen. 39, says that Emmanuel offered to the pope 5,000*l.* and to expel William out of Apulia, if three maritime cities of Apulia were granted him.

Page 191, line 2.]—"Ex totâ Siciliâ exercitu contracto."—*Naucerus.*

Page 191, line 14. "*Rimini.*"—Platina says "Anagni."

Page 191, line 16. "*How the pope had given Apulia, which of right belonged to the empire, to duke William.*"—"Apuliam juris imperii, se incio atque invito, Wilhelmo concessam." (Illyricus.) This clause is passed over by Foxe.

Page 192, line 18 from the bottom.]—This "Arnulph, bishop of Mentz," is the same individual as Arnold mentioned at page 172: see note on that passage.

Page 192, line 24, and p. 371 (middle). "*Not preachers, but prowlers.*"—The first edition (p. 37) spells this word, in both cases, "proylers." Line 26, "*moilers for money,*" so reads the edition of 1563, which seems from another instance in Nares to be correct: the later editions read "moylers of money."

Page 193, line 14. "*And first taking his occasion,*" &c.]—Foxe is translating Illyricus—"Nactus occasionem captivitatis Leodiensis episcopi." Leodiensis or Leodicensis (i.e. of Liege) gave birth to Foxe's "Bishop of Laodicea." There was indeed a "Gerardus bishop of Laodicea" living about this period, who wrote a work, "*De Conversatione Servorum Dei,*" alluded to by Foxe infra, vol. iii. p. 105, though he there post-dates him by a century. The person, however, here intended, was not bishop either of Liege or of Laodicea, but Eskyl, *archbishop of Lunden, in Sweden.* Others have made other corruptions of his title, as will appear from the following extract from Pagi's "*Crit. in Baron. Annales,*" ad annum 1157:—

"Verum loco *E. Londonensis Archiepiscopus* legendum, *E. Lundensis Archiepiscopus*, et intelligendum Eskyllus, quem ex illis verbis erimus anno superiori peregrinationem instituisse ad Hadrianum Papam, qui illum Legatum suum in Dania constituerat, ut quicumque maximi Sueonum Pontifices creandi essent, Pallio a Curia dato per Lundensem insignirentur Antistitem; eamque sedem pro patrio venerarentur obsequio, sicut ait Saxo Grammaticus, lib. xiv. Hinc Sirmondus, in *Notis ad Epist. 23. lib. i. Petri Cellensis, de Eskyllo recte scribit: 'Qui cum ex Urbe in Daniam rediret, captus spoliatusque fuit in Germania. Quæ res—dum injuriam missis ad Fredericum Imp. Legatis acrius persequitur Hadrianus IV. Pontifex, cui Eskyllus privato etiam nomine charus erat—exacerbatis hinc inde animis ansam præbuit schismati, quod inter illos erupit, ut inquit Radevicus, lib. i., de Gest. Friderici, cap. 8, et seqq. Sed apud*



Radevicum *Londonensis* vitiose scriptum est; *ædius etiam apud Innocentium III. Epist. 321 Lugdunensis, pro Lundensi.* Ita Simondus. Quæ conjectura eo certior, quòd nullus hoc seculo *E. Episcopus Londinensi Ecclesiæ præfuit.* Præterquam quòd Londonia Sedes est Episcopalis, non vero Archiepiscopalis."

Page 193, line 16. "*Divers and sharp letters,*" &c.]—The reader will find \*Pope Adrian's letters to Frederic in Baronius, an. 1157, § 2, 3. The legates appear to have been Roland, cardinal-priest of St. Mark, and Bernard, cardinal-priest of St. Clement; and Pagi, in his notes on this part of Baronius, shows that they were sent with the said letters A. D. 1156, and that in the same year, also, the seizure of the archbishop of Lunden took place.

Page 193, note (2).]—The volume referred to is "*Otonis Episc. Frisingensis Chronicon, et Radevicus Frising. Canonicus,*" &c., folio, Basilæ, 1569. If any information is needed upon these writers, "*Vossius de Hist. Latinis*" will supply it, pp. 427—431, edit. 1651.

Page 195, last line. "*The proud pope, setting his foot,*" &c.]—"Fuerunt quidem nonnulli, inter quos etiam Card. Baronius, qui in dubium vocarunt narrationem de Imp. Frederico I. et Alexandro III. collum ejus premente pedibus, his etiam verbis usurpatis, *super aspidem et Basilicum ambulabis,* &c.; quod factum indecorum, arrogans, et *penitus insuetum* agnoscit Baronius (tom. xii. ad an. 1177, § 86), et negat unquam accidisse, *tanquam abhorrens a tanti Christi vicarii mansuetudine, turgens fastu facinus.* Quam tamen historiam referunt viginti historici, omnes pontificii, quorum testimonia citantur ab Hieronymo Bardo in libro cui titulum fecit '*Victoria Navalis,*' Venetiis edito, 1584. Sed '*Jos. ille Stevanus,*' qui '*de osculo pedum Papæ*' scripsit Romæ ad Gregorium XIII., non solum factum non negat, sed ex eo deducit quantum Papa possit in Reges et Principes."—Riveti *Jesuita Vapulans*, cap. 28, § 4.

A picture of this transaction was formerly to be seen in the vestibule of St. Mark's, at Venice, and also in the ducal palace (vide *Ern. S. Cypriani Dissertationes*, Coburgi, 1755, p. 70); though the circumstance has, from different reasons, been rather warmly discussed, and partially questioned (see Sagittarii *Introduct.* in *Hist. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 630; tom. ii. p. 600). But such assumptions are not always considered misplaced even by Baronius himself; as in the case of Henry VI., emperor of Germany, whose crown Celestine III. thought proper to strike off his head A. D. 1191; under which year see *Baron. Annal.* § 10; Roger Hoveden, p. 689, edit. 1601; and the present volume of Foxe, p. 304.

Page 196, line 23. "*Two-and-twenty years.*"—Foxye says, "one-and-twenty." But Alexander III. was elected Sept. 7th, A. D. 1159, crowned Sept. 20th, and died Aug. 30th, A. D. 1181.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*

Page 196, line 24.]—The Council of Tours sat May 19th, A. D. 1163; the General (eleventh) Council of Lateran, March 5th—19th, A. D. 1179.—*L'Art. de Vér. des Dates.*

Page 197, line 6 from the bottom. "*In Quadrilogo.*"—The full title of this work is "*Vita et Processus Thomæ Cantuar. martyris super libertate ecclesiæ; sive Quadripartita Historia continens passionem Martyris Archipræs. Cantuariensis.*" It is a history of Becket, compiled by order of Pope Gregory XI. from the biographies of four contemporaries of Becket, who are mentioned by Foxe in the note. Of these, 1. *Herbert de Boscham* in Sussex was one of Becket's chaplains, a companion of his flight, and witness of his death. 2. *John*, a native of Salisbury, whence he is commonly called *John of Salisbury*, afterwards bishop of Chartres (*Carnotensis*), was one of the most distinguished men of his day. He was an old and intimate friend of Becket; so much so, that in the autumn of A. D. 1163 Henry thought it necessary to interrupt their intercourse by banishing him to France, where he resided chiefly at Rheims till his return to England on the final arrangement between the king and Becket. He was in the cathedral of Canterbury at the time his friend was murdered. He is supposed to be the person who arranged the large collection of 435 letters relating to the contest between Church and State, written between 1165 and 1171, preserved in the Vatican, and printed thence by Christianus Lupus at Brussels, 1682, under the title of "*Ep. D. Thomæ.*" 3. *Alan* was a monk of St. Trinity, Canterbury, and afterwards abbot of *Tewkesbury*. 4. *William* was also a monk of St. Trinity, *Canterbury*. (See Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, and Cave's

Hist. Litt.) The "Quadrilogus" is patched together from the histories of these four, each portion being headed by the name of the author from whom it is taken. It was printed in 4to., first in black letter at Paris, A. D. 1495; and again at Brussels, A. D. 1682, when it was prefixed by Ch. Lupus to the "Ep. D. Thomæ" above mentioned. The former edition contains several errors which are corrected in the latter, and which now for the first time have been corrected in Foxe's text: they will be noticed in this Appendix. Foxe's account of Becket is derived mainly from the "Quadrilogus;" most of it will also be found *verbatim* in Grafton's Chronicle, the principal additions being the documents, which are all printed in the "Quadrilogus;" from which it would appear, that, though Foxe availed himself of Grafton's labours in translating, yet he consulted the original for himself.

Page 198, line 15 from the bottom. "*And first, to omit here the progeny,*" &c.]—A life of Becket, compiled by William Stephanides or Fitz-Stephen, a monk of Canterbury, and an intimate friend of Becket, says, "Beatus Thomas natus est in legitimo matrimonio et honestis parentibus, patre Gileberto, qui et vice-comes aliquando fuit, matre Mathildâ; civibus Lundoniæ mediastinis, neque fœnerantibus, neque officiosè negotiantibus, sed de redditibus suis honorificè viventibus."—*Stephanides*, Edit. *Sparke*, Lond. 1723, p. 10.

Page 198, line 10 from the bottom.]—Dr. Clutterbuck states, in his History of Hertfordshire, vol. ii. p. 48, that the rectory of Brantfield, in that county, was given by Hardvin de Scalers, a powerful Norman baron, to the Abbey of St. Alban's, which retained it till the Dissolution; also that Thomas Becket was once rector; in confirmation of which he adds, that near the rectorial house there is a pond called "Thomas à Becket's Pond."—Brantfield is in the liberty of St. Alban's, about three miles from Hertford. (Carlisle.)

Page 198, line 3 from the bottom. "*Left playing the archdeacon, and began to play the chancellor.*"—The following is the testimony on this point of Grime, the monk who interposed his own arm in order to shield Becket from the assassin's sword at Canterbury, and who wrote a life of Becket, preserved in Sion College and the Arundel MS. in the Brit. Mus. "*Jamque pedem porrexit in semitas seculi, jam ad honores aspirare, effundere animum in exteriora, et vanas mundi amplitudines ambire cœpit.*"—*Grime*, fol. 4, *MS. Arund.* "*Novus itaque erigitur super Egypto Joseph, præficitur universis regni negotiis, post regem secundus; augentur honores, prædia, possessiones, et divitiarum splendor, ac mundi gloria multiplicatur, sequuntur ex more innumeri mancipiorum greges, stipantur electorum catervæ militum, nec cancellario minor quam regi comitatus adhæsit, ita ut nonnunquam corripere a rege quoddam regis hospitium vacuasset.*"—*Grime*, fol. 7.

Page 199, line 12. "*Richard Lucy, one of the chiefest.*"—"*Richardum de Luci aliosque magnates Angliæ.*" (Quadril.) Richard de Lucy was the chief justice. "If I were dead," said Henry to Lucy, "wouldst thou not devote thy life and thy energies in favour of my son? Then cease not in thy endeavours, until my chancellor is raised to the see of Canterbury." (John of Salisbury, in Quadrilogo.) The reason of Henry's partiality may be given in few words from the "Life and Ecclesiastical History of St. Thomas of Canterbury," a work published in English under papal sanction at Cologne, 1639, p. 6. "The king having had manifold trial of him, deemed his magnanimity and fidelity to be fit for so high a dignity; and also that he would have a care of his profit, and govern all things in the church and common weal to his good liking."

The following passages may be quoted here with advantage, from an article on the Life and Times of Thomas Becket, in the Church of England Quarterly Review for April, 1841, written in confutation of the view taken of Becket's character in vol. iv. of "Froude's Remains." "The expectation that Becket would unhesitatingly obey the will and pleasure of the king in matters ecclesiastical is distinctly asserted by Grime ('*Rex autem arbitratus cancellarium suas per omnia velle sequi voluntates ut ante et imperiis obtemperare, ipsi archiepiscopatum dedit.*'—*Grime, MS. Arund. fol. 7 a.*), and reiterated by Fitz-Stephen ('*Statuit Rex Angliæ cancellarium suum in archiepiscopatum promovere, intentu meritorum personæ, et confidens quod se ad placitum et nutum, ut*

cancellarius fecerat, archiepiscopus obsequeretur.'—*Fitz-Stephen.*), and the Lambeth biography ('Iterum Archiepiscopo Theobaldo rebus humanis exempto, deferendi locum honoris suo dilecto Rex se nactum esse gavisus est; in multis enim expertus magnanimitatem ejus et fidem, tanto quidem fastigio bene sufficiente credit, scilicet ad suas utilitates facile semper inclinandum.'—*MS. Lamb fol. 2 b.*). It is useless, then, to deny that such, at least, was the view taken by those who wrote during the continuance of, or immediately after the conclusion of, these troubles; that they were justified in their assertion, their agreement renders more than probable; that Henry was justified in holding such an opinion, the already cited cases would seem to warrant us in asserting. One of the primate's biographers has recorded a warning from Becket to the king, of his inability to serve him and the Church at the same time. The solitariness of the authority is not our only reason for rejecting this assertion; we have been far more influenced by the improbability of one so shrewd and politic as Henry, wilfully and with his eyes open running his head into a noose like this, in a matter of such importance, and, when his mind was set on the reformation of the Church, deliberately forcing the primacy on one who forewarned him of his anti-reforming notions and intentions."

The same writer gives the following facts as justifying the king's opinion what kind of an archbishop Becket was likely to prove:—"Towards his own order, Becket acted rather as a statesman than as an ecclesiastic. First, he hesitated not to impose on them a scutage for the maintenance of the war of Toulouse—an imposition which Gilbert Foliot characterized as 'that sword plunged into the bowels of mother Church' ('*Divi Thomæ*,' epist. i. 126; Cotton MS.); and his patron, Theobald, on his death-bed, vowed to God to prohibit, under pain of excommunication, the exaction of the second aid his brother the archdeacon had imposed on the Church (*Joan Salis*. Ep. 49, cited by Lord Lyttelton). John of Salisbury admits (epist. 159) that Becket had allowed the measure to pass, and was, therefore, justly punished in being now persecuted by the very person whom he had preferred to his original benefactor. Secondly, when, in his presence, the supremacy of the pope was upheld by the bishop of Chichester, and Henry rebuked that prelate, and declared in the hearing of all, 'that the supremacy of the pope was upheld by man alone, but that of the king by God,' then we are told the new chancellor joined the king against the pope, reminded the bishop of his oath of allegiance, and seconded, if he had not previously prompted, the rebuke of the king. (Wilkins' *Concilia*, i. p. 431—a passage sadly mutilated, but still sufficiently preserved to show the intentions of Becket. See the full account of the matter in the Appendix to Sir F. Palgrave's '*Constitution of England*.' The old chronicler there quoted fully bears out the assertion just made.) And, Lastly, if we are to believe Matthew Paris—and we see no reason to the contrary, more especially as his assertions are confirmed by Radulphus de Diceto—the views of Becket respecting the relative power of the pope and the king continued the same for some little time after his elevation to the primacy. In the great cause between the bishop of Lincoln and the abbot of St. Alban's, a bull had been obtained by the bishop, referring the cause to the decision of the papal legates. Henry, however, determined to hear it in his own court, and accordingly summoned the contending parties before him. The abbot, fearful of being brought before the legates for a second hearing, demanded of the king that proof made before him should be subject to no appeal. The king admired his prudence, and commended him for it to Becket, who sat by his side. The case was heard; the privileges having been proved, judgment was given in favour of the abbot, and signed among others by Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury. ('*Unum peto [said the abbot], quod, si in audientia vestra libertatem ecclesiæ meæ declaravero et evicero, ne me coarctent judices delegati iterato litigare de evicta libertate.*' Tunc Rex prudentiam ejus cum optimatibus suis admirans, ad Archiepiscopum Thomam Cantuariensem conversus ait, '*Quod dicit Abbas rationi consentaneum est: neque enim nostræ majestati honorificum foret, si lis in Palatio nostro decisa in Domini papæ consistorio iterandam præstolaretur sententiam.*' (See Matt. Paris, *Vitæ Abb. Sancti Albani*, pp. 77 and 79; Radulphus de Diceto, sub. ann. 1162.)")

Page 199, line 14. "*The monks said it was not meet,*" &c.]—Becket himself states, that he was kept out of the see for a year through the opposition of the

Chapter (Epist. D. Thomæ, lib. i. 126). His predecessor, Theobald, died April 18th, A. D. 1161.—*Godwin*. Great opposition was made to Becket's election by Foliot, bishop of London, not without incurring much odium; for he says in reference to this, in a letter of his own, quoted by Lord Lyttelton, "Quod loquimur experto novimus, . . . verbum proscriptionis illico audivimus, et exilio crudeliter addicti sumus." *Cott. MS. Claud. b. ii. let. lib. i. 126*. Grime tells us that the matter was deferred "donec a conventu extorqueret [rex] consensum, qui liberam ab antiquo solet habere vocem in electione pontificis" (*Grime, folio 6, b.*); and that in the meeting at London (May 26th) to confirm the appointment Gilbert Foliot, though alone, still objected. The author of a MS. biography of Becket at Lambeth, professing to be written by an eye-witness, speaks of the election having been secured rather by the "*instantia regis*" than the votes of the clergy and people. "Unde totis enitens viribus, non prius destitit [rex] quam apud Angliæ clerum optimum eum in archiepiscopatum subrogavit. Nonnullis tamen id circa promotionem ejus visum est minus canonicum, quòd ad eam magis operata est regis instantia quam cleri vel populi vota." (*MS. Lamb. fol. 2, b.*) And, lastly, William of Newborough speaks of the primacy as "Minus sincerè et canonicè, id est per operam manumque regiam, susceptum;" and of Becket's tendering his insignia of office into the pope's hands, on account of the informality of his election: "Secundo promotionis anno concilio Turonensi interfuit, ubi (ut dicitur) pontificatum, . . . pungentis conscientie stimulos non ferens, secretò in manus domini papæ resignavit." (*Gul. Neub. 1, 16, p. 169. Ed. Paris, 1610.*) It is to this cause that we must refer Becket's own words and conduct, related at page 218 of this volume. The *form* of the election, however, seems to have been quite correct, for Becket himself asserts this against his adversaries at page 235.

Page 199, line 19. "*In the four-and-fortieth year of his age,*" &c.]—He was born A. D. 1118, where Mercer's chapel was afterwards erected, according to Fuller's "*Worthies of England,*" p. 203. In A. D. 1162, Easter fell on April 8th, and Trinity Sunday on June 3d. (Nicolas's *Tables*.)

Page 199, line 20 from the bottom. "*As first, when, according to the custom,*" &c.]—The old tax, called "*danegelt*," of two shillings on every hide of land, was abolished (Foxe, p. 181); but perhaps the sheriff of each county received some compliment for his services from the wealthier landowners, which the king aimed at getting converted into a regular tax for the public service. The original runs thus:—

"Publicæ potestatis ministri per regionem Anglicanam de consuetudine sibi de singulis Hidis vel Aidis (ut verbis comprovincialium utar) pecuniam colligunt, tanquam laboris mercedem, quem tuitioni patriæ impendunt. Quam pecuniam tamen Rex tanquam redditum nitebatur in fiscum redigere. Obstitit Primas, dicens non oportere pro redditu computari quod suo et aliorum arbitrio daretur."—*Quadrilogus*, edit. 1495, cap. 22.

Page 199, line 7 from the bottom. "*Were divers clerks.*"—The "*Quadrilogus*" says "*clerici*:" Grafton and Foxe say "*divers others.*"

Page 199, line 4 from the bottom. "*One Bruis, canon of Bedford.*"—The "*Quadrilogus*" (citing Alan) says, "*Philippus quidam de Brois canonicus;*" Grafton and Foxe, "*a canon of Bruis.*" Fitz-Stephen calls him "*Philip de Brois, canon of Bedford,*" and Brompton, "*Philip Brock, canon of Bedford.*"

Page 200, line 7. "*They passed so little of (i.e. cared so little for) the spiritual correction.*"—"*Adjiciens [rex] ad nocendum fore promptiores nisi post pœnam spiritualem corporali pœnæ subdantur; et pœnam parum curare de Ordinis amissione, qui Ordinis contemplatione à tam enormibus manus continere non verentur.*"—*Quadrilogus*, edit. 1495, cap. 23.

Page 200, last line but one. "*Was greatly rebuked of the archbishop,*" &c.] "*In recessu verò episcopum, quem supradiximus, ab Archi-Præsule acriter est oburgatus, quod et se et co-episcopis inconsultis commune omnium verbum mutare præsumpsisset.*"

Page 200, note (1.)—Hollinshed seems to have pondered these words "*Inculceter et probabiliter;*" and thus endeavours to express their force:

"The archbishop, and his suffragans, with the rest of the bishops, answered very pithily, labouring to prove that it was more against the liberties of the Church than that they might with reason well allow."

Page 200, note (2).]—To show how the original narrative was interrupted by the introduction of the constitutions, the context is here given from the "*Quadrilogus*:"—"Archiepiscopus unà cum comprovincialibus et cum præfatis eruditissimis librato consilio, cum plurimum et ipse pro cleri libertate Secundum Antiquorum Patrum Canonicam Institutionem luculenter satis et probabiliter respondisset, in fine Sermonis cum omni devotione Regiam obsecrabat Clementiam ne sub novo Rege Christo et sub nova Christi lege in nova et peculiari Domini sorte contra Sanctorum Patrum Instituta Novam per Regnum suum induceret conditionem." "Verum Rex nihil motus ad hoc, sed eò amplius commotus quòd cerneret Archi-Præsulem et Episcopos adversus ipsum (ut reputabat) unanimes sic et constantes, sciscitabatur mox, an consuetudines suas Regias forent observaturi: Replicans illas tempore Avi sui ab Archi-episcopis et Episcopis Privatis et Privilegiatis observatas, non oportere suo tempore tristi iudicio damnari. Ad quod Archi-Præsul, præhabito cum Fratribus suis consilio, respondit illas se et Fratres suos observaturos, *salvo Ordine suo*. Et id ipsum etiam ex ordine responderunt Pontifices singuli, singulatim et à Rege interrogati. Unus autem, Hilarius scilicet Cicestrensis Episcopus, audiens ob hanc omnium vocem Regem magis exacerbatum, Archi-Præsule et Co-Episcopis inconsultis mutavit Verbum, dicens se Regias Constitutiones observaturum *bonà fide*."—*Quadrilogus*, edit. 1495, cap. 24. edit. 1682, cap. 19.

It is worthy of observation, that Foxe was led on from a small beginning to interrupt the text here in the manner intimated. For in Grafton the interruption is only this:—"And those constitutions are in number xxviii. or xxix. whereof certeine followe.

"Concerning the nomination and presentation into benefices, if any controversy arise between the laity and clergy, or between one spiritual man with another, the matter to be brought into the king's temporal court, and there to be decided.

"Churches, such as be *de feodo regis*, to be given at no time without the assent and permission of the king.

"All spiritual and ecclesiastical persons, being accused of any crime, whatsoever it be, cited by the king's justice, to come and appear in the king's court, there to answer, whether the matter appertain to the spiritual court or to the temporal; so that, if the said person or persons be found guilty and convicted of any crime, the church not to defend him nor succour him.

"No archbishop, nor bishop, nor person being of any ecclesiastical dignity, to attempt to go over the sea out of the realm without the king's knowledge and permission; and in so doing, yet notwithstanding to be bound, tarrying in any place, to procure no damage either to the king or to the realm.

"Such goods or catells as be forfeited to the king, neither any sanctuary of church or churchyard to detain them, contrary to the king's justice, for that they belong to the king, whether they be found in the church or churchyard.

"No orders to be given to husbandmen's children, without the assent and testimonial of them, which be the lords of the country where they were born and brought up.

"Beside these constitutions, there were many other, which I passe over, for that the afore rehersed articles are the chiefe. And now let us returne to the matter betwixt the king and Thomas Becket aforesayd. The king, as is aforesayd, conventing his nobles and clerks together, required to have the punishment of the aforesayd misdoers of the clergie; but Thomas Becket would not consent thereto."

In the edition of Foxe, 1563, p. 48, the interruption was somewhat enlarged:—"The copy of those lawes and constitutions are contained in the number of eight or ix and twentie, wherof I thought here to resite certayne, not unworthie to be knowne.

"*The copie and effect of certaine Lawes and Constitutions set forth and proclaimed in the dayes of King Henry the Third (sic).*

[Then follow the above Articles from Grafton, almost *totidem verbis*.]



"Besides these constitutions were divers other also, at the same time set forth, to the number of xxix. in all. But these were the chief, namely and expressly condemned by the bishop of Rome, amongst all the rest.

"*Certaine other Constitutions, besides the xxix, which the forsaid King Henry the third (sic), a little after, sent from Normandy to England, after Becket was fled over.*

"I. If any person shall be found to bring from the pope, or from the archbishop of Canterbury, any writing containing any indict or curse against the realm of England, the same man to be apprehended without delay for a traitor, and execution to be done upon the same.

"II. That no monk, nor any clerk, shall be permitted to pass over into England without a passport from the king, or his justices; whoso doth contrary, that man to be tached and imprisoned.

"III. No man to be so bold once to appeal to the pope, or to the archbishop of Canterbury, out of England.

"IV. That no decree or commandment, proceeding from the authority of the pope or the bishop of Canterbury, to be received in England, under pain of taking and imprisoning.

"V. In general, to forbid any man to carry over any commandment or precept, either of clerk or layman, to the pope or to the archbishop of Canterbury.

"VI. If any bishop, clerk, abbot, or layman, shall do contrary to this inhibition, the same incontinent to be thrust out of the land, with all their kindred, and to leave all their goods behind them.

"VII. All the possessions, goods, and cattell, of such as favour the pope or the archbishop of Canterbury, to be seized and confiscate for the king.

"VIII. All such of the clergy as be out of the realm, having their rents and profits out of the land, to be summoned and warned through every shire within three months to repair home, either else their rents and goods to return to the king.

"IX. That St. Peter's-pence should be no more paid to the apostolical see, but to be reserved diligently in the king's coffers, and there to be at his commandment. (Atque hæc ex Quadrilogo.)

"By these and such other laws and decreements it may appear, that the abolishing of the pope is no new thing in the realm of England. This only difference there is, that the pope being driven out then, could not be kept out so long as now. The cause is, that the time was not yet come that Antichrist should so fully be revealed; neither was his wickedness then so fully ripe in those days, as it hath been now in our time. Now, these premised, let us return where we left, to the matter betwixt the king and Thomas Becket.

"*The Communication and Controversy between the King and Thomas Becket, with his Clergy.*

"The king, as is aforesaid, conventing his nobles and clerks together, required to have the punishment of certain misdoers of the clergy; but Thomas Becket not assenting thereunto, the king came to this point, to know whether he would consent, with his clergy, that the customs then set forth in the realm (meaning by the first part of those decrees above specified) should be observed."

For the articles from Grafton, others were substituted in the subsequent editions, see p. 217, note. It will be perceived, that the first English edition of Foxe does not contain the absurd title which crept into the succeeding editions—"Other lawes and constitutions made at Clarendoun in Normandy, and sent to England," &c.

Page 201, line 2. "*And in the dead of the night, unknown to the bishops, removed from London.*"—Foxe omits this altogether. The "*Quadrilogus*" of 1495 (cap. 24) says:—"Et nec salutans nec salutatus à pontificibus, immo nescientibus ipsis, clam et ante lucanum Londoniâ recessit. Et quidem hoc grandis iræ et indignationis argumentum extitit. Videres tunc murmur in populo et motiones in clero. Episcopi turbati et tremuli regem abeuntem sunt persecuti, metuentes se non prius inventuros, quam audirent se omnia bona sua perdituros." It proceeds (cap. 25):—"Accidit post modicum tempus," &c.

Page 201, line 17. "*Bishop of Chichester.*"]—Grafton and Foxe say, "bishop of Chester:" the "*Quadrilogus*" reads "*Cicestrensis.*"

Page 201, line 9 from the bottom.]—These "two noble peers" were, according to Hoveden, Reginald, Earl of Cornwall, and Robert, Earl of Leicester.

Page 201, note (1).]—The original, whence the text is derived, runs thus in the "*Quadrilogus*" of 1682:—"Accidit post modicum Episcopum Lexoviensem reconciliandi gratiâ Regem ex transmarinis adiisse, nam ab amicitia ejus exciderat; qui (forsan ut recuperaret gratiam quam perdiderat) consilium dedit (utinam non in læsione nominis sui) ut ad se partem cleri converteret, ne prævalerent adversus eum, dum simul quasi conserta acie starent et communicatio suffragio sibi subvenirent."

The "*Quadrilogus*" of 1495 (cap. 25) reads in this passage "*Londoniensem.*" Grafton strangely misunderstands the whole (in connexion with the previous context, as cited in the last note but two) to mean, that "the king, removing from London unknown to the bishops, sailed over to Normandy, whither the bishop of London, called Gilbert, not long after resorted to crave the king's favour, and gave him counsel withal to join some of the bishops on his side, lest, if all were against him, peradventure he might sooner be overthrown." The errors of this sentence are corrected in Foxe's text. The corrections made receive confirmation from Hoveden, who says (*Script. post Bedam*, p. 492)—"*Deinde post multum tempus Ernulfus, Lexoviensis Episcopus, venit in Angliam, et sollicitè laboravit die ac nocte, ut pax fieret inter regem et Archiepiscopum, sed ad plenum fieri non potuit. Deinde per consilium Lexoviensis Episcopi rex separavit Rogerum Archiepiscopum Eboracensem, &c. &c. et alios quosdam ecclesiæ prælatos à consortio et consilio Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, ut per illos præfatum Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum in suos conatus facilius alliceret.*"

Page 201, note (2). "*In the king's promise.*"]—"In regis promissione." ("*Quadrilogus.*") One would rather have expected "in regis *postulatione*," or some such word. The king's "*request*" is mentioned a few lines above.

Page 201, note (3).]—Foxe (or rather Grafton) reads in the text, "After this came to him two rulers of the temple, called Templars; one, Richard de Hast; the other, Costans de Hoverio, with their company." The "*Quadrilogus*" says:—"Igitur cum tertio per Richardum, magni nominis virum, qui templo Hierosolymitano tunc præerat, sibi cavere moneretur et cleri misereri, non tulit eorum supplicationes, non geniculationes. Nam, tanquam in ipsius verticem vibratos gladios viderent, plangere videbantur, et tanquam funus præsens futurum facinus lugebant." The second Templar is not named here; yet it is plain, from the plural number being used in the rest of the sentence, that more than one came to Becket. Grafton seems to have supplied an "et" after "Richardum," and so made out two "*qui præera[n]t templo*," "two rulers of the temple." Hoveden says there were two Templars, and names them correctly "*Richardus de Hastings et Tostes de Sancto Homero.*" (*Scriptores post Bedam*, pp. 492, 493.) Gervase calls the latter "*Hosteus de Bolonia.*" (*Script. Decem.* col. 1386.) Mr. Addison, in his "*History of the Knights Templars*," London, 1842, p. 105, shows that Henry II. was a very great patron of the Templars; also that Richard de Hastings was a great man in his day, and master of the Temple at the king's accession. (Addison, pp. 99, 109, 110.) The clause "with their company" has been dropped in the text, there being no authority for it: for the cause which led to its introduction, see the next note.

Page 202, line 1. "*At length came these last messengers again from the king.*"]—"Tandem ultimi nuncii regis venerunt lacrymis et verbis eis expressis seorsum iteratò significantes quid futurum erat si non acquiesceret." The two Templars came again (iteratò), and in private (seorsum) expostulated with Becket. Hoveden, Brompton, and Gervase give them the credit of overcoming the archbishop's reluctance. Grafton, also, seems so to have understood the sentence; but he renders "ultimi nuntii" by "the last message," instead of "these last messengers." The word "seorsum" no doubt suggested to him the idea, that they came the first time "*with their company*" (see the last note): it rather means that they now conferred with Becket apart from "*his company*," viz. the

lords and bishops. (See Lord Lyttelton.) It is singular, however, that these words "Tandem ultimi . . . acquiesceret" are omitted in the second edition of the "Quadrilogus," which, after the words cited in the last note, goes on, "Unde potius super clernm quam super se motus miseratione annuit de consilio illorum Regiæ voluntati parere." This omission proves that the editors of that edition thought, either that the *Templars* did not come a second time, or that at least they were the "*ultimi nuncii*."

Page 203, line 6 from the bottom. "*The bishop of Evreux.*"]—The "Quadrilogus" of 1495 says, "Interea elaboratum est ab episcopo Eboracensi," &c.; but the later edition says, "Eborencensi." This is confirmed by Grime's MS. history, and Gervase (Script. Decem. col. 1328). "Eborencensis" is easily corrupted into "Eboricensis," and this into "Eboracensis."

Page 204, line 18.]—"*Legacy*," an old word for "legation" or "legateship," used by Foxe, p. 651, line 6, and vol. v. p. 91. It is curious, that while "legatio" is here translated as if it were "legatum," Foxe has at p. 598, § 10, translated "legatum" as if it were "legatio" by the term "*embassade*"—which (as a mis-translation) has been altered into "legacy" in this edition.

Page 204, line 23. "*That the king should be legate himself.*"]—Hoveden adds, "on condition of not molesting Becket." This explains the king's indignation.

Page 204, note (3).]—The translation in the text has been revised from the Latin.

Page 205, line 30.]—"Anacletus and Euaristus." See Labbe's Conc. tom. i. cols. 518, 537, 538, for the passages of their writings referred to.

Page 205, line 9 from the bottom. "*Cited up to appear by a certain day at Northampton.*"]—William Fitz-Stephen lays particular claim to accuracy in his account of the council of Northampton. He thus speaks of himself in the Preface to his Life of Becket:—"Ejusdem domini mei concivis, clericus, et convictor: et ad partem solitudinis ejus oris ipsius invitatus alloqui, fui in cancellariâ ejus dictator; in capellâ, eo celebrante, subdiaconus; sedente eo ad cognitionem causarum, epistolarum et instrumentorum quæ offerebantur lector, et aliquarum (eo quandoque jubente) patronus; *concilio Northamptoniæ habito*, ubi maximum fuit rerum momentum, *cum ipso interfui*; passionem ejus Cantuariæ inspexi; cætera plurima quæ hic scribuntur oculis vidi, auribus audiui, quædam à consciis didici relatoribus."

Fitz-Stephen's account of the council of Northampton differs in some respects from that in the "Quadrilogus." Dr. Brady gives the principal features of both in his History of England, vol. i. Foxe's account has been compared with both, and several inaccuracies corrected. The "certain day" for which Becket was cited to Northampton was, according to Fitz-Stephen, "Octava S<sup>ti</sup>. Michaelis, feria tertia," i.e. Tuesday, October 6th, A.D. 1164. He adds, that the king spent so much time on his way thither in hawking, that he did not arrive till too late to transact any business that day: the "prima actio" of the council, therefore, did not take place till the Wednesday, or "feria quarta" as the Quadrilogus calls it.

Page 205, line 7 from the bottom. "*Hoveden writeth,*" &c.]—As a change has been made here in Foxe's text, Hoveden's words are given:—"Ubi [apud Northampton] tædium magnum fecit [Rex] Thomæ Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. Imprimis enim fecit Rex equos suos hospitari in hospitii illius: sed archiepiscopus mandavit regi quòd ipse ad curiam non veniret, donec hospitia sua vacarentur ab equis et hominibus suis. In crastino colloqui venit Thomas archiepiscopus ad curiam regis," &c. The "Quadrilogus" opens the account of the council thus:—"Fæctâ igitur concione trahitur ad causam archiepiscopus, quòd ad quandam regis citationem se in propria persona non exhibuerit. Qui licet se sufficientem responsalem pro se inisisse probaverit, tamen omnium procerum et etiam pontificum judicio mox omnia ejus bona mobilia sunt confiscata, nisi forte regia Clementia vellet temperare judicium." Out of these two statements of Hoveden and the "Quadrilogus" Grafton makes up the following:—

So when the day was come, all the peers and nobles with the prelates of the realm upon the king's proclamation being in the castle of Northampton, great fault was found with the archbishop, for that he, being personally cited to

appear, came not himself, but sent another for him. The cause why he came not Hoveden assigneth to be this: for that the king had placed his horse and horsemen in the archbishop's lodging (which was a house there of canons), wherewith he being offended sent word again that he would not appear, unless his lodging were voided of the king's horsemen. Whereupon," &c. It will be at once perceived, that Grafton in this statement quite misrepresents the meaning both of Hoveden and the "Quadrilogus," and that the amended text places the matter in its true light.—The occupation of Becket's lodgings by the king's horses was a circumstance not at all unlikely to occur, in consequence of the king's arrival late on the Tuesday from his field sports, as mentioned from Fitz-Stephen in the last note. Grafton renders Hoveden's "mandavit" "sent word," though it is followed by the word "colloqui." Fitz-Stephen, however, confirms this rendering of "mandavit," for he says that Becket did not see the king on Tuesday; but next morning (*Wednesday*) waited on him and complained of William de Curci's having occupied one of his lodgings, and requested he might be ejected, which the king complied with: he then offered to enter into the affair of John the Marshal, but the king put it off till John's return from London. This probably was the "colloquium" to which Hoveden refers. Fitz-Stephen adds, that the next day (*Thursday*) Becket was condemned for his non-appearance at the king's court on Holy Cross day (Sept. 14), concerning John the Marshal's business:—"Quia scilicet a Rege citatus pro causâ cujusdam Joannis (mareschalli) neque venisset, neque idoneè se excusâset." (Fitz-Steph.) This John, the king's marshal, claimed a manor which was in Becket's possession. When called on in the spiritual court to swear to his case, he swore, not on the Gospels, but on a *troparium*. Becket refused to accept such an oath, and the man accused him to the king of refusing him justice. Being summoned to the king's court to explain the affair on Holy Cross day, Becket sent four knights to answer for him. This, then, constituted the first charge against Becket: "Quòd ad quandam Regis citationem se in *propria persona* non exhibuerit." The merits of the case itself were to be afterwards tried. The accusation *here* against Becket was simply that he did not appear *in person* in the king's court (agreeably to the Statutes of Clarendon); to explain his conduct in the affair. A fine of five hundred marks was accepted in lieu of his forfeited moveables. The "Quadrilogus" differs here from Fitz-Stephen in placing this transaction to the *Wednesday*, and then bringing up the affair of John the Marshal on *Thursday* as an entirely distinct charge.—Mr. Carte and Lord Lyttelton state, that the *troparium* above mentioned was not a song-book (as some have rendered it), but a book of church music, with a portion of a Gospel inserted at the beginning, and that it was the constant practice to be sworn on such books.

Page 205, line 4 from the bottom. "*A house of Canons.*"—The Cluniac convent of St. Andrew. See the note on page 214, line 3.

Page 206, line 16. "*And this was the first day's action.*"—The "Quadrilogus" says:—"Et hæc sententia sic lata in archipræsulem feriâ quartâ prima fuit concilii actio."

Page 206, line 17. "*The next day the king,*" &c.]—The "Quadrilogus" calls this the second day of the council, and "*feria quinta*" or Thursday.

Page 206, note (1).]—The "Quadrilogus" of 1495 (cap. 32) says:—"In palatio vero et qui ad concilium venerant universi jam audientes hæc obstupuerunt. Et jam passim submurmurabant solam captionem archipræsulis superesse. Alii verò etiam graviora suspicabantur. Et hoc quidem jam passim. 'Super his' (inquit verò archiepiscopus) 'prudentiores volumus consulere, et de consulto respondere.' Dum igitur pontifices qui aderant quid super his respondendum agendumve esset requirerent, Henricus tunc," &c. Fitz-Stephen says (p. 38):—"Jubetur super his omnibus regi rationem exponere. Respondit archiepiscopus se non ad hoc venisse paratum vel citatum. Super hoc si convenire deberet, loco et tempore domino suo regi quod juris esset faceret. Exegit rex ab eo super hoc cautionem fidejussoriam. Dixit ille, se oportere super hoc habere consilium suffraganeorum et clericorum suorum. Rex sustinuit. Ille discessit; et ex illa die amplius ad hospitium ejus non venerunt eum videre barones, aut alii milites, intellecto regis animo. Quartâ die, ad hospitium domini archiepiscopi venerunt omnes ecclesiasticæ

personæ illæ. Cum episcopis semotim, cum abbatibus semotim, super hujusmodi tractatum habuit, consilium captavit," &c. On the authority of the foregoing passages, the following words have been added to Foxe's text (l. 40—42):—"Becket, astonished at this demand, begged leave to consult with his brother bishops apart, before he made his answer, which was granted." The ensuing words—"And so ended that day's action. On the morrow"—are added to Foxe's text on the authority of Fitz-Stephen, who makes this last claim to be "propounded" on the *Friday*, and the consequent deliberation to occupy the *Saturday*. This last addition is also necessary to explain Foxe's own narrative; for his expression "the morrow after," at the opening of the previous paragraph, must mean *Friday*: and yet the next day named, and which Foxe describes as immediately following the deliberation, is *Sunday* (p. 209). It was necessary, therefore, to introduce a more distinct notice of the intermediate *Saturday*, in order to make out the week. It is singular that the "Quadrilogus" of 1495 makes the claim only "triginta marcarum:" but the "Quadrilogus" of 1682 says "ducenta triginta marcarum millia."

Page 206, note (2).]—The words in the text—"The archbishop was sitting apart in a certain conclave with his fellow-bishops about him, consulting together, the doors fast locked to them, as the king had willed and commanded"—would stand, according to Foxe, near the beginning of the previous paragraph, after the words—"The morrow after which was the third day of the council:" they are brought down here conformably to Fitz-Stephen's statement, which (as already intimated) makes this last claim on Becket to have been "propounded" in open council on the *Friday*, and discussed in conclave on the *Saturday*; and in fact, Foxe's subsequent narrative shows the same thing; for at page 208, l. 17, 18, 45, he distinctly says that Becket and his suffragans were shut into the conclave by the king for the express purpose of this deliberation, which (as already proved) took place on the *Saturday*. The expression "sitting apart" is a variation from Foxe, who says, "sitting below;" the "Quadrilogus" of 1495 (which he followed) says "deorsum," but the edition of 1682 says, "seorsum," apart; and Fitz-Stephen says the deliberation took place *ad hospitium domini archiepiscopi*.

Page 208, line 24. "Who hath thus," &c.].—This passage will be found in Fitz-Stephen (p. 30), whence the text is amended. The Latin of the part so amended is as follows:—"Et quis vos fascinavit, O insensati pontifices? Quid prudenti vocabulo dispensationis manifestam iniquitatem vestram contegitis? Quid vocatis dispensationem totius ecclesiæ Christi dispendium? Rebus vocabula servant; non cum rebus pervertantur vocabula. Quod autem dicitis, malitiæ temporis multa fore indulgenda, assentior certè: sed non ob id peccata accumulanda esse peccatis." Becket seems in the foregoing remarks to have had an eye to Decretal. Greg. IX. lib. v. tit. 40, De Verborum Significatione, cap. 6.

Page 209, line 24. "*Sunday, nothing was done.*"].—"In crastino vero, dominica viz. die, propter diem quievit concilium." ("Quadrilogus.") Fitz-Stephen, however, makes a very different representation:—"Quinta dies, quæ et dominica erat, tota consilii dedicata est. Vix reficiendi hora respirare licebat. Archiepiscopus ab hospitio non discessit" (p. 39).

Page 210, line 18 from the bottom.].—"Amoto ab humeris pallio cum infulâ, cæteris indutus vestibis sacris, cappâ clericali superjectâ." ("Quadrilogus.") *Cappa* was a cloak.

Page 211, line 24.].—These chaplains of the archbishop are named in the "Quadrilogus": "Erant enim ibi Magister Robertus Magnus [Grandis, edit. 1682] cognomine et Osbertus de Arundel [Arundelli, edit. 1682]. Cum autem qui ostiarii dicebantur cum virgis et baculis de cenaculo regis in quo rex erat cum magno impetu descendissent et vultu minaci et digitis extensi versus archipræsulem, quotquot in domo erant crucis signaculo se signantibus," &c.—*Quadrilogus*.

Page 211, line 33. "*William Fitz-Stephen.*"].—This is Becket's biographer Fitz-Stephen, miscalled here "John" by Grafton, who was probably misled by the mention of one "*John Plancia*" in the context.—*Quadrilogus*, edit. 1495, lib. i. cap. 26.



Page 211, line 9 from the bottom.]—The “*Quadrilogus*” says: “*Dictum est etiam quòd Joselinus Sarisburiensis et Wilhelmus Norwicensis episcopi, qui adhuc restiterant, traherentur statim ad supplicium in membris mutilandi: qui et ipsi pro salute sua Cantuariensem rogabant. Intuens igitur Archiepiscopus in Exoniensem, ait,*” &c.

Page 212, line 23. “*In all haste to the pope in France.*”]—“*Ad Romanam sedem.*” (“*Quadrilogus.*”) Foxe, from Grafton, says “up to Rome.” But the papal court was then at Sens. In like manner, at line 8 of the next page, “before the pope” is substituted for “up to Rome.”

Page 213, line 10 from the bottom.]—“*Et sic catholicæ ecclesiæ et apostolicæ sedis auctoritate hinc recedo.*”—*Quadrilogus.*

Page 214, line 3.]—“*Ad ecclesiam Beati Andreæ, religiosorum monachorum conventuale monasterium.*”—*Quadrilogus.*

Page 214, line 9.]—Fitz-Stephen says, that Becket was lurking in the kingdom from the Quinzaine of St. Michael (October 13th) to the commemoration defunctorum fidelium (November 2d); on which day Gervase says, “4 Non. Nov. [November 2d] apud Graveninges in Boloniensi territorio applicuit.” Gervase also says that he assumed the name of “*Frater Christianus.*”

Page 214, line 15.]—Wingham was one of the manors belonging to the see of Canterbury: but both editions of the “*Quadrilogus*” read here “*Mungeaham,*” which was another manor of the see of Canterbury. (See Hasted’s *Kent*, v. Great Mungeaham.)

Page 216, note (1).]—Becket himself states generally what the ordinances were to which he mainly objected, at page 230.

Page 216, note (1), line 4. “*A remembrance and recognition:*” “*recordatio et recognitio.*”]—These are somewhat technical terms, “*recordatio*” implying an examination of witnesses as to what the usage and precedent have been in any case, and “*recognitio*” the allowance, ratification, and recording thereof. The following passage in the Appeal of the bishops against the excommunications of Vezelai refers to this transaction at Clarendon, and seems to express the force of the two words in question:—“It was now necessary, with a view to restoring a good understanding, that an inquiry should be instituted into the ancient usages of the kingdom, and the question thus finally brought to an issue. And, accordingly, evidence was sought among the oldest of our bishops and nobility, and their combined testimony was publicly recorded.”—*Ep. D. Th.* i. 128, *Froude*, vol. iv. p. 177. See Ducange, and Thorpe’s Glossary to his *Anglo-Saxon Laws*, v. *Recordatio*.

Another illustration of this peculiar meaning of “*recordatio et recognitio*” will be found at page 114, Canon I. of the Council of London. (See the note in this Appendix on that Canon.)

Page 217, note, article IX.]—*Frank-Almoigne* was a tenure peculiar to ecclesiastics, and exempted from all secular services.—*Lord Lyttelton’s Henry II.* vol. ii. p. 249.

Page 218, line 13. “*I entered into the fold of Christ,*” &c.]—For explanation of this passage, see the note on p. 199, line 14.

Page 219, line 12.]—For “*Sens*” . . . “four years” . . . “six years.”—Foxe (copying Grafton) reads “*Senon*” (from the latin “*Senones*”), . . . “five years,” . . . “seven years.” But Foxe himself, at p. 244, rightly considers his banishment to have lasted “six years:” and as Becket left Pontigny about Martinmas (Nov. 13th) A.D. 1166, it is plain that his sojourn there lasted, as Foxe says, two years; which leaves but four years for his residence at Sens: Gervase expressly says he was there four years.

Page 220, line 19.]—For “four years” Foxe reads “five.” See the last note. Becket resided in the abbey of St. Columban while at Sens.

Page 220, line 21. “*In the mean time,*” &c.]—The matter from hence to p. 241, consisting chiefly of translations of letters, is Foxe’s addition to Grafton, who only briefly alludes to them. They were all written before Becket’s removal to Sens.

Page 221, note (1).]—This epistle is found in "Epist. D. Thomæ," lib. i. 64. In the Cave manuscript in the Bodleian, this letter occurs with the words prefixed "*sine salutatione*." For an allusion to this absence of a salutation, see p. 231, line 29. For a translation of this letter, see *Froude's Remains*, vol. iv. p. 141.

Page 227, line 13. "*The prior of Montdieu, and Bernardus de Corilo*."]—Hoveden reads (Script. post Bedam, p. 507), "Prior de Monte Dei et Bernardus de Corilo." Foxe from some obscure or corrupt copy reads, "Petrus de ponte Dei, and Bernardus de Corilio." The prior of Montdieu was named Simon; he was afterwards again sent by the pope as an envoy to Henry about 1168, with Engelbert, prior of Val de St. Pierre, and Bernard, a monk of Grammont, to warn the king against Becket's then threatened excommunication. (Epist. D. Thomæ, iv. 1, 29. *Froude's Remains*, vol. iv. pp. 360, 370, 388.) This Bernard de Corilo is the same individual as that Bernard of Grammont (see Epist. D. Thomæ, iv. 8, 10; *Froude*, pp. 376, 387).

Page 228, line 36.]—The excommunication of which the king was warned by the pope (p. 228) under date of May 27th, was pronounced by Becket at Vezelai on the Sunday after Ascension, June 5th, A.D. 1166: for this date, see a letter by John of Salisbury to the bishop of Exeter, "Epist. D. Thomæ," i. 140, translated by *Froude*, p. 149.

Page 228, line 5 from the bottom. "*Earl Hugh*."]—Hugh, earl of Chester, mentioned at p. 276.

Page 229, line 7. "*Letard, clerk of Northfleet*."]—Foxe reads "Norfolk;" but the "Quadrilogus" has "Northfleit," and Hoveden (Script. post Bedam, p. 513) "Norflicia," and Hasted's Kent (i. 446) says that Letard died incumbent of Northfleet, A.D. 1199. (Reg. Roff. p. 506.) For "Monkton," Foxe reads "Monchote," wherein he follows the "Quadrilogus;" but Hoveden (ut supra) reads "Novo Cotona," an evident corruption (as well as the "Monchoto" of the "Quadrilogus") of "Monocotona," or Monkton (called in Doomsday "Monocstume"). Monkton was one of the churches in the archbishop's gift.

Page 229, line 19. "*Richard of Ilchester*."]—Foxe reads "Rice of Wilcester." The letter reads "Vlcester," which is meant for Yvelcester, or "Ivecestre" (as Hoveden reads it, Script. post Bed. p. 506), or Ilchester. Foxe in the next page mis-calls him "Richard of Worcester." Richard of Ilchester was at this time archdeacon of Poitiers, and a great partisan of the king's; he was afterwards made bishop of Winchester. He is mentioned in Letters in *Froude*, pp. 135, 153, 154, 159, 161.—See *Godwin de Præsulibus, Cave*, and *Tanner*.

Page 230, line 34.]—"John of Oxford," son of Henry, a burgess of Oxford, was chaplain to Henry II., and much employed by him in his political affairs. At his command he presided at the council of Clarendon: he was sent with others to appear at Sens before the pope against Becket (p. 214): he was chief envoy to the diet of Wurtzburg in 1165: he was sent with other envoys to Rome in 1166 to threaten pope Alexander, that, unless he would abandon Becket, Henry would do all in his power to overthrow his authority. See Henry's letter to Reginald, archbishop of Cologne, stating this (Ep. D. Thomæ, i. 69, translated by *Froude*, p. 127). The other envoys were, the archbishop of York, the bishop of London, the archdeacon of Poitiers, and Richard de Lucy.—The allusion to the "oath" may be explained by a passage in one of John of Salisbury's letters (Ep. D. Th. i. 73. Joan. Sarisb. 182): "It appears that John of Oxford has, in the name of our king, entered into compact with this German tyrant, and sworn that he shall be supported with English arms and counsel against all mortals, saving only the king of France." (*Froude*, p. 126.) It was no doubt in allusion to this oath, that Becket in a letter (Ep. D. Thomæ, i. 155, translated by *Froude*, p. 236) calls him "Jurator," "the Juror." Respecting the other two charges alleged here against him, see the last note, and the note on page 236, note (1). He was made bishop of Norwich A.D. 1175, and itinerating justice A.D. 1179, and died A.D. 1200. (See *Fuller's Worthies*, and *Tanner's Bibliotheca*.)

Page 230, line 22 from the bottom. "*That infamous schismatic of Cologne.*"—Reginald, archbishop of Cologne, is meant. "It was at his suggestion, principally, that the emperor had set up Pascal (Guido de Crema) as antipope, to succeed Victor (April 22d, A. D. 1161). At a meeting lately held at Wittemberg or Wurtzburg (May 23d, A. D. 1165), to support the emperor in this attempt, Reginald opened the proceedings, and gave out, on the authority of the English envoys, that Henry was about to join them, and would bring fifty bishops with him; on the strength of which reinforcement he proposed adopting strong measures, and banishing all persons of any station in the Church who declined acknowledging Pascal. The archbishop of Magdeburgh objected, and called upon the archbishop of Cologne to commit himself first, by receiving consecration from Pascal. The latter hesitated; but on the emperor becoming furious, and charging him with treachery and false dealing, he consented, and received orders from the antipope, promising to receive consecration afterwards. (Ep. D. Th. i. 72.) The archbishop of Rouen denied, afterwards, that the king had made any such promise as that asserted of him, 'quia quinquaginta quos exhiberet Rex non haberet' (Ep. D. Th. i. 102). Reginald was then only archbishop elect, nominated to the see A. D. 1159 by the emperor, whose nomination at that time the pope of course would not recognise. Before this he was only chancellor (Ep. D. Th. i. 33)." (Froude, vol. iv, p. 153, and *L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*) Reginald came into England A. D. 1165, to conduct Matilda, the king's daughter, to the duke of Saxony, to whom she was betrothed. After his departure, the churches where he and his attendant priests had said mass were re-consecrated. The king was forced to submit to this, to prevent the breach between him and Alexander from becoming wider than it was. (Rapin, vol. ii. p. 314.) Probably, it was then that John of Oxford communicated with Reginald, in the way which is here laid to his charge.

Page 230, line 12 from the bottom. "*The king himself we have not yet excommunicated personally,*" &c.]—The king was not excommunicated at Vezelai, in consequence of a letter arriving from the king of France on the Friday previous, signifying, under the oath of Richard, archdeacon of Poitiers, and Richard de Humet, the king's severe indisposition.

Page 231.]—For a translation of this letter of the clergy of England to Becket, see Froude, p. 171. The letter is in "Epist. D. Thomæ," i. 126.

Page 231, line 29. "*A threatening letter, wherein there is no salutation premised.*"—For "salutation" Foxe reads "salvation." The original is "sine salute premissâ;" and the allusion is to the letter at p. 221, note (1). See the note in this Appendix on that letter.

Page 232, line 3.]—This sentence is better rendered by Mr. Froude, p. 172: "Lastly, to secure your lordship against worldly reverses, he wished to establish your power in the things of God; and, against the advice of his mother, the remonstrances of his kingdom, and the sighs and longings which the Church ventured to express, exerted all his influence to place you in your present exalted situation, hoping thereby to secure the happiness and prosperity of his reign."

Page 233, line 16.]—This appeal was resolved on after a debate, June 24th: it is in "Epist. D. Thomæ," i. 128, and Froude, p. 176.

Page 233, line 22.]—For a translation of most part of this letter of Becket to his suffragans, see Froude, p. 185. The letter itself is in "Epist. D. Thomæ," i. 127.

Page 235, line 35. "*And where you write in your letters concerning my promotion,*" &c.]—The reference is to the top of p. 232. See the note on that page. Mr. Froude, p. 187, thus renders this passage:—"Next you insinuate in your letter, nay you expressly assert, that the whole kingdom exclaimed against my promotion, and the church sighed and groaned over it. Know ye what the word of truth says—'The mouth that beliieth slayeth the soul?' (Wisdom, i. 11.) Would not even one of the commonalty be ashamed to say such things? And priests, above all others, are bound to speak the truth. Consult your own consciences; revert to the manner in which the election was conducted; to the unanimity which prevailed in all who had a voice in it; to the assent of the

king, given through his son, and confirmed by the chief nobles of the realm. If any of these opposed or protested at all at the time, let him declare it: but it is not for one man to say that the whole of the kingdom was dissatisfied, because he himself had his own private reasons for dissatisfaction." Where Becket means to insinuate that Foliot, bishop of London, had been ambitious of being archbishop himself.

Page 236, note (1).]—"The deanery of Salisbury had lately become vacant on the promotion of Henry, the late dean, to the bishopric of Baieux. (Ep. Joan. Sarisb. 148, 201.) At this time some of the canons of that church were in banishment with the archbishop, and the pope forbade the election of a new dean to proceed without their consent and privacy. (Ep. D. Th. i. 100.) But as the bishop was under the king's displeasure, he found it necessary to make his peace, in defiance of the pope's command, by conferring the deanery on the king's nominee. (Ep. D. Th. i. 104. ii. 7.) According to the statement made by John of Oxford to the pope, he accepted the deanery on compulsion."—*Froude*, p. 154.

Page 241. "*The talk between*," &c.]—Here Foxe resumes his quotation of Grafton, suspended at p. 220.

Page 243, line 5.]—The subject of prince Henry's coronation, by Roger, archbishop of York, is involved in some obscurity, owing doubtless to the pope's duplicity. Rymer gives a letter of pope Alexander III., directed to Roger, archbishop of York, forbidding him to crown the king's son, as being the exclusive prerogative of the archbishop of Canterbury, dated *Cisvinarium*, 4 Cal. Martii, an. 16 Hen. II. (ex *Labbei Conc.* tom. x. 1219). Another to the same, stating that it was unlawful for any, and forbidding any, to crown or anoint the kings of England, except the archbishop of Canterbury (ex *Bibl. Cotton. Vesp. c. xiv.* 128). Also another to the same, and to Hugh, bishop of Durham, suspending them for having crowned the king, dated *Ferentini*, vi. Cal. Oct. (ex *Hovedeno*). Also a letter to Becket, dated *Anagni*, 4 November, ordaining for ever that none shall crown or anoint the kings of England, except the archbishop of Canterbury. Also a suspension (without date) of the bishops of London, Salisbury, Exeter, Chester, Rochester, St. Asaph, and Landaff, for their share in it. (Ex *Bibl. Cotton. Vesp. c. xiv.* fol. 1286.)

It is certain, however, that a bull, giving Roger permission to perform the ceremony, is found in three MSS., though omitted from the collection of letters made by Lupus under the pope's eye. It is as follows (the Italics are not in the original):—"Alexander Papa Rogero Eboracensi Archiepiscopo.—Quanto per carissimum filium nostrum, Henricum illustrem Anglorum Regem, ampliora commoda et incrementa in hujus necessitatis articulo ecclesiæ Dei pervenisse noscuntur, et quanto nos cum pro suæ devotionis constantia majori affectione diligimus et cariores in nostris visceribus retinemus, tanto ad ea quæ ad honorem incrementum et exaltationem ipsius et suorum cognoscimus pertinere libentius et promptius aspiramus. Inde est utique, quòd, ad ejus petitionem, dilectum filium nostrum Henricum, primogenitum filium suum, communicato fratrum nostrorum consilio, ex auctoritate Beati Petri ac nostrâ concedimus in Anglia coronandum. Quoniam igitur hoc ad officium tuum pertinet, fraternitati vestræ per Apostolica Scripta mandamus, quatenus, cum ab eodem filio nostro rege propter hoc fueris requisitus, coronam memorato filio suo ex auctoritate sedis Apostolicæ imponas, et nos quod a te exinde factum fuerit ratum ac firmum decernimus permanere. Tu vero debitam ei subjectionem et reverentiam, salvo in omnibus patris sui mandato, exhibeas et alios similiter commonecas exhibere."—*Lambeth MS.* fol. 216 b and 247 a; *Cotton MS. Claudius*, b. 11. lib. 2, fol. 288; and *Bodleian MS.*

The authority given in this letter tallies with that which was previously granted by Alexander to Roger of York in an early letter, in which, after he has confirmed the ancient grant of bearing the cross, he adds the power of crowning the king, "sicut ex literis antecessorum nostrorum predecessoris tuis concessum est, et sicut eosdem predecessores tuos constat ex antiquo fecisse." (Epist. D. Thomæ, lib. i. 10.) This power may only refer to assisting at the coronation; the fact, however, is worthy of remark, especially as Becket procured afterwards a bull revoking that grant to the archbishop of York (Ep. D. Thomæ, lib. iv. 41). As a further argument in favour of the authority of this

letter, it should be remembered that it tallies with the assertion made at the time of the coronation, by the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London, that they had obtained the pope's consent to the coronation being performed by the hands of the latter, or any other bishop. Can we believe that men of such characters, therefore, would have either wilfully stated an untruth, or forged the letter by which the authority was conveyed? Nay, it actually appears that the pope himself wrote to Henry, entreating him to keep it secret from Becket, that such a permission had been given. (Epist. D. Thomæ, v. 45.) Indeed, when it is remembered what the conduct of the pope had been regarding the legatine commission, the suspension of Becket, and the absolution of Foliot, it may be easily credited, that within a very short time after this letter he sent other letters to Becket, expressly forbidding the bishops, and especially the Archbishop of York, from doing anything to the detriment of Becket's rights in the coronation of the prince; or that he afterwards suspended the Archbishop of York for the very act for which he had so lately given his written permission, and guaranteed him scatheless from all its consequences. These letters of prohibition never arrived in England, in consequence of the careful watch placed over the sea-ports, by which all suspicious messengers and despatches were prevented from entering the kingdom. In the absence of these, and in obedience to the former letter, the Archbishop of York performed the ceremony, and Henry for the time was triumphant. (See Ch. of E. Quart. Rev. April 1841.)

Page 244, line 31.]—It appears that these very expressions which were the immediate occasion of Becket's death, were used by the king four years before at a conference with his courtiers at Chinon, just before the excommunications at Vezelai. John of Salisburi in a letter to the bishop of Exeter (Ep. D. Th. i. 140, and Ep. Joan. Saresb. 159) states, that at that meeting, "According to those who were present at the time, he [the king] asserted, with tears in his eyes, that the said archbishop would take from him both body and soul; and, in conclusion, he called them all a set of traitors, who had not zeal nor courage enough to rid him from the molestations of one man."—*Froude*, p. 150.

Page 246, line 18.]—"Soldiers," "milites" ("Quadrilogus"), i.e. "Knights." Fitz-Stephen calls them "domestici regis barones;" Hoveden and Brompton, "quatuor milites;" Hoveden adds, "viri quidem generis præeminentia conspiciui."

Page 246, line 36.]—The words "on pilgrimage" are added from Grafton.

Page 253, line 1.]—The manor of Knaresborough (Foxe writes it "Gnasborough," or "Gnasborough") belonged to Morville.—*Hoveden*.

Page 253, line 2. "*To go in linsey-wolsey*," &c.]—Foxe (copying Grafton) says erroneously "in their linen clothes," owing probably to "laneis" being mistaken for "lineis" (see the notes in this Appendix on pp. 124, 254); but no passage has been met with in any of the old chronicles, in which this part of the penance is described. (See Gervase, Hoveden in Script. post Bedam, p. 522, Neubrigensis, lib. ii. c. 25.)

Page 253, line 3. "*Died a few years after*," &c.]—Mr. Carte observes that the biographers of Becket are quite mistaken in this, for that William de Traci, whom they particularly mention to have died most miserably, lived above fifty years longer, and having expiated his crime with the monks of Christ Church, by the gift of his manor of Docombe, was seneschal of Normandy in 1175 and 1176, joined with the barons against King John, and served in the expedition into Wales in 1222, and had scutage from all his military tenants for that service. It is likewise certain from records, that Hugh de Morville was living in King John's time, and had several privileges granted him.

Page 253, line 17 from the bottom.]—Gervase (Decem Script. col. 1422) dates this penance, "Avranches, 5 Cal. Oct."

Page 254, line 16.]—See the note on p. 276, note (1).

Page 254, line 20.]—Foxe omits one part of the king's penance. Hoveden's words are (Script. post Bedam, p. 539), "extractis calceamentis, nudus, pedes, et in pannis laneis, per tria milliaria profectus usque ad sepulcrum martyris," &c. Gervase also says (Decem Script. col. 1427), "*In veste lanea, nudis pedibus ab ecclesia S. Dunstani quæ longe extra urbem posita est usque ad tumbam sancti Thomæ Martyris perveniens*," &c. (See the notes on pp. 121, 253.) The



"Quadrilogus" says, "Toto nudato corpore, præterquam vili quadam tunica super nudo anictus."

Page 254, line 12 from the bottom.]—"Coventry." Foxe says, "Chichester;" Brompton, "Cestriæ;" which meant "Lichfield and Coventry." See page 343, note (4).

Page 257, line 16. "*This year the contention revived again.*"—Rather, the year preceding. See Hoveden, p. 550, edit. Francof. 1601; and Rad. de Diceto in Twysden's *Hist. Ang. Scriptores* X. col. 589; also col. 1109. L'Art de Vér. des Dates also places this council to A. D. 1176.

Page 257, line 23. "*A council at Westminster.*"—Held (according to Hoveden, Wilkins, and L'Art de Vér. des Dates) March 14th, A. D. 1176.

Page 257, line 36.]—See before, p. 111, and vol. i. p. 335.

Page 257, note (2).]—Mr. Palmer, in his "Origines Liturgicæ," gives the following account of the casule, chimer, and rochet:—"The *casule*, or chasuble, or vestment, was an outer garment, extending from the neck nearly to the feet, closed all the way round, with only one aperture, through which the head passed . . . . Originally the casula was worn, not only by bishops and presbyters, but by all the inferior clergy; but in the course of ages it became peculiar to presbyters and bishops . . . . It is appointed by the English ritual to be worn by bishops in celebrating the eucharist, and in all other public ministrations, in which, however, they may use a cope instead of it.—The name *chimer* was probably derived from the Italian *zimarra*, which is described as 'vesta talere de' sacerdoti e de' chierici.' It was a long garment closed all round, with apertures for the arms to pass through; formerly scarlet, but afterwards changed for the black satin chimer now used by bishops.—The *rochet* differed from the surplice chiefly in having narrower sleeves; for the ancient English bishops do not appear to have used the very wide and full lawn sleeves, now worn by the bishops."

Page 258, line 31. "*Protector of France.*"—See Diceto sub anno 1181.

Page 258, line 33.]—Grafton says that Heraclius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, brought letters to the king from Pope Lucius III. making him this offer.

Page 259, line 1. "*The wisdom,*" &c.]—Documents about most of the affairs alluded to in this paragraph will be found in Hoveden.

Page 260, last line. "*Jacobus, the Archbishop of Mentz . . . a little before in the Council of Basil, where the price was wont*" &c.]—Foxe alludes to this story four times in the "Acts and Monuments," here and at p. 109, and vol. iv. pp. 12, 164. In the edition of 1570, p. 294, this passage appears for the first time, and without the word "in:"—"Jacobus, the Archbishop of Mentz . . . a little before the council of Basil, where the price was wont" &c. Whether this statement is to be accurate or not, will depend on whether the middle clause, "a little before the council of Basil," be connected with what follows, or with what precedes. The latter supposition makes Jacobus to pay the exorbitant sum named a little *before* the council of Basil: this supposition Foxe adopted; for in the same edition, in the places corresponding to p. 109 of this volume, and to vol. iv. p. 164, he reads—"which sum Jacobus, archbishop of Mentz, was pressed to pay a little before the council of Basil." The former supposition—*i. e.* as though the text meant, "*whereas* the price was wont a little before the council of Basil to be" &c.—makes the price for some reason rise rapidly *after* the council from 10,000 to 27,000 florins. This last is the truth, as appears from L'Art de Vér. des Dates, which makes *Jacques de Liebenstein* become archbishop of Mentz A. D. 1504, sixty years after the council of Basil: the same appears from the statement of grievances called "Liber Gravaminum Nationis Germanicæ" referred to here in Foxe's note as his authority, and of which, as also of the proposed "Remedy," he gives a translation *infra*, vol. iv. pp. 11—15; and at p. 12 this very case of the archbishopric of Mentz is fully stated: from that passage two errors have been corrected in this, *viz.* "*ten thousand*" is here read for Foxe's "a thousand," and "twenty-seven thousand" for "twenty-six thousand." Whether the word "in" was afterwards introduced into our author's text by accident or design, does not appear; but it is not unlikely that Foxe had before him some writer, as Henry Token

(cited by him at p. 354, and vol. iii. p. 772), who said that statements were made on this subject "*in concilio Basiliensi*:" that such was the fact there is no doubt, as the following extract from *L'Art de Vér. des Dates, Archevêques de Mayence*, v. Conrad, will show:—"L'an 1429, sur la convocation qui fut faite du *concile de Bâle*, Conrad dressa un état des griefs de l'église Germanique contre la cour de Rome, avec les moyens de les redresser. Mais avant de rendre public ce mémoire, il assembla le 12 Novembre 1431 ses comprouvinciaux dans la ville d'Aschaffembourg, pour en conférer avec eux. Le mémoire fut approuvé par l'assemblée et envoyé au concile de Bâle, où Conrad, malgré le désir qu'il en avait, ne put assister." This memorial no doubt stated that the usual price was *then* 10,000 florins; and probably not only produced the decree of the council of Basil against Annates, but also furnished useful data to the future memorialist who presented the "*Liber Gravaminum*" to Maximilian, A.D. 1510, when the price was nearly trebled.—The foregoing remarks will explain why the words "a little before the council of Basil" at p. 109, and vol. iv. p. 164, have been dropped in this edition; they might indeed have been changed into "a little *after* the council of Basil," but that expression seemed rather too slight to describe an interval of 60 years.

Page 261, note (1). "*Ex libro Gravaminum nationis Germanicæ.*"—The list of grievances here alluded to was presented to the emperor Maximilian in 1510; and again in 1518, no attention having been paid to the complainers, nor any remedies suggested by the Lateran Council: see note on vol. iv. p. 11.

Page 262, line 24. "*Baldwin, of a Cistercian monk made a bishop.*"—See pp. 718, 723. Foxe, vol. v. p. 376, represents Baldwin as not becoming monk till he was elected archbishop. But this account is the correct one: Neubrigensis says (lib. iii. cap. 8), "*Ex abbate Fordensi Episcopus Wigorniensis factus.*" M. Westminster says the same at the year 1181, adding, that he was of the Cistercian order.

Page 263, line 6. "*About A.D. 1160.*"—The edition of 1563, p. 41, reads "About the yeare of our Lorde MCLX." The printer of the next edition seems to have mistaken L for I, and gives 1109 for the year, which error was perpetuated in all the subsequent editions.

Page 263, line 8. "*Gratian, master of the decrees.*"—See some account of his "*Decretum*" *suprà*, vol. i. p. 301, note (3).

Page 263, line 9. "*Peter the Lombard, master of the sentences.*"—Peter Lombard, Professor of Divinity at Paris, afterward Bishop of Paris 1159, died 1164. His great work is the celebrated "*Book of Sentences*," in which he treats of all the principal questions which were then debated in the schools, and illustrates them by a copious and methodical collection of apposite passages from the Fathers, chiefly from Hilary, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine. The work soon became classical, and was made the subject of voluminous commentaries by most of the great scholastic divines in that and the following centuries.

Page 264, line 8 from the bottom.]—"In vulgarem sermonem vertere, docendo declarare." *Illyricus*, "*Catalogus Testium*," edit. 1608, col. 1499, v.

Page 266, line 15. "*And this they said,*" &c.]—"Et hæc institutio diu stetit, sicut chronica gestorum ostendunt; et vetustissimus Græcus Origenes, qui statim post Christi tempora fuit, sicut primarius magister scribit super tertium librum Mosis: Quicumque," &c.—*Fratrū Waldensium Responsio Excusatoria apud Fasciculum Orth. Gratii*, fol. 88, A. (vol. i. p. 175, ed. 1690.)

Page 266, note (3).]—The statement of the Apologist is this: "Duplex est purgatorium, unum est hic, alterum in futuro sæculo. Primum habet fidem in scripturis sacris, et est certum, &c. . . . Secundum purgatorium est in alio mundo, et hoc est incertum, quia scriptura sacra non dat de hoc testimonium, de quo primitiva ecclesia nihil scivit, neque sequaces per longum tempus; et veteres doctores non confirmant, *præcipue de loco*. Sed proximè novi quidam, non a longo tempore, ut Thomas Aquinas: is *locum invenit tertium in inferno*. Sed vetus doctor Augustinus aliter sensit, dicens, Locus purgatorii non est ostensus, nisi quòd multis exemplis se animæ ostenderunt in his locis, et cruciatibus ostensæ sunt . . . Sicque vetus doctor Augustinus eum aliis veteribus doc-

toribus contradicit Thomæ, quoniam priores tenuerunt, quòd post resurrectionem Salvatoris nullæ animæ ingrediuntur infernum nisi damnatorum. Sed Thomas invenit in inferno duo loca, unum non baptizatorum, alterum animarum purgandarum," &c.—("Responsio Excusatoria Fratrum Waldensium," apud Orth. Gratium, fol. 89, c. v.) From the foregoing extract it would seem, that Foxe exhibits the meaning of the Apologist more correctly in the margin than in the text—"Thomas Aquinas first finder of Purgatory."

Page 268, line 8.]—"Sacerdotem quocunque loco sacrum Christi corpus conficere posse, petentibusque ministrare."—*Illyricus*, col. 1525.

Page 268, line 30. "*So long as a man may say,*" &c.]—"Ita diu, quod possunt dicere triginta vel quadraginta Pater Noster et Amen aliquoties."—*Illyricus*, col. 1523, c.

Page 268, note (4).]—The following is the Latin of the two foregoing sentences: "Item nullam aliam orationem dicunt nec docent nec habent, nisi orationem Dominicam, Pater Noster, &c. Nec orationem reputant salutationem Angelicam, Ave Maria; nec symbolum Apostolorum, Credo in Deum; et dicunt illa per Romanam Ecclesiam non per Christum fuisse ordinata seu composita. Veruntamen articulos fidei 7 de divinitate, et 7 de humanitate, et 10 precepta, et 7 opera misericordiæ, sub quodam compendio quodammodo ab eis ordinato et composito, dicunt et docent, et in illo plurimum gloriantur et statim offerunt se promptos ad respondendum de fide suâ."—*Illyricus*, col. 1524, b.

For the words "Nec orationem reputant" in the above passage the *first* edition of the "Catalogus Testium" had "nec aliud reputant," while *Illyricus* wrote in his margin, "Id est, negant symbolum esse orationem." This marginal note was afterwards wrought into the text, and "aliud" changed into "orationem." Dr. Maitland proposes to read "aliquid" for "aliud;" *i. e.* "they reject the Ave Maria and the Apostles' Creed, classing them as human compositions made up by the Romish Church." See *Pilichdorf contra Waldenses*, cap. xx.

The seven articles of faith "pertinentes ad mysterium Trinitatis, quorum quatuor pertinent ad *Divinitatis* intrinseca tres vero ad effectus," are enumerated in the Constitutions of Archbishop Peckham, Wilkins's Conc. tom. ii. p. 54: also the seven articles "qui pertinent ad Christi *humanitatem*." (*Ibid.*) Then follows a brief commentary on the Ten Commandments: then the Seven Works of Mercy, "quæ ex Matthæi Evangelio patefiunt," viz. "famelicum pascere, potare sitibundum, hospitio recipere peregrinum, vestire nudum, visitare infirmum, consolari carcere mancipatum;" Septimum ex Tobia colligitur, scil. "Sepelire corpora mortuorum." (*Ibid.* p. 55.)

Page 269, line 13.]—Reinerius Saccho, a native of Piacenza, was first a zealous Waldensian, afterward a preaching friar, general inquisitor of heretics, and a bitter persecutor. He was at length banished Milan A. D. 1259, and died in exile. (Cave's Hist. Litt.) The greater portion of his "Summa de Catharis et Leonistis" is published in *Illyricus's* "Catalogus Testium," edit. 1608, col. 1507.

Page 269, note (3).]—This citation is not quite exact. Reinerius says, that "there were forty-one schools in the diocese of Passau alone;" and the next place he calls "Clemmate."—*Maitland's Albigenses and Waldenses*, p. 403.

Page 270, line 1.]—"Habeo consultationes jurisperitorum Avenionensium, item archiepiscoporum Narbonensis, Arelatensis, et Aquensis, item ordinationem episcopi Albanensis de extirpandis Valdensibus, jam ante annos 340 scriptas."—*Illyricus*, col. 1501.

Page 270, line 11. "*Is apparent from,*" &c.]—"Facile ex prædictâ trium archiepiscoporum Gallicorum consultatione ante annos 340 scriptâ apparet."—*Illyricus*, col. 1501.

Page 27, line 7 from the bottom. "*Translated out of Sleidan into English.*" ]—This was done by John Daus, and was printed by John Daye, in London, 1560. See Dibdin's "Ames," vol. iv. p. 77.

Page 271, line 17.]—See the note on page 188, line 5: also p. 272.

Page 271, line 34.]—Urban III. died October 11th, A. D. 1187, and Gregory VIII. died December 17th following.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 272, note (7).]—Wharton, in his “History of English Poetry,” mentions this bishop Stephen, and supposes him to have been a comic poet. Trivet’s words are as follows:—“Stephanus Redonensis Episcopus obiit, cui ante mortem (ut ipse fassus est) apparens quædam persona, parvo levique sibilo dixit ei hos versus: ‘Desine ludere temerè; nitere surgere properè de pulvere.’ Ipse enim multa, rythmico carmine et prosa, jocundè et ad plausum hominum scripserat. Et quia Miserator hominum eum in proximo morituum sciebat, monuit eum, ut à talibus abstinens pœniteret.”—*Nicolai Triveti Annales*, Oxonii, 1719, p. 73.

Page 273, line 5.]—“Johannes Burgundio, Pisanus civis,” is mentioned by Cave in his *Hist. Litt.* He flourished A. D. 1148, was at the Roman council A. D. 1180, and died A. D. 1194.

Page 273, line 13. “*Richard Pech.*”]—Wharton, ex fide *Annal. Eccl. S. Werburgæ Cestrensis*, says he died October 6th, A. D. 1182; Hoveden says A. D. 1183. He was consecrated bishop of Lichfield and Coventry A. D. 1161.—*Godwin de Præsulibus*.

Page 273, line 16. “*Hugo.*”]—“Cœnobii Carthusiani Witthamæ in Somersetiâ, ab Hen. II. nuper positi, prior,” born at Grenoble, in Burgundy; consecrated A. D. 1186; died about November, A. D. 1200. M. Paris (sub anno 1200) relates his miracles.—*Godwin*.

Page 273, line 21. “*Baldwin.*”]—Baldwin began to build the college for canons at Hackington, near Canterbury, with a view to transfer the election of archbishop from the monks of Canterbury to persons who would be more obsequious to the king. The monks prevailed with pope Urban III. to stop the building and forbid the plan. On his death, October 11th, A. D. 1187, Baldwin proceeded to found the archiepiscopal establishment at Lambeth, but was interrupted by death, A. D. 1190. Clement III. was elected December 19th, A. D. 1187.—*Godwin*.

Page 276, note (1).]—Foxe has authority for the statement in the text (see Rastal’s Chronicle, &c.), but it is not quite accurate. Hugh, earl of Chester, was taken prisoner at Dol in Bretagne, on Sunday, August 26th, A. D. 1173 (Carte, Henry); and the king sent for the earl of Leicester early next year into Normandy, and confined him with the earl of Chester in the castle of Falaise; and brought them over with him as prisoners to England, Monday, July 8th, A. D. 1174 (Hoveden, Carte, Henry). Henry performed his penance at Canterbury the following Friday, and the king of Scots was taken at Alnwick the next day, Saturday tertio idus Julii, i. e. July 13th, A. D. 1174. (See Fordun’s “Scoti-chronicon,” Gul. Neubrigensis, Hoveden, Henry, and Nicolas’s Tables.) The statement in the text, therefore, is only correct as to the king of Scots.

Page 276, note (4).]—Foxe is a little incorrect in the text. It was *Urban III.* who died of sorrow for the loss of the Holy Cross, as related at p. 271. (See the note on that page.)

Page 277, note (3). “*One thousand and five hundred*”]—Hoveden says, “Quingenti viri, exceptis mulieribus et parvulis:” on which expression Foxe probably grounded his number, for which no other authority has been discovered.

Page 277, note (5).]—Foxe’s description of Richard’s preparation for his departure to the Holy Land is very embarrassed, and it has been necessary to make several changes and transpositions of his text, to reduce it to accurate history. In the text, anticipating a subsequent stage of the negotiations, he says, that they agreed to go “about Easter next ensuing;” for which the words “at a certain interview” have been substituted in the text.

Page 278, line 8. “*Hugh Puzas, bishop of Durham.*”]—This Hugh de Pudsey, bishop of Durham, ordered a Bible to be written for him some time between the years 1153 and 1194, which is now extant in the library of the Chapter, and is divided into chapters.—*Faber’s Hist. of the Waldenses*, p. 375.

Page 278, line 32. “*Philip the French king,*” &c.]—Foxe, by mistake, makes Richard send to remind Philip. The text has been altered in conformity with Hoveden, Script. post Bedam, p. 660; Acta Publ. tom i. p. 63; Brompton; Diceto; M. Paris.

Page 278, line 5 from the bottom. "*After which the king,*" &c.]—This paragraph is made up of two passages of Foxe, which would stand at pp. 280, 298. Richard embarked at Dover, December 11th, and kept his Christmas at Lions-la-foret, seven leagues from Rouen, whence he proceeded to Gué St. Reme, and held the interview with Philip described in the text on St. Hilary (January 13th). See for authorities, Benedictus Abbas Petroburgensis, pp. 579, 583, Vinesauf's "*Iter Hierosolymitanum Regis Richardi*," Hoveden, Brompton.

Page 278, note (2).]—Foxe says in the text that the Jews were to be called on for "lx thousand" pounds (Ed. 1570); "60,000," (Ed. 1571); but, erroneously, "6,000," (Edd. 1583, 1596).—See *Stowe's Chronicle*, ad an. 1188.

Page 279, line 16 from the bottom. "*Gardeviance*"—is a word used at least three times in Foxe, viz. here, and at vol. v. p. 102, and vol. vi. p. 413, and in each case in reference to a religious procession; it seems to mean "the pomp and circumstance," the customary paraphernalia and observance, of such processions.

Page 281, line 5.]—Respecting the duration of Anselm's episcopate, consult the account of him at pp. 144—171, and the Table at p. 723.

Page 281, line 17.]—Foxe or his MS. seems to have mis-read 38 Hen. II. instead of 30 Hen. II., for he says "eight and thirtieth."

Page 291, line 24.]—"The court," both here and line 35, and next page, line 27, means "the court of Rome." (See Gervase, apud Script. Decem, col. 1497.)

Page 293, line 19 from the bottom.]—Foxe says Urban died the "nineteenth" day after. He should have said the "eighth," or "ninth" including the first.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 294, line 19 from the bottom.]—Read "seventeenth."—See *L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 294, line 18 from the bottom. "*Clement III.*"—See the note in this Appendix on p. 142, line 1.

Page 295, line 3.]—Hoveden says that the king came to Canterbury Nov. 27th, and proposed the compromise two days after.—*Gervase, Brompton*, and *Ralph de Diceto*, apud *Decem Scriptores*, cols. 1558, 649.

Page 296, line 12.]—"Theobald" is here substituted for Foxe's "Richard:" see pp. 187, 281.

Page 296, line 21.]—"Roger" is here substituted for Foxe's "Richard:" for the occasion referred to, see p. 110; the archbishop of *Canterbury* was named "Richard," but there is not a "Richard of York" in all Godwin's list.

Page 298, line 7.]—This "agreement" was made Nov. 29th. See the note on p. 295, line 3.

Page 298, line 10. "*He committed,*" &c.]—What is here related took place at a council held by Richard in France on English affairs after the Feast of the Purification, which was February 2d.—*Benedict. Abbas*, p. 584; *Hoveden*, p. 664.

Page 298, line 24. "*These things and others.*"—This and the next sentence stand in Foxe's text at p. 280; the words "and came to Chinon" are added on Hoveden's authority, to connect the narrative.

Page 298, line 7 from the bottom. "*To Tours, and after that.*"—These words are brought from a previous sentence of Foxe; Richard received at Tours the pilgrim's scrip and staff, as Philip had already at St. Denis.

Page 298, line 6 from the bottom.]—They met at Vezelai July 1st, and marched forward two days after.—*Benedictus Abbas*, p. 590.

Page 299, line 2.]—Vinesauf says that Richard stayed three weeks at Marseilles, and embarked the day after the Assumption, or August 16th.

Page 299, line 4. "*The seventh day of August,*" &c.]—This sentence, as far as "sea-coast of Italy," had slipped lower down in Foxe's text.

Page 299, line 10.]—"Octavian" is by Foxe, here and at p. 315, mis-called "Ottoman" (see Moreri v. Cardinal): "Octavianus," Hoveden, p. 668.

Page 299, line 18. "*Passing on horseback to Salerno.*"—"In equis conductis." (Hoveden, p. 668.) Foxe says, "partly by horses and waggons, partly by the sea, passing," &c.

Page 299, line 38. "*A stroughold called De la Baynara, or Le Bamre.*"—



Foxe is quoting Hoveden, p. 673 :—"quod est in medio fluminis del Far inter Messanam et Calabrian." M. Paris says, "transiit fluvium qui Far dicitur."

Page 299, line 10 from the bottom.]—Vinesauf and Diceto (col. 657) call this place "Mategriffum."

Page 301, line 9 from the bottom. "*Richard, hearing of Joachim,*" &c.]—See a reference to this story *infra*, vol. iii. p. 105. Joachim was born in Calabria, about A.D. 1130. Having travelled in Palestine, he assumed, on his return, the habit of a Cistercian monk, and became abbot of Curazzo in Calabria, and afterwards founder and first abbot of Flora in Calabria. He was celebrated for his prophecies: what Merlin was among the English, Malachy among the Irish, and Nostrodamus among the French, such was Joachim among the Italians. He wrote many works. Two years before his death he published a confession of his faith, in which he begs that his works might be submitted to the censorship of the Church after his death, in case he died without putting his last hand to them.

Page 302, line 10. "*Should have sojourned.*" ]—"Ambularet" (Hoveden); Foxe, "travailed."

Page 302, line 11 from the bottom.]—Clement III. died March 27th, A.D. 1191, and Easter fell that year on April 14th. (See Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 302, note (2).]—The archbishop of Apamea might probably have been in Europe to stir up the Christian princes, as the archbishop of Tyre was a few years before.

Page 302, note (3).]—Hoveden says, "de Appamia, Anxiensis, et Woracensis." The names and titles in the text are put in from the passage in Hoveden, compared with numerous contiguous passages, in which the same bishops evidently recur again and again. Gallia Christiana has also been consulted, and confirms the titles which are put in.

Page 304, line 19. "*On Saturday, the thirtieth day of March.*" ]—Foxe says, erroneously, "the eight and twentieth day of March." Vinesauf says, "Sabbato post Annunciationem B. Virginis," and Hoveden, "Sabbato tertio Cal. Aprilis," which means the same thing, *March 30th*. (Nicolas's Tables.) Foxe's *next date* also requires this; for as Easter in the year 1191 fell on April 14th, and Hoveden describes that date "*Sabbato in Hebdomade Paschæ,*" *i.e.* Saturday, April 20th, it would be the twenty-second day after *March 30th*, including (as usual) that day itself.

Page 304, line 23. "*After the departure,*" &c.]—"Eodem die" (Hoveden). Vinesauf implies the same.

Page 304, line 6 from the bottom.]—This behaviour of Pope Celestine III. to Henry VI. is referred to again, vol. iv. pp. 114, 143. See Hoveden (Script. post Bedam, p. 689), Knighton (Script. Decem. col. 2403), and Baronius, ad an. 1191, § 10.

Page 305, line 5. "*The tenth day of April.*" ]—Hoveden says, "feria quarta ante Cœnam Domini." "Cœna Domini" means Maunday Thursday (or the day before Good Friday), which in A.D. 1191 fell on April 11th (Nicolas's Tables). The "feria quarta," or Wednesday before, would therefore be April 10th. Vinesauf says, "die Mercurii post Dominicam Palmarum," which is the same date with Hoveden's.

Page 305, line 11.]—"Applicuit in insula de Creta, deinde in insula de Rhodes."—Hoveden.

Page 306, line 18 from the bottom.]—Vinesauf says it was on Sunday, St. Pancras' day, or May 12th, which fits the year 1191. (Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 307, line 13.]—Foxe inadvertently says "sixth" instead of "seventh," and at line 23 "seventh" for "eighth." Richard certainly reached Acre "proximo Sabbato ante festum beati Barnabæ Apostoli, in Hebdomade Pentecostes." In the year 1191 Pentecost fell on June 2d, and St. Barnabas' day was June 11th. The Saturday between would, therefore, be June 8th. (See Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 307, line 17.]—Vinesauf gives a terrible description of the "Græcus ignis," or wildfire, here used. See *Lord Lyttelton's Henry II.* vol. ii. p. 161.

Page 307, line 18.]—"Ducentos serpentes perniciosissimos."—*Vinesauf*.

Page 307, line 27.]—*Vinesauf* says the surrender of Acre took place "die Veneris proximâ post translationem beati Benedicti;" that feast was July 11th, and in the year 1191 fell on a Thursday. (Nicolas's Tables.) The surrender of Acre was, therefore, on July 12th, as Foxe states.

Page 308, line 12 from the bottom.]—The day of "St. Peter ad Vincula," *i. e.* August 1st.—*Vinesauf*.

Page 309, line 18.]—The battle of Azotus was fought September 7th, or the "twenty-second day after Richard's leaving Acre," which was August 22d. (*Vinesauf*.) At this battle 20 emirs and 7,000 of the flower of the Turkish cavalry were slain; and Richard boasted that in forty campaigns the Turk had not received such a blow.

Page 312, line 9.]—Gerard de Camville had bought the government of Lincoln Castle from Richard, and yet Longchamp demanded it of him, and tried to displace him by force.—*Brompton*.

Page 312, last line but one. "*Matthew Le Clerc*."—Foxe calls him "their constable;" he is by Diceto (*Decem Script.* col. 671) called "municeps principalis castelli de Dovera."

Page 315, line 5.]—The earl of Salisbury was William Longspey: see page 374. Foxe's names of the English nobles have been corrected here, and in many other passages, from Dugdale's Baronage, and other authentic sources of information.

Page 315, line 24.]—Foxe says, "If he would restore to him again Selavonia, in as good state as it was when he took it." It is "Scalona" in Hoveden, which led to the mistake of "Selavonia." Foxe has misunderstood the condition, which was—"si Ascalon dirimeretur, ut in posterum non re-ædificaretur à Christianis nec a Turcis:" see Brompton, who afterwards says it was agreed that Ascalon should be dismantled for three years: it was dreaded by the Sultan, as a strong fortress on the frontier toward Egypt. For the state in which Richard found it, see Foxe, p. 309; after which he had been at immense pains and expense in restoring the walls and fortifications. It was there that he affronted the duke of Austria, who afterwards took him prisoner.

Page 316, line 9.]—Foxe says erroneously, that Richard embarked "the next spring."

Page 317, note (1). "*Eulogium*."—This Chronicle extends from the Conquest to the year 1367. Among the "Notæ Anonymi" written in the margin of Cave's Hist. Litt. in the Lambeth library, in the handwriting of Henry Wharton, and printed in the Oxford edition of Cave, 1743, this Chronicle is ascribed to John Wicliff. The passage referred to by Foxe occurs at folio 163 of the Cotton MS. of the *Eulogium*. "Anglici multum condolentes de regis incarceratione miserunt pro eo 100,000 libras argenti. Unde fere omnes calices et omnia vasa argentea conversi fuerunt in monetam, ut regem suum liberarent, qui honorificè honoratus est. Impetratum fuit à Domino Papa ut celebrare possent sacerdotes in calicibus de stanno, et sic longo tempore fecerunt, quod et nobis visum est. . . . Dominus vero Austriæ, qui regem incarcerationavit, lite inter papam et ipsum ingruente moritur excommunicatus anno 1196."

There is much contradiction as to the real amount paid for Richard's ransom; for at p. 438 we read (on the authority of M. Paris, sub. an. 1246) that the English clergy assured the pope, that Richard's ransom cost 60,000 marks, which were raised with the help of the church plate. M. Paris, however, in this place says that 140,000 marks were demanded: at p. 794 Foxe mentions only 30,000 marks as paid for Richard's release. There is a letter in Hoveden, from Richard to his mother and the justices of England, dated Haguenaui, 3 Cal. Maii, A.D. 1193, stating that he would be released on the payment of 70,000 marks. The final settlement of the matter, given by Hoveden, and from him by Rymer, states that 150,000 marks (100,000*l.*) were to be paid, 100,000 at once, and the remainder in seven months after his return to England; 30,000 of this remainder were to go to the emperor, and 20,000 to the duke; sixty hostages for the payment being given to the emperor, and seven to the duke. Foxe's account in this place very nearly coincides with Hoveden.

Page 318, line 23. "*These words of Fulco,*" &c.]—The king only dissembled for the moment. The original passage is here given, which is more terse than our author's version.

"Dico tibi, O Rex, ex parte omnipotentis Dei, ut tres filias quas habes pessimas citius marites, ne aliquid deterius tibi contingat. Cui fertur, 'O digito compesce labella: Accusator erit qui verum dixerit;' 'Nemo sine vitiiis nascitur; beatus qui minimis urgetur;' et alibi, 'Nemo sine crimine vivit.' Cui fertur regem respondisse: Hypocrita mentitus es in caput tuum, quia filiam non habeo ullam. Ad quod Fulco respondens ait: Certe non mentior, quia (ut dixi) tres habes filias pessimas, quarum una est Superbia, altera Cupiditas, tertia Luxuria. Convocatis igitur ad se Comitibus et Baronibus multis qui aderant, ait Rex: Audite universi commonitionem hujus hypocritæ, qui dicit habere me tres filias pessimas, videlicet," &c.—See *Hoveden, Brompton, Camden's Remains*, &c.

Page 318, line 13 from the bottom. "*Ademar.*"—Foxe calls him "Widomarus." Hoveden (*Script. post Bedam*, p. 790) calls him "Widomarus, vice-comes de Limoges." *L'Art de Vér. des Dates*, in the Article *Viscomtes de Limoges*, calls him "Ademar III. le Barbu."

Page 318, note (1).—This Fulco is the "Eximius Prædicator" of France, mentioned by Grosthead at p. 530 of this volume. Hoveden introduces this story by the following account of Fulco (*Script. post Bedam*, p. 789):—"Eodem anno erat in Gallia quidam sacerdos nomine Fulco, quem magnificavit Dominus in conspectu regum; deditque ei potestatem cæcos illuminare, claudos, mutos, et alios diversis languoribus oppressos curare, dæmones effugare: hic autem meretrices relicto impudiciæ fræno ad Dominum convertit: usurarios etiam ad cœlestem thesaurum invitans, quem nec ærugo nec tinea demolitur nec fures furantur, fecit omnem substantiam quam usura et fœnus devoraverat in usus pauperum distribuere. Ipse quidem prædixit regibus Franciæ et Angliæ, quod unus illorum in mala morte in proximo interiret, nisi celerius ab hostilitate cessasset. Et quia in illo tempore messis quidem erat multa et pauci operarii, conjunxit ei Dominus viros sapientes verba salutis æternæ prædicantes, magistrum *Petrum*, et dominum *Robertum*, et dominum *Eustachium* abbatem de Flai, et cæteros quosdam, qui missi per orbem terrarum prædicaverunt ubique, Domino cooperante et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis." And Brompton (col. 1274) says, "Illis quoque diebus quidam propheta efficacissimus in Francia surrexit, scilicet Magister Fulco, pro quo Dominus manifestè dignatus est mirabilia operari. Hic summo opere usuram conabatur extirpare. Hic etiam Fulco quendam religiosum ac faciundum prædicatorem, abbatem sc. de Flay ordinis Cisterciensis, in Angliam misit ad commercia quæ Dominicis diebus solebant tunc fieri deponenda." But Brompton (col. 1278) tells the story in the text of Walter, archbishop of Rouen.—These extracts respecting Fulco are given at full, as illustrating a passage of Foxe in page 530.

Page 318, note (2).—The king had a regiment of Flemings in his service, the captain ("dux") of which was named "Marchadeus" (Hoveden). Foxe amusingly calls him "the duke of Brabant" here and next page, line 13. Brompton calls him "Marchadeus" (col. 1277), Knighton "dux Brabancie" (col. 2413). "Princeps nefandæ gentis Braibancanorum" (Hoveden, 768); "Marcadeus nephariis Brabantinorum vallatus catervis" (Diceto, col. 697). He seems to have been a "soldier of fortune," who was ready to enlist wherever sufficient inducements offered, and was now in Richard's pay.

Page 321, line 6.]—Foxe in this place makes Geoffrey the third, and Richard, the fourth, son of Henry II.: this error is corrected in the text. Diceto (col. 657) says that Richard "Arturum hæredem suum instituit, si sine prole discesserit;" clearly implying that Richard was older than Arthur's father. Also Gervase (col. 1590) says that Arthur, when a boy, "familiarium suorum et imperitorum seductus consilio cœpit rebellare," &c. See Sandford's *Genealogical History of the Kings of England*.

Page 323, line 26. "*Simon Langton . . . became archbishop of York, as appeareth in the course of this story.*"—He was elected by the chapter A. D. 1215, but rejected by the pope, as stated at page 338; nevertheless, Foxe in the margin of p. 393 calls him "archbishop of York."

Page 324, line 21.]—The sentence being corrected, the original is given from M. Paris: "Et quod magis in præjudicium et subversionem libertatum ad coronam suam spectantium redundat, ipsius consensu à monachis (qui illum postulasse debuerant) nec rite requisito, eundem Stephanum temerè promovere præsumit."

Page 326, line 25. "*Three bishops.*"—Foxye says "four," and adds, "Giles, bishop of Hereford." But M. Paris (p. 157, Ed. Paris, 1644) mentions only three—"Willielmus Londinensis, Eustachius Eliensis, et Malgerus Wigorniensis;" and soon after he mentions these three as flying from England, together with Joceline of Bath, in order to avoid the king's rage. Hence Foxe may have thought that all four were engaged in pronouncing the interdict. Foxe also says "Walter, bishop of Winchester," instead of "Mauger, bishop of Worcester." (See Godwin de Præsulibus.) The date of the interdict, as given by M. Paris, is "Quadragesima sequenti, prima die Lunæ in passione Domini, quæ tunc contigit Decimo Calendas Aprilis;" i. e. Monday, April 24th, A. D. 1208. (Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 328.]—This scene between the king and Pandulph is given in the "*Annales Waverleiensis.*"

Page 330, line 12.]—"Peter Wakefield, of Poiz," rather "of Pomfret."

Page 330, line 22. "*Scant were there threc, saith the chronicle,*" &c.]—Grafton says, "three in the realm, said he, that lived christianly."

Page 330, line 25.]—King John reckoned his regnal years from Ascension-day, on which day (May 27th, A. D. 1199) he was crowned. Ascension-day in 1213 happened on May 23d; John's *fourteenth* regnal year would, therefore, end May 22d, A. D. 1213.—*Nicolas's Chronology of History.*

Page 330, line 36. "*And used to tattle and talk.*"—In the first edition (p. 64) the reading is "to trattle," as in Bradford's Examinations, vol. vii. pp. 168, 762. It occurs also in a Skeltonical poem, quoted in Brydges' *Censura Literaria*, vol. i. p. 67, edit. 1815:—

"And wyll do nothyng elles  
But *tratlynge* tales telles."

Page 332.]—This obligatory document is given in M. Paris, p. 164, dated Wednesday, May 15th, A. D. 1213. A new translation of the Latin is substituted for Foxe's, which is from Grafton, and very defective. The submission spoken of in the previous paragraph was made two days before, Monday 13th, at Dover.—*M. Paris*, p. 163.

Page 333. "*Upon this obligation the king was discharged,*" &c.]—The king was absolved from the sentence of excommunication by Archbishop Langton, at St. Swithin's church, Winchester, on the feast of St. Margaret the Virgin [July 13, A. D. 1213], according to the "*Annal. Waverl.*": the archbishop had been specially sent for from France for the purpose, as the barons refused to accompany John in his expedition into France while he continued excommunicate. The kingdom was not relieved from the interdict till Wednesday, 6 Non. Julii [July 2d], the year following.—*Thos Wikes, Ann. Waverl.* After the words "six years and three months," the edition of 1563, p. [66], adds, "and 16 days from the first proclaiming thereof."

Page 333, below the middle. "*And Ireland.*"—Edit. 1563, p. 66, adds, "So was it discharged in the second day of July, after six years, iii. moneths, and xvi. dayes from the first declaring therof."

Page 334, line 18 from the bottom.]—The words, "and a great sort more . . . . Toulouse," are inserted from Grafton, whom Foxe is copying; they seem to have been left out by accident. "Sataloni" seems a corrupt word, formed from some transposition of the *syllables* of "Folosani;" or it may be a corruption of "Carcassone." Catalonia does not seem to have come under the papal thunders, or it might have been supposed to be meant here.

Page 335, last line but one.]—"Homely handling of his majesty" is introduced from Grafton. Foxe says "humble handling of his majesty's will."

Page 335, note (1). "*Hieron. Marius.*"—His real name was either *Cælius Secundus Curio*, or *Massarius*: see Clement's *Biblioth. Curieuse*, vii. 367. He was an Italian physician, but fled to Switzerland upon embracing the tenets

of the Reformed Church, as stated by himself in the dedication to his book entitled *Eusebius captivus, sive modus procedendi in curia Romana contra Lutheranos*, &c., Basileæ, 1553: and Foxe has apparently rather overstepped this authority in the present instance, the words of Marius being "*lege sancivit* (Innocentius III.) *ut maledicentibus Papæ pœna infligeretur*:" p. 29.

Page 336, line 4. "*Rebellion*."]—This word, intended to describe the struggle for the Magna Charta, Foxe borrows from Grafton. See the note on p. 340, line 19.

Page 338, line 12. "*In the same year, A.D. 1215*."]—Foxe says, "the next year, A.D. 1216;" but see Richardson's Godwin "*De præsulibus*," &c. Seven lines lower Foxe erroneously calls Walter Gray "bishop of Winchester."

Page 338, line 23.]—Gervais Hobrugge was præcentor of St. Paul's.—*M. Paris*.

Page 340, line 1. "*Despoiled*."]—"Deprædatus est."—*M. Paris*.

Page 340, line 19.]—Foxe says here "Lincoln," instead of "Boston." Mr. Pegge, in an article in vol. iv. of the *Archæologia* on the story of King John's being poisoned by a monk, expresses his surprise that Foxe, as a native of Boston, should have spoken of Swineshead Abbey as not far from "Lincoln," whereas it lay six miles east of Boston, and Boston thirty-seven miles south-east of Lincoln. But the fact is, Foxe is copying Grafton, from whom he borrows *en masse* the greater part of his account of King John's reign.

Page 340, line 36.]—*M. Paris*, in the same passage in which he mentions this anecdote of King John (p. 245), speaks of him as of a sceptical turn, and as doubting of a future state and of other articles of the christian faith. John's remark on the fat stag certainly savours of profaneness more than anything else; but, judging from observation, infidelity and profaneness are the natural fruits of Popery in a mind which has once seen its delusions, unless true religion be at the same time presented and embraced.

Page 342, line 5. "*Yet Matthew Paris*," &c.]—Mr. Pegge, in the article in the *Archæologia* referred to in the last note but one, mentions with dishonour Foxe's name among others, as perpetuating the story about King John's being poisoned by a monk. But the fact is, that (as has been before observed) Foxe's account of this reign is little else but a transcript from Grafton's Chronicle, which he gives nearly as he found it. In this particular instance, however, he has gone beyond his author, and gives, out of pure candour and desire for truth, the other (more charitable, though then less popular) statement of *M. Paris* (pp. 287, 288) as to the cause of John's death.

Page 342, line 17.]—"In nocte quæ diem S<sup>ci</sup>. Lucæ Evangelistæ proximè secuta est." (*M. Paris*.) St. Luke's day is October 18th. Foxe says erroneously, "Upon St. Lucy's even." John's death is commonly dated October 19th.

Page 342, note (3).]—The work here referred to is intituled "The Pastime of People, or the Chronicles of Divers Realms, and most especially of the Realm of England, briefly compiled, and imprinted in Cheapside, by John Rastell [A.D. 1529]:" reprinted and systematically arranged, London, 1811. Rastell here says, "Also about this tyme, the citezynes of London made such sute to the kynge, that they optayned that the kynge graunted them, to chose of them selfe yerely a mayre and ii. sheryffes, and the names of haylyffes clerely to be voyded: whose names of the meyre and sheryffes were, the first mayre Henry Fitz Alwyn; the first sheryffes, Peter Duke, Thomas Nele."

King John granted a charter to the citizens of London for choosing their own *sheriffs*, dated July 5th, in the first year of his reign [A.D. 1199], and another for choosing a *mayor*, dated May 19th, in the sixteenth year of his reign [A.D. 1214]. (Maitland's History of London, vol. i. pp. 74, 76.) Between the Conquest and this latter year, the sheriffs were called *bailiffs*. During the Anglo-Saxon period, the chief magistrate of London was called the *portgrave* or *portreve*; after the Conquest, he was called the *provost*. *Mayor* was taken from the French *meyre*, which was the title of the chief magistrate of Rouen. (Maitland, vol. ii. p. 1192.) Arnold's Chronicle says, that Henry Fitz Alwyn, or *Heryson Alwyn* as he calls him, first took the title of *mayor* A.D. 1207 for that of *custos* (see p. 802 of this volume) or *bailiff*, under which title



he had held the office for twenty years. Fitz Alwyn appears at the head of the list of mayors in Maitland (vol. ii. p. 1195) for twenty-four consecutive years, A. D. 1189—A. D. 1212; and in the list of sheriffs (*ibid.* p. 1202) Thomas Fit. Neel and Peres le Duc appear at A. D. 1208.

Page 343, line 28.]—Foxe, misled by Walter Hemmingford, reads "Gloucester;" but M. Paris, "Chester." Dugdale's *Baronage* states (vol. ii. pp. 42, 43, 211) that the earl of Chester was materially useful to the king at this time; while the earl of Gloucester joined Louis, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln.

Page 343, bottom of the page.]—This list is corrected from *M. Paris* and *Dugdale's Baronage*.

Page 343, note (1).]—The former account of John's children is copied from Grafton, and is substantially correct: the latter is not. The three sons, William, Guy, and Ethelmar, bishop of Winchester, were his step-sons with Isabella of Angoulême, his third wife, by whom he had the other two sons, and three daughters. "Guy de Lusignan" is by Grafton and Foxe called here "Guido Disenaie." "Liziniac" might easily be mistaken for Disenaie in a MS. Ethelmar is mentioned at pp. 423, 441. Joan's marriage is mentioned at p. 374.

Page 344, line 19. "*The new pope.*"—Honorius III. was crowned pope July 24th previous.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 345, top of the page.]—This list is corrected from *M. Paris* (p. 295) and *Dugdale's Baronage*.

Page 345, line 5.]—Louis was not himself at the battle of Lincoln, being engaged at the time in the siege of Dover Castle: the earl of Perche acted as his commander in chief. Foxe represents the nobles presently mentioned as slain with the earl of Perche; whereas they were only taken prisoners.—See *Matthew Paris*, pp. 295, 296, and *Dugdale's Baronage*.

Page 345, line 16. "*Eustace, a French monk.*"—Foxe calls him "a French lord." But he is called "Eustachius Monachus" in the *Forma Pacis*, where one stipulation is, that Louis shall compel the brothers of Eustachius Monachus to surrender the islands belonging to England. He is also called "Archipiratum Francorum" (Melrose Chron.); "Eustachius, cognomento Monachus" (Annales Waverl.); M. Paris (p. 298) says "Eustachio monacho, viro flagitiosissimo;" and, soon after, "Eustachius monachus, proditor regis Angliæ, et pirata nequissimus." Hemmingford calls him "quidam tyrannus ex Hispania, cognomine Monachi, qui cum multas exigisset prædas, multaque loca suo subjugasset imperio, tandem anhélavit ad regnum Angliæ conquerendum." "Eustachius ut fertur monachus, qui ut decebat apostatam ostendens suam inconstantiam sæpe de uno rege transivit ad alium, et tanquam de Monacho factus Dæmoniacus dolo et perfidia plenus fuit." (Walsingham, Hypodigma Neustricie.) Mr. Carte (History of England, tom. ii. p. 9) calls him "Eustace le Moine, who had formerly deserted from John to enter the king of France's service." M. Paris states that the French had eighty ships besides other craft, and the English forty of all sorts.

Page 345, line 30.]—The "*Forma Pacis*" between Henry and Louis is in Rymer, dated Lambeth, Sept. 11th, A. D. 1217.

Page 345, line 30. "*The archbishop of Canterbury.*"—M. Paris says, "William, earl of Pembroke;" and the Melrose Chronicle says that the archbishop did not return to England from the general council (of Lateran, A. D. 1215) till May, A. D. 1218; whereas this treaty was concluded "3 Id. Sep." i. e. Sept. 11th, A. D. 1217.—See *M. Paris*, and the last note.

Page 345, line 33.]—Foxe says "fifteen thousand marks," but M. Paris (p. 299) "quinque millia librarum sterlingorum." Foxe at p. 383 says "one thousand marks," where the corresponding passage of M. Paris (p. 336) says "quinque millia marcas."

Page 345, line 40. "*The bishop of Canterbury.*"—M. Paris still says "William, the earl of Pembroke," and represents Louis's departure as anything but honourable.

Page 346, line 1. "*Whereof mention was made before.*"—See pp. 338, 339.

Page 346, line 18 from the bottom. "*About this season,*" &c.]—This is an inaccuracy of M. Paris (p. 297). Foxe has already mentioned the death of Innocent III. and the accession of Honorius III. at the right places (pp. 340, 344). Innocent III. died July 16th, A. D. 1216.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 346, line 17 from the bottom. "*Frederic, the nephew of Frederic Barbarossa.*"—Here "nephew" is used, as in other places of Foxe, for (nepos) "grandson."—See *Glossarial Index*.

Page 346, line 15 from the bottom.]—Foxe takes up the history of Frederic II. at pp. 455—509.

Page 346, line 13 from the bottom.]—M. Paris gives this letter, p. 301.

Page 347, line 22.]—Honorius III. died March 18th, A. D. 1227.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 347, line 13 from the bottom. "*The second of this king's reign.*"—Foxe says, "the *third*" year; but the parliament met just after Michaelmas (Ann. Waverl.), and Henry's *second* regnal year did not close till October 27th, A. D. 1218.—See *Nicolas's Tables*.

Page 347, line 9 from the bottom. "*Throughout England.*"—After these words, should be read the sentence in the next page from the edition of 1563.

Page 347, line 6 from the bottom.]—"Forty-ninth" is substituted for Foxe's "fiftieth." Becket was slain Dec. 29th, A. D. 1170, and the *third* year of Henry III. ended October 27th, A. D. 1219. M. Paris (p. 310) places the shrining of Becket under the year 1220.

Page 347, last line but one.]—Isabella was married to the earl of Marche, A. D. 1217.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 348, line 1.]—William, earl of Pembroke, died in March A. D. 1219; which occasioned the promotion of Hubert de Burgh to be chief justice, as just before mentioned, and of Peter, bishop of Winchester, to be "*regis et regni rector.*"—*M. Paris*, p. 304.

Page 348, line 18.]—*Engelard de Ciconia* is, in M. Paris, called *Engelard de Athie*. This list has been corrected by Dugdale's Baronage.

Page 348, line 22. "*Foukes, who fortified the castle of Bedford,*" &c.]—This is out of place. Foukes de Breant, for certain outrages in the neighbourhood, was condemned by the king's justices, sitting at Dunstable A. D. 1224, in a great sum of money. This occasioned his seizure of one of them, which led to the siege of Bedford Castle by the king's forces during seven weeks, at the end of which time it was taken by storm, on the Assumption, August 15th, A. D. 1224. He did not leave England till the year A. D. 1228, soon after Bartholomew-tide (August 24th), as Dugdale shows in his Baronage, vol. i. p. 745. (See M. Paris, p. 320.)

Page 348, line 3 from the bottom.]—This second coronation took place on Whitsunday, May 17th, A. D. 1220.—*M. Paris*, p. 309.

Page 348, note (1).]—The passage in the text is a translation of Hoveden.

Page 349, line 8.]—M. Paris (p. 299, an. 1209) calls this bishop of Lincoln "Hugo, archidiaconus Wellensis:" Godwin, "Hugo Wallis, archidiaconus Wellensis." This story about his fine is in M. Paris, p. 299, an. 1217.

Page 349, line 13.]—Robert Curson was the famous preacher against usury, mentioned in the note in this Appendix on p. 318, note (1), and by bishop Grosthead at p. 530. He was an Englishman, chancellor of Paris, created by Innocent III. cardinal of St. Stephen in Cœlio Monte A. D. 1212, and died at Damietta A. D. 1218.—*Moreri*.

Page 349, line 15. "*The life and acts of Pope Innocent III.*" &c.]—From hence to p. 363 is a digression, the greater part of which falls chronologically rather under the preceding reign; and at p. 350, line 28, Foxe says, "this King John," as though he had originally written this matter for the preceding reign.

Page 349, line 22.]—Foxe says, by mistake, "five" instead of "six" years. See p. 333.

Page 350, line 15.]—As Foxe's text has been a little amplified in this paragraph, the original passage from Mutius is given. By the way it may be remarked, that Foxe erroneously calls this author *Hermannus Mutius*.—"Anno Domini 1212, fuit hæresis in Alsatia, qua seducti erant nobiles et vulgus. Affirmabant quolibet die licere carnes comedere, in piscium esu immodico tam inesse luxum, quam in reliquis carnis generibus. Item male facere, qui contrahere matrimonia prohiberent, cum Deus omnia creavit, et sancta omnia sint cum gratiarum actione accepta a fidelibus. Hi pertinaciter opinionem illam suam defendebant, et eredebant multi illis, nec dubitabant blasphemias dicere in sanctissimum dominum Papam, qui prohiberet ecclesiasticis contrahere, et quibusdam diebus a cibis corporum humanorum constitutioni idoneis (*sic*). Quapropter Pontifex Romanus præcepit ejusmodi homines e medio tollere. Suntque uno die circiter centum ab episcopo Argentinensi combusti. Multi carceribus mancipati, donec revocaverunt, palam professi se errare."—*Huldericus Mutius, German. Chronic.* Liber xix. apud Pistorii "Germ. Script." tom. ii. edit. Ratisb. p. 809, Edit. Hanov. p. 176.

Page 350, line 24. "*Naucerus, another historian,*" &c.]—An inaccuracy of Foxe's having been discovered and corrected in this paragraph, the original is here cited, where Illyricus for "Mediolanum" reads "Mediolanensibus;" but Foxe seems to have taken "Mediolanum" for "Mediolanenses," and made it the nominative to "miserunt." "In partibus etiam Alsatiae tum hæresis et error tam nobilium quam plebeiorum multum increvit, volentium et asserentium licitum et nequaquam esse peccatum, in Quadragesimæ diebus et reliquis Sextis feriis anni comedere carnes: quicquid etiam peccarent homines cum his membris quæ sub umbilico forent licitè fieri posse, dicentes hæc fieri secundum naturam. Unde quotannis hujus erroris et hæresis authoribus Mediolanum certum censum miserunt: tandem vero ab Episcopo Argentinensi ac civibus capti utriusque sexûs et conditionis homines fere octoginta unâ die omnes igni traditi sunt et combusti."—*Nauceri Chronographia, Volumen Tertium. Gener.* 41. sub anno 1212.—See Ussher, *De Christ. Eccl. Suc. et Statu*, lib. x. §§. 33, 34.

Page 353. "*The prophecy of Hildegard.*" ]—She was born at Spanheim about A. D. 1098, and became abbess of St. Rupert near Bingen. She attracted the notice of pope Eugene III., St. Bernard, and all the chief men of her day, by her prophecies, which were publicly approved and confirmed at the council of Treves. She died Sept. 27th, A. D. 1180. Her visions were printed at Paris 1513, Colon. 1628. (Cave's Hist. Litt.) M. Paris says that Hildegard flourished in the days of pope Alexander III., who was pope A. D. 1159—1181. He says that she slept for four days, during which sleep the spirit of prophecy was infused into her, and a supernatural acquaintance with learning. (M. Paris, p. 548, anno 1241.) See more of Hildegard *infra*, vol. iii. pp. 87, 193.

Page 354, line 7. "*Johannes de Rupe-scissa.*" ]—(Cutcliffe) is mentioned several times again in this volume. See Index.

Page 354, line 19. "*Henry Token.*" ]—This writer is mentioned by Foxe *infra*, vol. iii. p. 772.

Page 354, line 10 from the bottom.]—This prophecy of Hildegard's is repeated entire at vol. iii. p. 87.

Page 356, line 23. "*Simon Ecclesiasticus,*" otherwise "*Simon, earl of Montfort.*" ]—He was the great-grandson of Almaric, a natural son of Robert, king of France, who gave him the town and title of Montfort. This Simon was the first of his family who settled in this realm, having by his marriage with Amicia (sister and co-heir to Robert Fitz-Parnel, late earl of Leicester) obtained a title to a moiety of that earldom, with other properties, in the 8th of King John. Having sided with the barons against King John, he was disinherited and banished. In the year 1209 he was made by the pope general of the papal forces against the Albigenses, and the lands of Reymund, earl of Toulouse, were bestowed on him in recompense of his services. (11 Joh.) He was killed at the siege of Toulouse by a stone from a sling, according to M. Westminster and M. Paris A. D. 1219; but the Waverley Annals say A. D. 1218, which is correct, as is evident from Claus. 2 Hen. III. m. 3. He left by

Amicia two sons, Almaric and Simon, the latter of whom became so distinguished in English history. The father was called Simon *Ecclesiasticus* on account of his zeal in the service of the papal church, and to distinguish him from Simon the son. (Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 751.) He is mentioned again at pp. 372, 376, and vol. iii. p. 173.

Page 359, § 18. "*In principio.*"—The opening words of St. John's Gospel, the first ten verses of which transcribed were used by way of charm, and are so at the present day, a Roman Catholic gentleman who was drowned in his passage from Cork to England having been found with one about his person. For another allusion to it, see vol. iv. p. 87, line 10. A very early instance of it as used by our Saxon ancestors is quoted from an unpublished MS. in the Harleian Collection, by Mr. Boucher in his "Glossary of Archaic and Provincial Words," edit. London, 1833, under the word "Awvishly."

"About these Catholikes necks and hands are always hanging Charmes,  
That serve against all Miseries and all unhappie harmes:  
Amongst the threatening writ of Michael maketh one,  
And also the beginning of the Gospell of Saint John."

(Barnaby Googe's Translation of Naogeorgus's Popish Kingdom, fol. 576, cited in Brand's Popular Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 566.)

Page 360, § 31.]—See Erasmus's account of his introduction to the monastic life, in the Appendix to Jortin's Life of Erasmus. Armachanus also illustrates this section at p. 760 of this volume, second and third paragraphs.

Page 363, line 32. "*By his advice Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester.*"—Foxe erroneously says, "*and the earl of Leicester.*" This Simon Montfort was the son of Simon Ecclesiasticus. (See the note on p. 356.) His contest A.D. 1226 with Reimund, earl of Toulouse, for the lands of that earl, which had been given by the pope to Simon Ecclesiasticus, is related at p. 377. His brother Almaric ceded to him his right to the earldom of Leicester, and petitioned Henry III. A.D. 1229 to restore to this Simon the forfeited rights and honours of their father: he was accordingly made earl of Leicester, about A.D. 1232, 16 Hen. III. (Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 752.) His name is brought in here rather prematurely; and, in fact, the remainder of this paragraph is a translation of a passage of the Continuator of M. Paris ad an. 1260, and refers to Foxe's narrative at pp. 539—541 of this volume. But the letter ensuing is in M. Paris ad an. 1231, and belongs to Foxe's narrative at pp. 393, 394.

Page 365, line 1.]—M. Paris (p. 330) relates that Romanus went into France this same year, and there made the same request with the same arguments, and with equally bad success. (See pp. 377—380 of this volume.)

Page 365, line 15.]—"*Magistri Johannis Bedefordensis archidiaconi.*" M. Paris (p. 328); who afterwards (p. 355) calls him "*Johannes de Houtona.*" (See pp. 386, 421, of this volume.)

Page 365, line 23. "*And so the assembly for that time brake up.*"—Foxe does not give the real termination of this affair. He proceeds, indeed, in the next paragraph—"Not long after," as if he were going to tell the sequel of the previous matter; but Otho did not return till eleven years later. (See M. Paris, pp. 447—455, sub anno 1237, for the matter of the next paragraph.) The fact is, that Otho was suddenly recalled to Rome, but left instructions for the archbishop of Canterbury to procure a meeting of the estates of the realm, and press the pope's request. They met, but flatly refused to comply till they knew what other realms thought of the proposal. This council at Westminster was held soon after Easter, A. D. 1226.—*M. Paris*, p. 330.

Page 365, line 25. The "*Tullianum*" was a prison of ancient Rome, on the site of which was built the church of St. Peter ad Vincula, which gave a title to one of the cardinals.—*Hoffman in vocem.* It would seem from this cardinal's title, that the church of St. Nicholas also was built on the same site; but see Burton's Topography of Rome, p. 29.

Page 365, line 30. "*In crastino octavarum Sti. Martini.*"—i. e. November 19th.—*M. Paris*, p. 447.

Page 365, line 8 from the bottom.]—" *Centum summas electi tritici, et octo dolia vini meracissimi.*" (M. Paris, p. 416.) These words are again translated by Foxe at p. 425, where "summa" is correctly rendered "seme." A coomb is four bushels: but a seme (or somme, p. 537) is a quarter. (See the note on p. 537.)

Page 368, line 9 from the bottom. " *Five years after this.*"—Foxe says "Not long after this." He represents the ensuing articles as "exhibited in the council of Lyons," whereas the first article refers to "the late general council." The council of Lyons sat June 28th—July 17th, A. D. 1245; and this council of London met Midlent (M. Paris, p. 699), which in the year 1246 fell on March 16th. (Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 369, line 20 from the bottom. " *Last of all, the king himself.*"—M. Paris (p. 702) gives the king's letter, dated "Westm. March 28th, 30 Hen. III." [A. D. 1216.]

Page 369, note (3).—The papal order was first issued by Walter, bishop of Norwich, "9 Cal. Aprilis," or March 24th of the previous year: the king's letter ensuing complains that the demand was pressed in spite of the decree of the late council of London: the king's letter is given by M. Paris, p. 708.

Page 370, line 16.]—Foxe says that the ambassadors returned "about the end of December, bringing word that the pope, hearing what was done by the council of Winchester," &c. But M. Paris says (p. 709) that they reported their answer at the council of Winchester, held on the *translation of Th. Becket*, i. e. *July 7th*; Becket's day was *December 29th*. Foxe did not advert to this distinction, which occasioned his making the blunder in his text. The next date which he mentions is the Assumption, i. e. August 15th. See these events repeated at pp. 436, 437.

Page 370, line 15 from the bottom. " *Stephen, the pope's chaplain.*"—(See p. 387.)—" *Mariinus*" was another chaplain of the pope, and came into England, A. D. 1247, about the same time with " *Johannes Anglicus.*"—" *Johannes Anglicus*, bishop of St. Sabine," is mentioned by M. Paris (p. 731, ad an. 1247) as the pope's legate to Norway, who, under pretence of merely passing overland from Dover to Lynn, spent three months here, and is said to have raised 4,000 marks, with which he embarked at Lynn for Norway. He is mentioned by Foxe at pp. 436, 437, 440.

Page 370, line 8 from the bottom.]—This affair at Oxford happened A. D. 1238.—M. Paris, p. 469.

Page 371, line 12.]—M. Paris (p. 469) states that this cook was Otho's own brother, whom he placed in that office for fear of being poisoned. The scholars, according to M. Paris, nicknamed him " *Nebuzaradan*, i. e. *Magistrum coquorum.*"

Page 371, line 26.]—" *De spoliis nostris ditat alienos.*" (M. Paris.)

Page 372, line 10.]—Foxe, however, in every edition after 1563, gives the history of Frederic II. at large; see pp. 455—509.

Page 372, line 14.]—See pp. 356, 376, and vol. iii. p. 173.—M. Paris, p. 809.

Page 372, line 19.]—Foxe here calls Louis "the young French king:" but see p. 377. Foxe improperly dates this war A. D. 1220, instead of A. D. 1218. (See the note in this Appendix on p. 356.)

Page 372, last paragraph.]—See M. Paris, p. 301, an. 1217.

Page 373, line 12 from the bottom.]—St. Francis died at his native place, Assissi, twenty years after the founding of his order, Sunday, 4 Non. Oct. [Oct. 4th] A. D. 1226.—M. Paris, p. 335.

Page 373, line 8 from the bottom.]—John Giles was the Dominican who attended bishop Grosthead. (See p. 528.)—Alexander of Hales, in Gloucestershire, studied theology and canon law at Paris: he was called *doctor irrefragabilis*: he became a Franciscan A. D. 1222, and dying August 27th A. D. 1245 at Paris, was buried there in the Franciscan convent. Cave enumerates his works.



Page 374, line 6.]—"Hethorp" Foxe calls "Heitrope." Aitherop or Hethorp was in Gloucestershire. Ela had a park at Henton, in Somersetshire; Lacock was in Wilts, and Tanner says that Ela laid the foundation of the one house in Snayles Mead, near Lacock, in the morning, and of the other at Henton in the afternoon.—*Tanner's Notitia Monastica.*

Page 374, line 27.]—The ensuing anecdote is in M. Paris, p. 315, sub anno 1222.

Page 374, note (2).]—The words of Trivet, ad an. 1222, are: "Diaconus quidam apostata convictus degradatus est, et manui sæculari traditus flammis ultricibus est absumptus. Rusticus etiam quidam seipsum crucifigens, et stigmata vulnerum Christi superstitione quadam circumferens, perpetuo immuratur."

Page 375, line 19. "*Fifteen thousand marks.*"—Foxe says "fifteen hundred;" but M. Paris (p. 315) "quindecim millia marcarum."

Page 375, line 11 from the bottom. "*Peter, bishop of Winchester.*"—M. Paris (p. 313) says "P. Wintoniensem." Godwin shows this to be "Peter:" Foxe calls him "Philip." Soon after, M. Paris has "Thomam de Mertona et Richardum de Dunstaple priores."

Page 376, line 13 from the bottom.]—See at pp. 356, 372.

Page 377, line 17. "*But because there was a discord feared,*" &c.]—As Foxe's text needed correction here, the original words of M. Paris (ad an. 1226) are given:—"Sed quoniam Lugdunensis Archiepiscopus vindicabat sibi primatiam super Archiepiscopum Senonensem, et Rothomagensis super Bithuricensem, Auxianensem, Narbonensem, et eorum Suffraganeos, timebatur de discordia; et ideo non fuit sessum quasi in concilio, sed ut in consilio."

Page 377, line 18 from the bottom.]—This general council was that of Lateran, A. D. 1215. (See p. 372.)

Page 378, line 8.]—Foxe says, "twelve peers of France;" which has been corrected into "*the twelve peers of France,*" of whom the earl of Toulouse was one.

"Pairs de France, officiers de la couronne de France, sont les premiers conseillers du parlement de France, qui pour cela s'appelle *la cour des Pairs*. Il y en a d'ancienneté six ecclésiastiques et six laïcs. Les premiers sont l'archevêque de Reims et les évêques de Langres et de Laon qui sont ducs et pairs; ceux de Beauvais, de Noyon, et de Chalons-sur-Marne, sont comtes et pairs. Les laïcs sont les ducs de Bourgoigne, de Normandie, et de Guienne, les comtes de Flandre, de *Toulouse*, et de Champagne." (Moreri's Dictionary, v. Pairs.) The twelve peers of France are also mentioned at p. 446.

Page 378, line 25.]—"Unam a capitulo, alteram ab episcopo." See a similar demand on the English at p. 364, in a parliament held at Westminster January 13th of this year.

Page 382, line 32. "*All to-be-cursed.*"—"All," quite: as in Judges ix. 53, "All to-brake his scull." Mr. Boucher in his *Glossary of Archaic Words* says, that in this phrase the "to" as well as the "be" belongs to the succeeding word, and should not be connected with "all." M. Paris here says, "Legatus excommunicavit publicè comitem Tolosanum et omnes ejus fautores, et terram illius totam supposuit interdicto."

Page 382, line 35.]—Louis VIII. died November 8th, A. D. 1226 (L'Art de Vér. des Dates), and M. Paris says (p. 334) that he was kept for a month.

Page 383, line 14 from the bottom. "*Five thousand marks.*"—M. Paris (p. 336) says "quinque millia marcas:" Foxe, "one thousand." (See the note on p. 345.)

Page 384, line 15.]—"Ex Burgensibus autem et Northamptuensibus cepit de auxilio mille libras et ducentas."—*M. Paris*, p. 336.

Page 385, line 18.]—Milo, earl of Hereford, founded in A. D. 1136 a monastery on the south side of the city of Gloucester for the black canons of Lanthony in Monmouthshire, driven from their habitation by the ill usage of the Welsh. This priory was at first only a cell to the old monastery, from whence it gained its name; but afterwards it became the head house, and much exceeded the other in revenues.—*Tanner's Notitia Monastica.*

Page 385, note (4).]—An explanation of the word *Postil* will be found in the note on p. 781, note (1).

Page 386, line 4.]—"Steterat in causis."—*M. Paris*, p. 350.

Page 386, line 21.]—"Johannes de Houtona." (*M. Paris*, p. 355.) See the note on p. 365.

Page 386, line 25. "*First day of March.*"—Foxe says the "second." *M. Paris* only says "crastino Cinerum," which (by Nicolas's Tables) fell on March 1st in the year 1229.

Page 389, line 7. "*Causini.*"—The Italian money-lenders. See the note on p. 530.

Page 389, line 18.]—Foxe says "Richard, his predecessor, a bishop of Coventry;" but Godwin shows that there were five bishops of Lichfield and Coventry between Richard Peche and Alexander de Savinsby: the immediate predecessor of the latter was William de Cornhull.

Page 389, line 22. "*Soretze.*"—Near Toulouse. (Hoffman, *v. Suricinium*.) Foxe says "Saracene:" the Latin is "Suricinium."—*M. Paris*, p. 319.

Page 390, line 4.]—Foxe says "the countries of Normandy and Gaunt." But Henry had nothing to do with Gaunt. Normandy alone is mentioned at p. 397. *M. Paris* mentions that the nobles of *Gascony*, Aquitaine, Poitou, and Normandy, sent to him about Christmas 1228, offering him the sovereignty of their territories.

Page 390, line 17.]—Foxe says erroneously, "Henry earl of Normandy." (See *M. Paris*, and *L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.)

Page 391, line 16 from the bottom.]—"Vacantes custodiæ Comitum et Baronum et eorundem hæredum."—*M. Paris*, p. 437.

Page 393, note (1).]—See the note on p. 323, line 26.

Page 394, line 31.]—"In crastino Dominicæ quâ cantatur lætare Hierusalem" (*M. Paris*, p. 371), *i. e.* the Monday after Midlent Sunday; which, by Nicolas's Tables, fell on March 3d in the year 1231.

Page 394, line 12 from the bottom.]—"His ita gestis, prædicta universitas misit per milites et ministros literas has, novo quodam sigillo signatas, in quo sculpti erant duo gladii, et inter gladios scriptum erat, 'Ecce gladii duo hic,' in modum citationum ad ecclesias regni cathedrales: ut si quos invenirent contradictores, juxta quod provisum fuerat punirent eos."—*M. Paris*, p. 372. A translation of the letter will be found at p. 363.

Page 395, line 9 from the bottom. "*Surnamed Twing.*"—Rather—"but whose real name was Sir Robert de Thweng." *M. Paris* says (p. 374), "Magistrum habentes *Willelmum* quandam cognomento *Witham* (sive *Robertum de Thing* militem et virum generosum, sed sic palliatum):" and in the next page he says, "*Robertus de Thing*, juvenis elegans et miles strenuus, ex partibus Angliæ Aquilonaribus originem præclaram ducens; qui *Willielmum Wither* se nominari fecerat."—See *Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 37, v. Thweng.

Page 395, note (1).]—The term "universitas" is used, as applied to this combination of the English against the aliens, in the passage cited from *M. Paris* in the note before the last, also in the opening of the letter issued about this time by the English lords, of which a translation is given at p. 363, and which opens: "Tali episcopo universitas omnium qui magis volunt mori quam a Romanis confundi, salutem."

Page 396, line 18. "*A valiant knight.*"—"Miles strenuus."—*M. Paris*, p. 375.

Page 397, line 2.]—"De quibus erat in possessione à die obitus Willielmi," &c.—*M. Paris*, p. 376.

Page 397, line 6. "*Of fines likewise.*"—"Pretia" (*M. Paris*). Foxe renders it "prices," which is unintelligible. See vol. i. p. 17, for a similar use of "pretia."

Page 397, line 21.]—The words of *M. Paris* (p. 377) are:—"Proposuit contra Hubertum idem rex, quòd, cum nuncios solennes misisset ad ducem

Austriæ filiam ejus petens in uxorem, scripsit eidem duci Hubertus per literas, in præjudiciu ipsius Regis et regni, dissuadens ne illi filiam suam matrimonio copularet."

Page 397, line 33. "*William de Braose.*"—Foxe's text has "*William de Briwere.*" But M. Paris reads "*Willielmus de Brausia.*" Foxe's MS. may have read "*Brauria.*" This William de Braose had been taken prisoner in a foraging excursion by Llewellyn A.D. 1228, when acting in the service of Hubert de Burgh. (M. Paris.) It is curious, however, that he was nephew to William de Briwere.—See *Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. i. p. 419.

Page 397, line 12 from the bottom.]—Merton, nine miles and a half southwest of St. Paul's, in Brixton Hundred. Some canons regular of the Augustine Order began to settle here about A. D. 1117, by the encouragement of Gilbert Norman, sheriff of Surrey; at whose request Henry I. bestowed the whole town upon them. They erected a fine church and priory to the honour of the Virgin Mary.—*Tanner's Notitia Monastica.*

Page 399, line 1. "*Radulph, bishop of Chichester.*"—M. Paris attributes this suggestion to *Ranulph, earl of Chester* (comiti Cestrensi); but he ascribes the good management, by which a second messenger was sent, and Hubert's life saved, to *Radulph, bishop of Chichester.* (See Carte's History of England, vol. ii. p. 45, and *Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. i. p. 696.) The Latin hexameter in the margin stands corruptly in M. Paris and Foxe:

"Alis ales alis alium ne longius ales."

Page 399, line 8 from the bottom. "*Till the thirteenth.*" "Ad octavas Epiphaniæ," which Foxe incorrectly renders "the twelfth."

Page 399, last line but one.]—This town was "Brentwood, in Essex:" see the next note but one.

Page 400, line 1.]—Sir Godfrey Craucombe, or Geoffrey Crancumb, was constable of the Tower. (See Pat. 19 Hen. III. m. 14, apud Bayley, Hist. of the Tower, vol. ii. p. 657.)

Page 400, line 6. "*Ran unto the chapel.*"—"Scilicet ad Capellam de Boisars." (Chron. Dunstap. ad an. 1232.) "*Boisars*" is *Bois arse* (Normanicè), i. e. Boscus arsus, *Burntwood* or *Brentwood*. A chapel was built there A. D. 1221 by the convent of St. Osyth, in honour of St. Thomas the Martyr.—*Newcourt's Repertorium*, vol. ii. under *Southweld*.

Page 400, line 24. "*Sendeth him . . . out of the Tower.*"—"Quinto Cal. Oct." (M. Paris, p. 379), i. e. September 27th.

Page 400, line 3 from the bottom.]—Ranulph, earl of Chester, died "5 Cal. Nov." i. e. October 28th, A. D. 1232.—*M. Paris*, p. 380, *M. Westm.* and *Dugdale*, vol. i. p. 44.

Page 401, line 7 from the bottom. "*And who in my time,*" &c.]—The remainder of this sentence is by M. Paris put into the mouth—not of the king, but—of the blacksmith who was required to fasten his fetters at Brentwood chapel (see p. 400), who refused to do it, alleging De Burgh's merits with his king and country.

Page 402, line 26. "*Conveyed him . . . into the parish church.*"—This was "in vigiliâ Sti. Michaelis," or September 28th. (M. Paris, p. 388.) He was brought back again into the church "15 Cal. Nov." or October 18th (ibid.), and carried away thence into Wales "3 Cal. Nov." or October 30th. (Ibid.)

Page 403, line 9. "*Caursini.*"—See the note on p. 530. Foxe is here translating M. Paris, p. 417, sub anno 1235.

Page 404, line 15.] M. Paris (p. 376) says, that Peter de Rivaulx was "son" to the bishop of Winchester.

Page 405, line 18. "*A parliament.*"—"Ad festum Sti. Johannis," June 24th, A. D. 1233.—*M. Paris.*

Page 407, line 17. "*A council at Westminster.*"—February 1234.—*M. Paris.*

Page 409, line 30.]—See M. Paris, pp. 397, 398. There is no mention, however, of the "Catini" there or in the context, and the word is probably corrupt.

Page 413, line 18. "*The Chorasmian.*"—See the note on p. 448.

Page 413, line 18 from the bottom. "*There was a certain archbishop,*" &c.]—See *M. Paris*, p. 465.

Page 413, line 7 from the bottom.]—The archbishop of Constantinople here meant was the Latin patriarch, Nicolas de Plaisance, formerly bishop of Spoleto, fifth in the list of Latin patriarchs, appointed by Gregory IX. A. D. 1234, and died A. D. 1251; the council of Lyons sat June 28th—July 17th, A. D. 1245.—See *L'Art de Vér. des Dates*, and *M. Paris*, p. 663.

Page 414, line 15 from the bottom.]—See *M. Paris*, pp. 457—460, for what follows. This letter must belong to A. D. 1232, for it is given in Labbe's Concil. Gen. tom. xi. and the pope's answer to it (p. 318) dated "Reate, 7 Cal. August. pontificatus nostri anno sexto," i. e. July 26th, A. D. 1232; and another letter is then given in Labbe, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, from the pope to Germanus, dated "Laterani, 15 Cal. Junii, pontif. nostri anno septimo," i. e. May 18th, A. D. 1233. *L'Art de Vér. des Dates* says, that meantime he had sent letters by his nuncios, dated January "pontif. anno sexto," i. e. A. D. 1233, to the council which sat at Nympha in Bithynia April 24th—May 10th, A. D. 1233, on the points in dispute with Rome.

Page 416, line 18 from the bottom. "*Another letter.*" ]—See *M. Paris*, p. 460.

Page 418, line 16 from the bottom. "*Shortly after the sending,*" &c.]—See *M. Paris*, p. 465.

Page 419, line 24.]—This council of Lateran sat from the 11th to the 30th of October, A. D. 1215.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 420, line 3 from the bottom. "*So in the house of St. Alban's,*" &c.]—See *M. Paris*, p. 410, sub an. 1235. He mentions as the messengers of the monks "dominus Nicolaus de Len, dominus Reginaldus Phisicus, et magister Galfridus de Langeliâ, clericus."

Page 421, line 5. "*Another such contention.*" ]—See *M. Paris*, pp. 473, 519, 556, 573, 605—607, 617, 634, 636.

Page 421, line 18. "*After the death of Stephen Langton,*" &c.]—See *M. Paris*, pp. 350, 355. "Magister Alexander de Stavensby episcopus Cestrensis, et Magister Henricus de Sanford Roffensis episcopus, et præcipuè Magister Johannes de Houtona." This last was the archdeacon of Bedford, mentioned at pp. 365, 386, of this volume.

Page 421, note (1).]—"Dorsels," quasi "door-sills."

Page 422, line 2. "*Master William.*" ]—i. e. W. Scot, archdeacon of Worcester, a clerk of the chapter of Durham.—*M. Paris*.

Page 422, line 25. "*The pope's exactors.*" ]—See *M. Paris*, p. 526. The archbishop's eight hundred marks are mentioned again at p. 427 of this volume.

Page 424, line 5. "*Simon Montfort.*" ]—See *M. Paris*, pp. 465, 467, 470.

Page 424, line 24. "*The case of this Henry III.*" ]—See *M. Paris*, p. 643, sub an. 1244: and for the next paragraph, see p. 866: and for the succeeding, see p. 883, sub an. 1252.

Page 425, line 30. "*Semes.*" ]—This affair has been mentioned at p. 365, where it is "coombs:" *M. Paris* calls them "summæ," for the measure of which see the note on p. 537 of this volume.

Page 427, line 20. "*The example given by Edmund.*" ]—This has been mentioned at p. 422.

Page 427, line 30.]—See p. 367 of this volume, note (3).

Page 427, line 10 from the bottom. "*Three and twenty.*" ]—*M. Paris* (p. 540, an. 1240) says "viginti quatuor."

Page 428, line 17 from the bottom. "*In the time of this council.*" ]—This paragraph (which is from *M. Paris*, p. 681) must be considered parenthetical, for the next (from *M. Paris*, pp. 566, 573) takes up the narrative again an. 1241.

Page 429, line 21.]—"Præbenda opima, spectans ad præcentorem."—*M. Paris*, p. 611.

Page 430, line 1.]—This letter is given at p. 623 of M. Paris, an. 1244, and cannot be of a later date than Oct. 27th of that year.

Page 430, line 15 from the bottom.]—These blank charts are given in M. Paris, p. 641, dated 25 Hen III. *i. e.* A. D. 1241.

Page 430, line 10 from the bottom. "*Was not ashamed to take of David,*" &c.]—Rymer gives a convention between Henry III. and David, to refer their differences to arbiters, at the head of whom is named Otto, the pope's legate. See M. Paris, p. 624, for a bull of Innocent's making this vile proposal to David, dated "7 Cal. Aug. pontif. an. 2," *i. e.* July 26th, A. D. 1244.

Page 430, line 6 from the bottom. "*Seals and obligations.*"—Rymer gives the final "Promissiones et Pacta" of David, dated Decoll. of John Bap. (Aug. 29th) 25 Hen. III., and a confirmation of them August 31st, A. D. 1241.

Page 431, line 15. "*A general council.*"—viz. that of Lyons next year, June 28th—July 17th, A. D. 1245.—*M. Paris*, p. 644.

Page 432, line 19. "*Two bills . . . the other, with the articles of grievances.*"—This statement is incorrect. The bill of grievances (given *suprà* p. 369) was exhibited at the council of London, the year after that of Lyons. (See the note in this Appendix on p. 368.)

Page 432, line 32.]—This "Supplication" is given by M. Paris, p. 666.

Page 434, line 9.]—The list given in M. Paris (p. 659) is—"Comes Rogerus Bigod, Johannes filius Galfridi, Willielmus de Cantelupo, Philippus Basset, Radulphus filius Nicolai, et Magister Willielmus de Poweric, clericus." Roger Bigod was earl of Norfolk (Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. pp. 133, 134). "Magister Willielmus Powic, jurisperitus, et Henricus de la Mare" were despatched the next year (1246), after the parliament at London mentioned *suprà* p. 368, with another remonstrance to the pope, April 9th, being Easter-Monday.—*M. Paris*, pp. 707, 709.

Page 435, line 10. "*About the feast of St. Andrew* [Nov. 30th.]"—This is M. Paris's date (p. 683): the tidings of the pope's intrigues at the Clugny Conference against England reached Henry at London the beginning of the next year (p. 691). Foxe erroneously says, that the interview at Clugny happened "in the beginning of the next year (A. D. 1246)."

Page 435, line 22.]—The second reason stated by M. Paris (p. 691) is, "Quia jus non habet Rex Francorum in regnum Angliæ manifestum."

Page 435, line 29.]—M. Paris (p. 691) dates this peace soon after Hilary, or Jan. 13th, A. D. 1246.

Page 435, line 31.]—The pope's order to archbishop Boniface is dated by M. Paris (p. 692)—Lyons, 6 Cal. Sep. [*i. e.* Aug. 27th], A. D. 1245.

Page 435, line 15 from the bottom. "*Over and besides,*" &c.]—In this place might have been introduced the parliament which met at London, Midlent (March 18th), A. D. 1246 mentioned at p. 368, and from which W. de Powic and H. de la Mare were despatched to Rome.

Page 435, line 7 from the bottom.]—The words "for half a year" are added from M. Paris (p. 706), "usque ad dimidium annum."

Page 436, line 21.]—Foxe says, by mistake, "William, bishop of Norwich;" it was "*Walter de Suffield.*"—*M. Paris*, p. 707.

Page 436, line 26. "*Directeth contrary letters to all the prelates.*"—A translation whereof is given by Foxe at p. 369.

Page 436, line 18 from the bottom.]—The Assumption was August 15th. See *M. Paris*, p. 709, and p. 370 of this volume.

Page 436, line 5 from the bottom.]—"Qui culmen sumus ecclesiæ." *M. Paris*, p. 715.

Page 436, last line. "*Spain is fierce,*" &c.]—A council was held at Lerida, Oct. 19th, A. D. 1246, at which James, king of Aragon, who had cut out the tongue of the bishop of Gironne, was reconciled to the Church.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 437, line 13 from the bottom. "*By district censures of the Church,*"



&c.]—The Latin is, “quòd per censuram ecclesiasticam compescant contradictores.” The word “district” is borrowed from the preamble to the articles—“litteras districtum præceptum papale cum diversis articulis continentes.”

Page 438, note (2).]—Foxe does not quite correctly represent M. Paris, according to the printed copy (Lond. 1640, p. 716); where it appears that the clergy, in order to calculate the sum sterling which it would be necessary to produce so as to satisfy the pope's demands, take for the basis of their calculations the fact, that a recent demand of a twentieth realized 6000 marks (suprà, p. 436). Hence they inferred that the pope's present demands would be equivalent to a sum of 80,000 (quater viginti millia) marks. Foxe should, therefore, have said “eighty thousand marks.” On the sum paid for Richard's ransom, see the note on p. 317; perhaps the 60,000 marks here mentioned is a confusion with the sum paid by the emperor to the duke, p. 316; or the clergy put the ransom low to aggravate the difficulty of now raising 80,000 marks; or the text may be corrupt.

Page 440, line 1. “London.”]—Foxe says “Winchester;” but see M. Paris, p. 722. The parliament was held at London: hence the letters to the pope just mentioned are sealed with the common seal of the city of London. The king had held his court at Winchester during Christmas, which, perhaps, led Foxe into the mistake.

Page 440, line 30.]—From the language of M. Paris (p. 728), “in Principio Quadragesimæ venit quidam de Ordine Minorum Johannes nomine, de quo facta est mentio in foliis præcedentibus, &c.” it would seem that it was the same John as is mentioned at pp. 370, 436, 437. The first mention of John and Alexander is at p. 722 of M. Paris. St. Giles'-day was Sept. 1st. The legate's charges were another hundred marks.

Page 441, line 3.]—See *M. Paris*, p. 754, ad an. 1248.

Page 441, line 13 from the bottom.]—“Dicto Romano ad arbitrium papæ satisfecit, annuas quinquaginta marcas de camerâ suâ in magnam suæ ecclesiæ læsionem conferendo.”—*M. Paris*.

Page 441, line 10 from the bottom.]—This is given at p. 799 of M. Paris, sub anno 1250. The pope's brief to Berardo is by M. Paris dated “Lugd. 3 Cal. Maii, pont. nostri anno 7,” i. e. April 29th, A. D. 1250. It states Herigetto to be “natus nobilis viri Perrini de Malachana de Volta, civis Januensis.”

Page 443, line 1.]—This happened about Advent, Nov. 27th, A. D. 1244.—*M. Paris*, p. 651.

Page 443, line 7. “Which piece,” &c.]—M. Paris merely says of these relics “suo tempore acquisitas;” but at p. 546, ad an. 1240, he says that the emperor Baldwin, in great want of money for his wars against the Greeks, sold the crown of thorns to Louis for a large sum; and at p. 551, ad an. 1241, he mentions the purchase of the holy cross by Blanche for £25,000 from the Venetians, who had purchased it of two sons of the king of Jerusalem, who wanted money to fight against the Greeks. Louis bought it of his mother, and made a grand procession at Paris, to display this and the purchase of the year before, on the Friday after Easter-day, i. e. April 5th, A. D. 1241. M. Paris adds, that Louis also possessed the robe, spear, sponge, and other reliques, which he put in a splendid chapel at Paris; and that the pope allowed forty days' indulgence to all who there visited them.

The disposal of Baldwin here alluded to is not his final one, but early in the year 1244; see M. Paris, p. 618, where it is related that, all his treasure being exhausted, he was forced to fly to the emperor Frederic.

Page 443, line 16 from the bottom.]—This list of French nobles has been verified and corrected by L'Art de Vér. des Dates.

Page 443, line 3 from the bottom.]—This parliament was held “circa medium Quadragesimæ,” A. D. 1247, according to M. Paris, p. 725.

Page 444, line 7 from the bottom.]—“In os.”—*M. Paris*, p. 743.

Page 446, note (2).]—“In insulâ verò Cypri, dum ibidem Rex Franciæ hyemaret, migraverunt ad Dominiū viri multi præclari: et multi in itinere,

tam per terram quàm per mare, quos longum numerare. Obiit tamen vir præclarus, Episcopus Noviomensis, comes Palatinus et unus de XII paribus Franciæ, in navi non procul a Cipro." (M. Paris, p. 771.) Who the twelve peers of France were, is stated in the note on p. 378; they are enumerated by M. Paris, p. 941, ad an. 1557.

Page 448, line 20.]—"Chorasmi, populi Asiæ ad utramque Oxi fluvii ripam incolentes, in Sogdianæ et Bactrianæ confinio, quorum regio hodiè *Corassan* in tabulis recentioribus nominatur."—*Hoffman*.

Page 452, line 29. "*In the mean time*," &c.]—M. Paris (p. 792) represents this as occurring after Louis had heard of his brother's defeat and death. The letter to the earl of Cornwall (M. Paris, p. 796) is not contradictory to this.

Page 452, line 12 from the bottom. "*Now upon the land*," &c.]—There is a slight deviation here from M. Paris, who represents the affair of Mansor as occurring before the altercation just before described, and therefore showing Earl Robert's rashness in a still stronger light. (See M. Paris, p. 789.) But in the letter to the earl of Cornwall (p. 796) the representation is the same as that given by Foxe.

Page 453, line 30.]—The letter to the earl of Cornwall (M. Paris, p. 796) dates this passage of the Nile "Octavis Paschæ;" i. e. April 3d, A. D. 1250 (by Nicolas's Tables).

Page 454, line 29. "*A hundred thousand marks*."—Foxe says "sixty thousand." The original demand was "100,000 librarum auri" (M. Paris, p. 794), or "centum millia marcarum argenti" (p. 795).

Page 454, line 31. "*Eighty thousand persons*."—This does not appear in M. Paris: he says that 8200 were lost in the army of Robert, earl of Artois, and that is said to have been one-third of the whole army, which, at that rate, would not exceed 30,000. M. Paris also states that 17,200 were slain or taken in the last conflict, at which Louis was made prisoner. So that it is most likely the story of 80,000 has arisen from mistaking 30,000 for 80,000.—*M. Paris*, p. 793.

Page 455, note (3).]—The passage between asterisks from the edition of 1570 is retained, partly for the purpose of showing that the following translation was not made by Foxe himself, and partly for the sake of the expression "collected and translated," which much more accurately describes the performance than "faithfully translated." The work to which Foxe refers is intitled "*Nicolai Cisneri de Frederico II. Imperatore Oratio, habita in celebri Heidelbergensium Academiâ in promotione aliquot doctorum Juris, anno salutis humanæ MDLXII, mense Augusto*." It was printed at Basil, 4to, 1565, and again (more correctly) at Strasburg, 12mo, 1608. Both these editions are in the British Museum. Foxe's translation has been collated with the original; many passages of which have been so erroneously or obscurely rendered by Foxe's translator, that it has been found necessary to re-translate or correct them, in doing which, the present editor has availed himself of Dr. Maitland's criticisms and translations.

Respecting Cisner himself, Struvius in his *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum*, § 33, calls him "Assessorem Judicii Cameralis, rerum Germanicarum peritissimum;" and at § 71, Struvius informs us that his works were collected and published by Quirinus Reuter, Francfort, 1658. With respect to the particular production of his pen, which Foxe here makes use of, Struvius bears the following testimony:—"Elegans ea est oratio de Frederico II. quam Nicolaus Cisnerus composuit, et quæ cum iis de Othone III. et Conradino edita Argentorati 1608, et inter Opuscula Cisneri historica junctim edita, præclaras de eorum temporum statu sententias habet." (*Biblioth. Script. Rer. Germ.* § 78.) He adds at § 71, that in his Oration de Othone III. "contra Onuphrium Panvinium, Romano Pontifici Italique jus in Electione Imp. Romani tribuentem in libro 'de Comitibus Imperatoris,' disputat, et varia de statu eorum temporum sapienter monet."

Page 456, line 31. "*One [example] is*."—"*Sibyllæ viduæ Tancredi suasit, ut ad recuperanda Siciliæ regna, quæ maritus ante habuerat, opem a Philippo rege Francorum peteret; et cum, regis consilio operâ et subsidio, Walterus, vetustâ comitum Barenorum familiâ ortus, qui antiquam sedem in Barensi pro-*

vinciâ habebant, ductâ in matrimonium Alteriâ Tancredi regis natu maxinâ filiâ, spe regnorum illorum inductus Campaniam et Apuliam invasisset, idem Pontifex (ut tutoris scilicet et patroni officio fungeretur) datis literis missisque legatis ad proceres utriusque regni, ut Walterum pro rege suo acciperent sub gravissimâ proscriptionis ex communitate Christianorum pœnâ mandavit.”—*Cisner.*

Page 456, note (1).]—The statement in the text respecting the age of Constantia when Frederic was born, is a common but incorrect statement, being, probably, at least ten years beyond the truth. For Godfrey of Viterbo, a contemporary writer, says that she was a posthumous child of Roger I. (who died Feb. 26th, A.D. 1154), and was married at thirty years of age, in A.D. 1184. Henry VI. died Sept. 28th, A.D. 1197, or (as some say) early in A.D. 1198: so that there were not above forty-four years between her father's and her husband's death, and the probability is, that when Frederic was born, Dec. 26th, A.D. 1194, she was about *forty* years old. (See “*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*,” and “*Encyclop. Metrop.*” Hist. III. p. 637.)

Page 457, line 1.]—“Eumque de more Aquisgrani coronaret.”—*Cisner.* See *infra*, p. 663.

Page 457, line 15.]—Philip was assassinated in his own house at Bamberg, 10 Cal. Julii, A.D. 1208, not, as Foxe says, “between Otho and him [*i. e.* the pope],” but by Otho de Wittelsbach, on a private pique (see *Cisner*, and *Aventine's Annales Boiorum*, lib. vii.): *Cisner* then adds, “Philippo per summam injuriam occiso, Otho ad fastigium Imperii Germaniæ proceribus evectus, à fautore et amico suo Innocentio III. Romæ est inauguratus.”

Page 457, line 14 from the bottom.]—“Non enim solum Latinarum et Græcarum literarum, quæ barbarie obrutæ tum primùm emergebant, sed et Germanicam. ... addidit.”—*Cisner.*

Page 457, line 6 from the bottom. “*Being now called*,” &c.]—“Missis igitur à Germaniâ ad Fredericum legatis, qui illum ad imperium suscipiendum accerserent, nihil moratus in Germaniam proficiscitur. In itinere Pontificem adit, et eum eo consilia de instituendâ protectione communicat. Narrat Fazellus magno honore ab Innocentio Fredericum Romæ esse acceptum; certam tamen de inauguratione spem ei non esse factam, quia Pontifex nomen ejus ex recordatione avi Frederici suspectam haberet.”—*Cisner.*

Page 457, note (3).]—*Cisner* says that Frederic “vigesimum agebat annum,” which, however, cannot be correct, and in the text “eighteenth” is substituted. Frederic was born at Jessi, in Anconia, Dec. 26th, A.D. 1194: elected King of the Romans, A.D. 1196: again, soon after his father's death: and again by the Diet of Bamberg, A.D. 1211: crowned at the Diet of Mentz, Dec. 6th, A.D. 1212, and again at Aix-la-Chapelle, July 25th, A.D. 1215.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*

Page 458, last line but one.]—“Ad res imperii in Italiâ constituendas, civitates quæ illi subjectæ erant obit, et in verba sua jurare cogit. Deinde, in regna sua se confert.”—*Cisner.*

Page 458, note (1).]—The following is the original from which this paragraph is taken:—“Roma Tridentum cum venisset, quòd iter rectius et expeditius ab Othonianis locis superioribus obsideri cognovisset, magnâ cum difficultate inviis et asperis Rhætorum Alpibus superatis, secundùm Rheni tractum omnibus in ora Rhenana civitatibus ad Imperii ditionem pertinentibus in fidem suam acceptis; Othone (qui quam maximis poterat itineribus ex Italiâ in Germaniam contenderat, ut Frederico ad Rhenum occurreret et transitu prohiberet) spe sua dejecto, Aquisgrani de more coronatur. In hyberna Francofurtum profectus: et pòst, conventibus aliquot in Norico habitis, Othone mortuo, rebus Imperii ordinatis, omniq[ue] ferè Germaniâ pacatâ ... ad Roman reversus.” (*Cisner.*) The first coronation at Mentz has been thrown into the text, to make the narrative more complete. The diets mentioned as subsequently held were those of Ratisbon, toward the close of A.D. 1215, and Nuremberg, 11 Cal. Feb. A.D. 1216.—*Aventine, Ann. Boior.* lib. vii.

Page 459, line 3.]—“Tum præsertim Thomam et Richardum, Innocentii III. fratres, comites Anagninos, quibus castella quædam in regno Neapolitano

erant, regni cupiditate inductos, cum Othone IV. (quando is id hostili manu invaserat) conspirasse repeiebatur.”—*Cisner.*

Page 459, line 20.]—“Causam hujus detestationis.”—*Cisner.*

Page 460, line 1.]—“Insignia Imperii regnique coronam me prius depositurum.”—*Cisner.*

Page 460, line 12. “*And first, by the Holy Scriptures,*” &c.]—“Ac primò quidem, quòd in primâ Christianorum ecclesiâ distribuendorum munerum ecclesiasticorum præcipua cura et potestas penes populum Christianum, intercedente etiam administratorum divinarum curationum consilio, fuerit, faciliè ex sacrosanctis scripturis et ex conciliorum decretis et ex primæ ecclesiæ consuetudine perspicui potest: quò etiam pertinent, cum alii in Decreto a Gratiano consarcinato loci, tum præsertim,” &c.—*Cisner.*

Page 460, line 11 from the bottom. “*For that in determining,*” &c.]—“Quòd et contra auctoritatem sacrorum canonum de electione summi pontificis decreverit, et civili magistratui nulla de rebus nedum ordinibus ecclesiasticis dispensandi facultas attributa legatur.”—*Cisner.*

Page 461, line 7.]—“In quibus multa capita Honorio et Theodosio accepta referuntur.” (Cisner.) The books of Justinian are those contained in the Corpus Juris Civilis, viz. Institutionum libri iv.; Pandectorum sive Digestorum libri l.; Codicis libri xii.; et Novellæ; published A. D. 528—535.—*Cave.*

Page 461, line 24.]—“In gravissimam pœnam proscriptionis publicationis-que omnium bonorum incurreret.”—*Cisner.*

Page 462, line 9.]—“John XII.” See pp. 71, 464.

Page 462, line 20.]—This John XVIII. is mentioned as John XVII. at pp. 72, 73, and in *L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*

Page 462, line 22.]—“Johanne XVIII. . . naso oculisque privato et de Capitolio præcipitato.” (Cisner.) This last expression must be taken metaphorically: he was in reality thrust into prison by Otho, and survived about a year.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*

Page 462, line 29.]—“Qui eundem quoque Pontificem, se omnibus aliis episcopis in celebri synodo ab Henrico Moguntiæ habitâ anteponentem, Moguntino cedere compulit.”—*Cisner.*

Page 462, line 36. “Tamen regi Henrico IIII. impuberi, cui imperium delatum erat, jus in hæc re suum voluit esse salvum.”—*Cisner.*

Page 463, line 6 from the bottom. “*For the canons,*” &c.]—“Nam quibus capitibus Gratianus ante illa tempora Romanæ civitati potestatem illam eligendi Pontificem absque consensu Imperatorum datam esse vult demonstrare (ut can. 29, 30, adjunctâque paleâ posteriori, et can. 31 eadem distinctione 63) fraudulenter a Gratiano assentatore Pontificio pro veris supposita esse, et ante in plerisque Carolus Molinæus notavit, et ex observatione temporum a quovis vel mediocriter in historiis Francicis et Germanicis versato animadverti potest.”

Page 464, line 4. “*For, First, five bishops,*” &c.]—“Primò enim, Gregorium IV, cui 29 can. inscribitur, quinque ex ordine Pontifices subsecuti sunt ante Adrianum illum II. qui arreptâ à populo per vim potestate Pontificis eligendi Pontifex factus est: cùm præsertim is Gregorius ante pontificatum accipere nolisset, quam imperator in ejus electionem consensisset.”

Page 464, line 6. “*Adrian II.*”]—See the note in this Appendix on page 12, line 24. The following is the account of the election of Adrian II. in Anastasius Bibliothecarius “de Vitis Pontificum” (p. 223):—“Collectis igitur omnibus tam episcopis cum universo clero, quam primoribus urbis cum obsecundantibus sibi populis, ab ecclesia sanctæ Dei genetricis semperque virginis Mariæ, quæ appellatur ad Præsepe, rapitur, trahitur, et ad Lateranense Patriarchium certatim, ac à procerum et plebis multitudine, deportatur. Quod audientes tunc missi Principis moleste tulere, indignati scilicet, non quòd tantum virum nollent Pontificem, quem nimirum anxie cupiebant, sed quòd se dum præsentem essent Quirites non invitaverint, nec optatæ à se futuri Præsulis electioni interesse consenserint. Qui acceptâ ratione, quòd non Augusti causa

contemptus, sed futuri temporis hoc onisum fuerit omnino prospectu, ne videlicet Legatos principum in electione Romanorum Præsulum mos expectandi per hujusmodi fomitem inolesceret, omnem mentis suæ indignationem medullitus sedavere, ac salutandum electum etiam ipsi humiliter accessere."

Page 461, line 10. "*Secondly, Molinæus,*" &c.]—"Deinde canon 30 Molinæus auctoritatem Raphaelis Volaterani opponit; qui inde etiam suspectus est, quòd Eugenio pontifice, hujus Pascalis, quocum pactum Ludovicus inisse dicitur, successore, idem Ludovicus Pius ejusque filius Lotharius, principis Romani potestate, Romæ, cum omnibus imperii subjectis tum ipsis etiam Romanis, leges constituerunt: ut de illâ taceam renovatione decreti a Lothario factâ. Tum quomodo paleam illam, cujus initium 'Constitutio,' Leo III. ad Lotharium et Ludovicum Augustos scribere potuit?"—*Cisner.*

Page 464, line 4 from the bottom. "*Louis of Bavaria.*"—The Latin is "Ludovicus Boius," which the translator mistook for Ludovicus *Pius*, and rendered accordingly "Louis the Pious." The Latin also says "Fredericus I. et II."

Page 465, line 1. "*Wisdom and energy.*"—"Prudentia et virtute."—*Cisner.*

Page 466, line 14 from the bottom. "*Fazellus saith.*"—Fazellus was a Dominican, born A.D. 1498, died at Palermo in 1570: see *De rebus Siculis*, edit. Catanæ, 1749, page 5, vol. i. The passage alluded to appears in vol. iii. of that edition, p. 7: "Hujus [Honorii] successor Gregorius IX. initio statim sui Pontificatus Fridericum urget, ac sub diris etiam monuit, ut primo quoque tempore in Asiam cum expeditione trajiceret. Sed cum diu Fridericus moram suam per sacramenti, quo inito inter Saracenos et Christianos pax firmata erat, religionem purgasset, commodum affuit Iole Friderici sponsa, quæ jam in portum Pisanorum applicuerat, eaque de causa Joannes demum Brenna Rex Roman profectus cum pontifice reconciliationem Friderici ac filię nuptias his legibus conclusit, ut Fridericus electionis jus nonnullaque oppida quæ in Campania detinebat, restitueret, ac primo quoque tempore cum copiis in Asiam properaret."

Page 467, line 9. "*He gave in commandment to Henry, his son.*"—At Aix-la-Chapelle, however, not at the places just mentioned: "Henrico deinde filio Cæsari mandat, ut apud Aquisgranum indictis comitiis de bello Hierosolymitano referat."—*Fazellus de rebus Siculis*, tom. iii. p. 7.

Page 467, line 13. "*Howbeit, some others affirm that these things were done in the time of Honorius.*"—The editors of Fazellus remark (p. 17), "Cum Iole nuptias anno 1225 Fridericus celebravit, Honorio adhuc superstite qui non nisi post biennium Gregorio hujus nominis nono locum cessit; præmature igitur Honorii mors reponitur."

Page 467, line 29.]—"Ludovico Thuringo et Sigeberto Augustano episcopo ducibus."—*Cisner.*

Page 467, line 15 from the bottom.]—Aventine and Fazellus state, that both the generals died.

Page 467, note (1).]—Cisner's words are as follow:—"Et ejusdem instinctu ab Arsacida sicarios in Europam Christianos reges trucidatum missos, et regem Francorum ut ab ejusmodi insidiis sibi caveret admonitum, accepisset." By *Arsacidas* is here meant the sovereign of a curious fanatical tribe, who inhabited the mountains in the neighbourhood of Damascus, called *Assassini*, from an Arabic word signifying "to slay:" from them came the modern word *assassin*. They derived their origin from a sect of Mahometans founded by Hassan, son of Sabah, who fixed his seat near Casween, in Persia, A.D. 1090. He trained his followers to the most implicit submission; he taught them that immortal bliss after death would be the sure reward of such as executed his commands; he was in the habit of despatching them on secret errands, particularly to assassinate those, whether Christians or Mahometans, against whom he had conceived any aversion. His dynasty expired with the eighth king, A.D. 1257.

The Assassini of Syria were a branch of these; who adopted their principles and practices, and maintained correspondence with them. Their sovereign was called "*The Old Man of the Mountain.*" They were destroyed by a sultan of



Egypt, A. D. 1272. See Hoffman's Lexicon, and Du Cange v. *Assassini*, who gives their various names as corrupted by different historians. See also Moreri's Dict. v. *Ismaeliens*, and the authorities there cited. Rigord, a French historian, says that Philip Augustus, the French king, when at Pontoise A. D. 1192, received letters from Palestine, warning him that the king of England had hired the *Old Man of the Mountain* to procure his assassination. The marquis of Montferrat is said to have been assassinated by one of them in Palestine. William de Nangis, anno 1236, says that two were despatched into France to assassinate St. Louis. Walsingham says (also the Continuator of M. Paris) that Edward, son of Henry III., was assaulted by one of them at Acre A. D. 1271. See p. 571 of this volume. "*The History of the Assassins*," by Chevalier Von Joseph Hammer, translated from the German by Charles Oswald Wood, M. D., 8vo., London, 1835, will furnish the reader with full information on this subject.

Page 467, line 29.]—"Ludovico Thuringo et Sigeberto Augustano episcopo ducibus."—*Cisner*.

Page 468, line 1. "*Sailed for Asia*."] "In Asiam navigavit." (*Cisner*.) Foxe says "into Italy."

Page 468, line 13. "*The settled belief*."]—"Constans opinio."—*Cisner*.

Page 468, line 15 from the bottom.]—"Eamque ob causam ut regnum illud ab injuriis hostium defendatur et conservetur magnopere sua privatim quoque interesse."—*Cisner*.

Page 468, line 8 from the bottom.]—"Sine cujusquam injuria."—*Cisner*.

Page 469, line 1.]—Peter de Vineis was an Italian, secretary to Frederic II., whom he served with faithfulness and zeal. Being, however, falsely accused of treason, he was by the emperor thrown into prison at Capua, where he laid violent hands on himself A. D. 1249. (See Foxe, p. 503.) Foxe alludes here to a collection of letters which passes under his name, though (as Cave observes) some of them were clearly written even after Frederic's death. The collection is intitled *Epistolarum Historicarum libri vi. de gestis Frederici II. imperat. et aliis*. It was printed at Basil, 1566, and Amberg, 1609.

Page 469, note (1).]—This epistle from the emperor to Henry III. is in M. Paris, ed. Lond. 1640, p. 348, and the translation has been collated with the Latin and revised.

Page 470, line 20.]—"Posteaquam magnas rursus coegisset copias classemque perarasset, Brundisio profectus," &c.—*Cisner*.

Page 470, line 23.]—Justingen was a town of Suabia, the head of a barony.

Page 470, line 25.]—Aventine dates their arrival at Joppa "17 Kal. Dec." *i. e.* November 15th, A. D. 1228.

Page 470, note (3).]—Aventine dates the peace "die solis, 12 Kal. Martii," *i. e.* Sunday, February 18th, which fits the year 1229 by Nicolas's Tables.

Page 471, last line.]—"Ordinesque militum Templi et Hospitalis loci."—*Cisner*.

Page 471, note (3).]—The passage in the text reads thus in *Cisner*: "Solenni Dominicæ Resurrectionis festo, anno Salutis 1229, coronatus est; præsentibus omnium illius regni urbium legatis ac proceribus, patriarchâ solum, clero, Cypri regis legato, ac Oliverio Templi Magistro cum suis militibus, exceptis, ob Christi Templum Saracenis relictum conquerentibus, quos et pontificis minæ etiam exterruerant."

Page 472, line 21.]—"Militumque ordinis Teutonici."—*Cisner*.

Page 472, line 29.]—"Non potuit, simulatque tantum facinus commisisset, hoc uno scelere esse contentus, quin aliud contra eundem moliretur." (*Cisner*.) The translator, not perceiving that *simulatque* was a misprint for *simul atque* but taking it for the verb *simulat-que*, says, "he could not dissemble this his mischievous fact." Both the editions of *Cisner* read "*simulatque*." Another curious mis-translation, occasioned by a misprint in the first edition of the Latin, is pointed out in the note on p. 504, line 5 from the bottom.

Page 472, line 5 from the bottom.]—*M. Paris*, ed. 1640, p. 353.

Page 474, line 9.]—"Unde Blondus perfidiam imperatoris legatis ejus pontificem coram exprobrasse tradit."—*Cisner*.

Page 474, line 18. "*Baseness.*"]—"Turpitudinem."—*Cisner.*

Page 474, line 7 from the bottom.]—"Curia et senatu amovit."—*Cisner.*

Page 474, line 4 from the bottom.]—"Ille ancipiti contentione opprimere-tur."—*Cisner.*

Page 474, last line.]—"Cum jam regnum Hierosolymitanum in meliorem statum redegisset."—*Cisner.*

Page 475, line 1.]—"Pontificios conatus omni consilio evertendos et suos in officio permanentes confirmandos existimans, relicto in Asiâ Renaldo cum præsiidiis, reliquis copiis se subsequi jussis, quam celerrimè cum duabus triremibus in Calabriam contendit."—*Cisner.*

Page 475, line 7 from the bottom.]—"Hermani Teutonici Ordinis magistri et Messaniensis Antistitis operâ."—*Cisner.*

Page 476, line 15.]—"Jura in regno Siciliæ."—*Cisner.*

Page 476, line 25.]—"Pontificem Reatæ accessit—sibi ecclesiam Romanam curæ fore eamque se defensurum, oblato etiam filio suo obside, spondet."—*Cisner.*

Page 476, line 10 from the bottom.]—"Majorem igitur laudem consecutus fuisset Blondus, si hanc pontificis perfidiam notasset, quàm cum (sui oblitus, ut mendacibus sæpe accidit), contra suæ narrationis seriem contra rerum a Frederico gestarum veritatem, ab eo Romanos ad rerum novarum studia invitatos refert."—*Cisner.*

Page 477, line 3.]—Foxe says, "Henry Cæsar and Frederic of Austria, his sons." But Frederic duke of Austria was not Frederic's son. He had a bastard son, Frederic prince of Antioch, mentioned at p. 505. Foxe repeats the same mistake (which is not Cisner's) next page, and at pp. 481, 484. See the note on p. 478, line 7.

Page 477, line 11.]—"Kelhemii cum deambulare, letali vulnere percussus." (*Cisner.*) "A Stichio morione, quem per ludum incesserat, cultello letali vulnere percussus, decessit, 16 Cal. Oct. 1231."—*Aventine.*

Page 477, note (1).]—"Reginoburgi" (*Cisner*); *i. e.* at Ratisbon.

Page 478, line 7.]—"Fredericum Austriacum mandatis suis non parentem proscribit et pro hoste Reipublicæ habet." (*Cisner.*) Foxe here, as elsewhere, confounding this Frederic with the emperor's bastard son Frederic (see note on page 477, line 3), says: "By public commandment he renounced Frederic of Austria for his son."

Page 478, line 18 from the bottom.]—"Pacis specie, quam ad subsidium belli sacri inter Christianos tuendam jampridem promulgarat."—*Cisner.*

Page 478, line 11 from the bottom.]—"Eo ipso die."—*Cisner.*

Page 478, line 7 from the bottom.]—"Iniquè facere qui per pacis causam se in eo quod optimo sibi jure liceat impedire velit, quò minus ita se comparet, ut qui se à regnis hereditariis intercludere conati sunt, vi pellere posset; et qui à se imperioque defecissent, eosque, quos vel ad conventus communium rerum gratiâ vel ob sacrum bellum evocâset, itinere prohibuissent, et in suam perniciem multa improbè et nefariè machinati essent, in ordinem cogeret et uti commeruissent plecteret."—*Cisner.*

Page 479, line 6.]—"Sine ulla temporis notatione, conditionis adjectione, dignitatis jurisve imperii non minuendi exceptione."—*Cisner.*

Page 479, line 29. "*Gregory.*"]—*Cisner* invariably writes "*Georgius*" for "*Gregorius.*"

Page 479, note (1).]—The following extract from the Life of Frederic by Colenuccio, prefixed to "*Petri de Vineis Epist. Fred. II.,*" will explain the word *Caroccio*:—

"Carocium Mediolanensium cum Petro Teupolo, patricio Veneto ac ducis Venetiarum filio, Mediolanensium præfecto ac duce quem illi *Potestatem* vocant, cepit, eumque captivum in Apuliam transmisit. Parta vero tam insigni victoriâ, in modum ducis triumphantis Cremonam ingressus Carocium secum duxit, in quo dux Mediolanensium brachio et collo funibus ad lignum alligatus erat,

vexillis Lombardorum convolutis atque sequentibus innumeris captivis. Trahebatur vero Carocium ab elephantum castellum gestante, in quo affabrè et artificiosè facto tibicines residebant una cum Imperialibus vexillis explicatis et loco maxime conspicuo suffixis. Et his eum ad modum præcedentibus in signum victoriæ Fredericus cum copiis sequebatur. Sciendum est, Carocium, quo eo tempore in Italia utebantur, fuisse genus carri valde quidem amplum et a multis paribus boum trahi consuetum, circumdatum undique gradibus ad modum tribunalis et suggestus, affabrè elaboratum multisque ornamentis excultum et coopertum: eo gestabantur et vexilla populi cuius Carocium erat, aliarumque civitatum confederatarum. Et erat Carocium in exercitu quasi prætorium aut tribunal quoddam commune, ad quod se recipiebant milites, tanquam ad curiam et locum principalem totius exercitus, et ubi magistratus et omne robur meliorque pars exercitus veluti in subsidio consistebant. Atque tum quidem exercitus prorsus credebatur fusus quando Carocium amissum erat. Præ omnibus autem aliis Mediolanenses Bononienses Parmenses et Cremonenses Carocio usos fuisse invenio, quo minus essent prompti ad fugam, conspicientes robur totius exercitus et vexilla facile loco moveri non posse aut aliqua fuga subduci ob ipsius ædificii molem. Tale itaque erat Carocium a Frederico in triumpho Cremonæ invectum."

Page 480, line 13.]—"Exempla."—*Cisner*.

Page 480, line 19.]—"Itaque, quòd Jacobum Teupolum, ducem Venetum, ob iram capti filii facilè se in suam sententiam perducturum confideret (quod inter tantos terrores solatio ei fuisse Blondus scribit), epistolâ quâdam captandæ benevolentiae causâ illum Croatiae atque Dalmatiæ quartæ partis et dimidiatæ totius Romani imperii dominum nuncupat, contra Fredericum sollicitans."—*Cisner*.

Page 480, line 34.]—"Idem, cum *Germanorum* optimam voluntatem," &c. (*Cisner*.) Foxe says, "the duke of Venice."

Page 480, line 7 from the bottom.]—"Præterquam enim quòd imperatori suo hominis appellationem detrahit, perfidiæ . . . incusat."—*Cisner*.

Page 481, line 4.]—"Albertum Behamum (ipse Boiemum nominat) equestri familiâ natum, Balcaniensis collegii Decurionem Battaviensis, insignem cum primis veteratorem," is *Cisner*'s description of this man. *Aventine* calls him "Albertus Beham, Bathaviensis Templi Decanus."

Page 481, line 26.]—"Propinquos et necessarios suos."—*Cisner*.

Page 481, line 29.]—Foxe says, "Frederic of Austria, his son, who because he was proscribed or outlawed by the emperor, his father."—See the notes on pp. 477, 478.

Page 484, line 12. "*But Wenceslaus and Otho*," &c.]—"Sed Boiemo et Palatino Ægram venire recusantibus et per legatos, quibus Austriaci se associarant, intercedentibus, distractis animis re infectâ discesserunt."—*Cisner*.

Page 484, line 16.]—Foxe says, "Then Frederic of Austria, the emperor's second son," &c.: see the note on p. 481, line 29.

Page 484, line 21.]—"Etsi verò pontificii emissarii."—*Cisner*.

Page 484, line 32. "*All which things*," &c.]—"Ipse quoque Pontifex, ab Alberto de illorum in Imperatorem constantiâ certior factus, ut spe ampliorum dignitatum aliquos adversus illos concitaret, sacerdotibus et monachis qui illis suberant potestatem facit, ut . . ."—*Cisner*.

Page 484, line 5 from the bottom.]—"Eâque de causâ ad Imperatorem provocant."—*Cisner*.

Page 485, line 11.]—"Et quidem summi Boiorum præsulis Juvavensis consilio operâ et suasu."—*Cisner*.

Page 485, line 16. "*But Albert*," &c.]—"Albertus contrâ horum collegia et cœnobîa, veluti publicorum hostium et proscriptorum, pontificiis apertè distribuit; multos ex procerum ordine nobilium et equitum largitione bonorum ecclesiasticorum devincit. Ac nominatim quidem Johannes Aventinus commemorat, quibus, ut Pontificias partes defenderent, decimæ ecclesiasticæ precario concessæ; quæ à quibus collegia et cœnobîa direpta, reditusque eorum ablati, et prædia vi occupata fuerint."—*Cisner*.

Page 485, line 33.]—"Cùm Germaniæ universæ tum Boioræ."—*Cisner.*

Page 485, line 5 from the bottom.]—"Quo, cùm inductu Hugonis Rambarti (qui sine periculo id eum facere posse dixerat) ad legatum colloqui causâ venisset, contra fas et æquum intercepto."—*Cisner.*

Page 486, line 13.]—"Pisis Viterbium se confert."—*Cisner.*

Page 486, line 15. "*For that,*" &c.]—"Quòd aditis à suis omnibus Italiæ oppidis et civitatibus, ut exploratum haberet qui sibi qui pontifici faverent, illos Gibellinos hos Guelphos appellaverit."—*Cisner.*

Page 486, line 20.]—"Nacleri, Hermannii Contracti, Antonini Florentini, Castellionæi, aliorumque, qui hæc nomina Conrado III., Magni Frederici patru, imperante in Italiâ cœpisse; Pontificique deditos Guelphos à Guelpho, ultimo Henrici Superbi fratre, Imperatori autem addictos vel ab ipso Conrado vel filio ejus in pago Vaiblingen enutrito Ghibellinos appellatos, prodiderunt."—*Cisner.*

Page 486, line 31.]—"Decretâ supplicatione, circumlatis capitibus," &c.—*Cisner.*

Page 486, line 11 from the bottom.]—"Quoscunque caperet, eos, vel inustâ vel incisâ crucis notâ, exercuari jussit."—*Cisner.*

Page 487, line 4.]—"Graviter muletatis."—*Cisner.*

Page 487, line 7.]—"Conditâ urbe Aquilâ."—*Cisner.*

Page 487, line 10.]—"Asculinum adversæ factionis munitum oppidum obse-  
dit."—*Cisner.*

Page 487, line 12.]—"Emissarii."—*Cisner.*

Page 487, line 17.] "*Such heart of grace.*"—"Tantos spiritus."—*Cisner.*

Page 487, line 20.]—"Impudenter affirmant . . . , neque ullâ fidei religi-  
one teneri."—*Cisner.*

Page 487, line 24.]—"Imperiosè" (*Cisner*); and next line, "exitii pœnâ."

Page 487, line 11 from the bottom.]—"Ipsos quoque servituti Pontificiæ obnoxios fore."—*Cisner.*

Page 487, line 9 from the bottom. "*Attain.*"—"Nactus fuerit."—*Cisner.*

Page 487, last line.]—"Qui missos cum his literis legatos ejusdem argu-  
menti orationem habuisse narrat." (*Cisner.*) Aventine dates this Epistle,  
"Datum in obsidione Æsculi, Julii duodevicesimo die, indictione tertiâ-  
decimâ."

Page 488, line 18. "*And so much,*" &c.]—"Operâ Bohuslai Zelaconis filii et Budislai Tarozelai filii, qui principes erant Regii senatûs (pollicitationi-  
bus et numeribus jam ante sibi devinctorum) perficit, ut dies comitis Libussæ statueretur, ubi de novo Imperatore creando in Frederici Augusti ejusque filii Conradi contumeliam ageretur."—*Cisner.*

Page 488, line 4 from the bottom.]—"Præsul Colonix Agrippinæ."—*Cisner.*

Page 489, line 9.]—"Milites magno fortique animo et incredibili labore in operibus castrorum conficiendis, tabernaculis ad arcendam tempestatis injuriam excitandis et contegendis, iisque parandis quæ oppugnationi usui essent, cuniculisque agendis, omnia superaverunt."—*Cisner.*

Page 489, line 9 from the bottom.]—"Neque vi atque armis se ei, quamvis nihil intentatum reliquisset, cum suis conjuratis resistere posse videret."—*Cisner.*

Page 490, line 3.]—"Itaque Henricus Sardinix regem (quem Itali Entium vocant) Pisas ire jussit."—*Cisner.*

Page 491, line 24.]—"Itaque Tartari Roxolanos, Bodolios, Mudavos, Walachos, Polonos, Borussos, nemine fere repugnante subigunt, agros depopulantur, urbes, oppida, pagos, villas, ædificia omnis generis diripiunt, incendunt," &c.—*Cisner.*

Page 491, line 30.]—"Ut manus nulla, non præsidium, non urbs esset, quæ se armis defenderet."—*Cisner.*

Page 492, line 10.]—"Itaque, cum videret," &c.—*Cisner.*

Page 492, line 17.]—"Cum vero."—*Cisner.*

Page 492, line 28. "*Sent orders.*"]—"Imperat."—*Cisner.*

Page 492, line 30.]—"Magnus exercitus in Germaniâ eorum qui notâ se cœlest isignârant, contra Tartaros operam suam deferebant, quos Pontificis in Germaniâ procurator, Albertus ille, domi expectare jussit."—*Cisner.*

Page 492, line 9 from the bottom.]—"Hac vastatione . . . factum est, quo minus (ut constitutum erat) Libussæ conjurati principes convenirent, aliumque Imperatorem crearent." (*Cisner.*) Foxe's translator strangely blunders here.

Page 493, line 14 from the bottom.]—"Quod si ad prædicta vestræ mentis oculos nolitis reflectere, Penestrinum episcopum et alios legatos ecclesiæ in præjudicium vestrum volentes subsidium implorare manifestissimè repulimus; nec in regno nostro contra majestatem vestram potuerunt aliquid obtinere:" where *Penestrinum* is a corruption of *Prænestinum*, which has led to the appearance in Foxe's text of "the bishop of *Penestrum*:" read "*Præneste*," or the modern "*Palestrine*." We find, however, *Penestriensis* and *Penestrinus* in Rymer, Sept. 20th, 1343, and Feb. 20th, 1345.

Page 494, line 20 from the bottom.]—"Concilioque præpedito perturbatus."—*Cisner.*

Page 495, line 2.]—*Cisner* says, "Quod cujusmodi sit, certè Carolus Molinæus in annotationibus suis ad Platinam de vita Gregorii docet; cujus sententiæ equidem non possum non accedere." The text, however, is more exact. This is the Carolus Molinæus mentioned suprâ, vol. i. p. 11, note (1). The passage to which Foxe refers is the following:—"Qui," [that is, Raymond Penafort, whom the pope employed to make the collection] "tamen non solum superflua posuit, ut . . . sed sæpe male truncavit Decretales . . . quandoque studiosè truncavit, ut lateret invidiosum argumentum, ut in cap. 'ex frequentibus' de Instit. [i. e. Lib. iii. Tit. vii. cap. 3], quod latum erat contra regalia Regis Angliæ. Sic in plerisque latis in favorem inimicorum Regis Franciæ, ut in cap. 'Novit' de Judic. [Lib. ii. Tit. i. cap. 13.]"

Page 495, line 7.]—"Nihil aliud cogitârunt, quàm ut cùm aliis regnis debilitatis tùm Imperio violato suum amplificarent dominatum. Cujus rei exempla Molinæus de regibus Gallorum et Anglorum refert."—*Cisner.*

Page 495, line 16.]—"Patria Mediolanensis, Castellonæ gentis."—*Cisner.*

Page 496, line 3 from the bottom.]—"Et reipublicæ suamque dignitatem commendat," &c.—*Cisner.*

Page 497, line 20.]—"Relicto Viterbio, et oppido Faliscorum omnibus rebus necessariis instructo et munito, Aquam Pendentem adit."—*Cisner.*

Page 498, line 5. "*And although*," &c.]—"Et indictum à Pontifice concilium, in quo ille et actoris et judicis partes ageret, et ad quod beneficio obstrictos coegerat, ad suam perniciem pertinere intelligebat."

Page 498, line 19.]—"Teutonici Ordinis."—*Cisner.*

Page 499, line 4.]—Foxe inadvertently says "in the history of King John." See the narrative referred to at pp. 532, 533.

Page 500, line 13. "*After this, Frederick had retired*," &c.]—This paragraph is not in Foxe, but is given from *Cisner*, and is necessary to fill up an evident hiatus in Foxe's narrative. Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, was elected at the Diet of Hocheim, May 22d, A.D. 1246; William, earl of Holland, at the Diet of Weringhen, Sept. 29th, A.D. 1247.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates.*

Page 501, line 16.]—This council was called at Meldorf early in the year 1249, on purpose to endeavour to force the duke of Bavaria to take up arms against Frederic II. and his son Conrad: they gave him till the following May to decide (*L'Art de Vérifier des Dates*). It was probably then that the Pope pronounced his anathema against him, as stated in the text. Otho persevered in his fidelity to the cause of Frederic and of his son and successor Conrad till his death, which took place Nov. 29th, A.D. 1253. (*Ibid.*)

Page 501, line 10 from the bottom.]—"Albertus verò Reginoburgensis." (*Cisner.*) Struvius (*Germaniæ Historia*, Jenæ, 1730, tom. i. p. 481), citing the principal German historians, places this event on the night of Innocent's day, Dec. 28th, A.D. 1250, immediately after Frederic's death.



Page 502, line 1.]—St. Emeran was a native, some say bishop, of Poitiers, who proceeded as a missionary to Bavaria, A.D. 640. Being slain by the idolaters at Helfendorff, near Munich, his body was conveyed to Ratisbon, and buried there, whence he came to be regarded as the patron saint of Ratisbon. A Benedictine monastery was afterwards built outside the city, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Emeran, which became the most famous monastery in the whole empire.—*Martinière's Geography, v. Ratisbon, & Butler's Lives of the Saints.*

Page 502, line 13.]—"Albertus Antistes in monachorum ordinem pœnæ causâ redactus est." (Cisner.) This Albert was the immediate predecessor in the see of Ratisbon of Albert the Great, according to *Chronicon Augustense* (apud Freheri Germ. Script. tom. i. p. 533), which states his deposition ad an. 1259, thus:—"Albertus Ratisponensis Episcopus pro quibusdam criminibus apud sedem apostolicam accusatus, cum se defendere non posset, cessit, eique frater Albertus de ordine Prædicatorum subrogatur."

Page 503, line 20 from the bottom.]—"Ac primum impetum Marchio Malaspina sustinet."—*Cisner.*

Page 504, line 21 from the bottom.]—"Prædictumque sibi recordatus est, Florentiæ se moriturum, facto testamento, eoque tum infinitâ pecuniæ summâ ad pias causas (ut vocant) legatâ, tum Conrado aliisque filiis Imperii regnorumque suorum hæredibus institutis successoribusque (veluti cujusque ætas et conditio ferebat) designatis, ex hac vitâ . . . migravit."—*Cisner.*

Page 504, line 13 from the bottom. "*Pandolpho writeth,*" &c.]—"Ut qui ei in extremis adfuerint sibi persuaserint animam ejus ad concilium cœlestium delatum felicitate perfrui sempiternâ, Pandolphus Colenucius tradit. Ejusdem rei testes cum Gulielmum Puteanum, Andream Dandulum Venetum, tum Manardum Episcopum Imolensem, Italos scriptores, profert."—*Cisner.*

"Pandolphus Collenucius, Pisarenensis, Jurisconsultus et orator; apud Johannem Sfortiam Pisarensium tyrannum, qui deprehensis literis offensus ignovisse se ei fidem fecerat, strangulatus in carcere A.D. 1500. Collenucius libris vi. historiam Neapolitanam prosecutus est Italicè; Latinè transtulit Johannes Nicolaus Stupanus Rhætus, Bas. 1572. Vita Frederici II. Imperatoris ex Italica historia Neapolitana Collenucci prodiit cum Petri de Vineis Sex libris Epistolarum Basileæ 1566, Latinè versa a Simone Schardio." (Fabricii Bibliotheca Med. et Infim. Latinitatis.)

Page 504, line 5 from the bottom.]—"Alii enim ei venenum Pontificis instinetu propinatum eoque exanimatum tradunt. Plerique a Manfredo filio pulvinari compressis faucibus suffocatum referunt." The edition of Cisner which Foxe used (Basil, 1565) reads "*Phærique,*" which is corrected in the edition of Strasburg, 1608, into "*Plerique.*" This misprint, however, led the translator into the following odd statement:—"Others, that he was strangled with a pillow by Manfred, the son of Pherus." See the note on p. 472, line 29.

Page 505, line 1.]—"Sed febrî confectum scribit" (Cisner): it is also "febrim" at line 30 of page 504.

Page 505, line 4.]—Cisner gives most erroneously A.D. 1263. See the note in this Appendix on page 456, note (1).

Page 505, line 11. "*Whence the kings,*" &c.]—"Unde jus et titulus regni Hierosolymitani jure hæreditario ad reges Siciliæ et Neapolis pervenit."—*Cisner.*

Page 505, line 21. "*But as in this corruption of nature,*" &c.]—"Sed quia in hac vitiositate naturæ perfectio in hominem non cadit, neque ullus unquam ita animo ac vitâ constitutus est ut ratio postulat; nec Fredericus perfectus et ab omni vitio liber fuit."—*Cisner.*

Page 505, line 21 from the bottom.]—"Atque hæc fere omnia ex eâ descriptione Frederici quæ est apud Colenucium."—*Cisner.*

Page 506, line 1.]—"Haud scio an non ideirò a pontificibus ecclesiæ hostis judicatus sit, quòd vel in dicendâ veritate," &c.—*Cisner.*

Page 506, line 21.]—"Cum his præceptis."—*Cisner.*

Page 506, line 5 from the bottom. "*Fraught and full both of pitiful complaints . . . also full of his admonitions,*" &c.]—"Epistolas plenas tum querelarum . . . tum admonitionum."—*Cisner.*

Page 506, line 22 from the bottom. "*Lastly, when I behold,*" &c.]—"Cum denique Imperatorem fortunatum, felicem, victoriosum, Pontificios autem infortunatos, calamitosos, victos, fusos esse considero" (Cisner): whence the text might be improved.

Page 506, line 17 from the bottom. "*Injury.*"—"Detrimentum."—Cisner.

Page 507, line 10. "*Exhorteth.*"—"Hortatur."—Cisner.

Page 507, line 27.]—"Qui præcipuas in ecclesiâ dignitates consecuti sunt."—Cisner.

Page 507, last line.]—"At assentatores pontificii, qui et illis et insequentibus temporibus ad nostram usque ætatem ad scribendum animum applicârunt, non ut veritatis testes essent, sed ut pontificiam gratiam sibi demererentur, et opima ab eo sacerdotia aucuparentur, hinc occasionem calumniandi Imperatorem acceperunt."—Cisner.

Page 510, line 14.]—Arnold de Villa Nova is mentioned again at page 598, § 5, and infra, vol. iii. page 106.

Page 510, line 25. "*Beyond mercy.*"—"Extra charitatem" (Illyricus); "void of charity" (Foxe).

Page 510, note (3).]—William de St. Amour was born at St. Amour, in Franche Compté. He became a doctor of the Sorbonne, and was a very distinguished lecturer in divinity at Paris. Foxe here calls him "chief ruler then of that university," but, as he certainly was not the rector of the university, "canon of the church of Beauvais" is put in from Cave. He was not the only author of the "*De Periculis Ecclesiæ*;" for Foxe himself assigns him two distinct sets of coadjutors at pp. 521, 752, the former of which is correct.

The "*De Periculis Ecclesiæ*" was written to counteract the effects of a mischievous publication called "*Evangelium Eternum*," or "*Evangelium Spiritus Sancti*," put forth by the friars A.D. 1256, of which some account will be given in the note on page 520. The book was condemned by pope Alexander IV. at the instance of the friars, by a bull dated Anagni, 3 Non. Octob. pontificatus anno 2 [October 5th, A.D. 1256]. (Du Boulay, *Hist. de l'Univ. de Paris*, tom. iii. p. 310.) St. Amour was, moreover, silenced, and ordered to quit France. He seems, however, to have remained there, and to have died at his native place, A.D. 1272. —*Biographie Universelle*, Moreri, Dupin.

Page 511, line 15.]—"Omnia parati simus negligere propter Christum."—*Illyricus*.

Page 520, note (1). "*Evangelium Eternum.*"—Mosheim has investigated the history of this book with great diligence (Soames's Edition, vol. ii. p. 568, note). He says that both ancient and modern writers are mistaken about it. The "*Evangelium Eternum*" seems to have been written by some weak enthusiast about the year A.D. 1200; for William de St. Amour in the "*De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*" says, that fifty-five years had elapsed since the first publication of these views, and they were in five years more to be triumphant, A.D. 1260, at least according to the prediction of the book. To gain the more credit to this production, it was announced under the name of Joachim, the abbot of Flora. Its title was taken from Revelations xiv. 6; and its chief doctrine was, that, as there were three persons in the Godhead, so there were to be three Dispensations: that of the Father, which ended at the coming of Christ; that of the Son, which was to continue till 1260; and that of the Spirit, which was to continue to the end of time. This doctrine was advocated by Amauri of Chartres, who was condemned for it, first by the doctors of Paris A.D. 1204, and again by the Lateran Council A.D. 1215. "*Almaricus Doctor Parisiensis docuit legem Dei Patris durasse usque ad adventum Christi: legem Christi usque ad Almaricum: legem Spiritus S. usque ad finem mundi. Docuit multa alia perniciosissima. Vide Joan. de Turrecremata, Summæ l. iv., part. ii. c. 35, et Vincencium in Speculo Historiali, l. xcix. c. 107.*" (*Chronologia Bellarmini*.) The book would probably have fallen into contempt, had not the Franciscans eagerly appropriated its doctrines to themselves, and republished the "*Evangelium Eternum*" with an *Introduction*, in which they asserted that St. Francis was the *Angel* spoken of in the verse of Revelations, and that the Mendicant friars were destined of God to be the instruments of establishing the

new and purer state of the church. It is this "*Libellus Introductorius*" which is named in the damnatory bull of Alexander IV. as the great object of offence. See the note on page 521. This *Introduction* was long attributed to John of Parma, general of the Franciscan order, but is now believed to have been the production of his friend Gerard.

Page 521, line 5.]—See the names and titles of these ecclesiastics at full length in M. Paris, p. 939. Nicolas was dean of Bar-sur-Aube, according to several documents in Du Boulay, Hist. Univ. Parisien.

Page 521, line 10. "*The errors of the book condemned,*" &c.]—The following statement will partly confirm, partly correct, the text. Du Boulay (Hist. Universitatis Parisien., Paris, 1666, tom. iii. p. 292) gives a bull of Alexander, in which "*Libellus quidam, qui in Evangelium æternum seu quosdam libros Abbatis Joachim Introductorius dicebatur,*" is condemned, together with "*Excerpta quædam seu schedulæ in quibus multa quæ Libello non continentur nequiter illi adscripta fuisse dicuntur;*" dated Anagni, 10 Kal. Novemb. Pontificatus an. 1 [October 23d, A. D. 1255]. Du Boulay (page 293) gives another bull, dated Anagni, 2 Non. Novemb. pontif. an. 1 [October 31st], alluding to the preceding, and directing the bishop of Paris to act discreetly in publishing the aforesaid censure, for the sake of the credit of the friars: "*Quòd dicti fratres nullum ex hoc opprobrium nullamque infamiam incurrere valeant sive notam; ut oblocutores et æmuli non possint exinde sumere contra ipsos materiam detrahendi.*" In the next page (294) Du Boulay states that, through the intrigues of the Dominicans, the pope was induced to issue three bulls against the other party; and that William de St. Amour, Odo of Douay, Nicolas, dean of Bar, and Christian, a canon of Beauvais, were denounced as the leading opponents of the friars. A temporary peace was then concluded between the two parties at Paris, dated "*die 1 Martii, A. D. 1256.*" This peace, however, was soon interrupted; for the pope was induced by the friars to condemn the University men, and to charge them to receive the friars, under date of Anagni, 15 Cal. Julii, pontif. an. 2 (Du Boulay, p. 303). This led to the publication of the "*De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum,*" which Louis immediately sent to the pope for his opinion of it. The University, on their part, sent up nuncios, with the "*Evangelium Eternum.*" The pope promptly condemned the former, before the University nuncios had arrived, under date of Anagni, 3 Non. Octob. pontif. an. 2 (Du Boulay, p. 310); and thanked Louis for sending it, in a letter dated 16 Cal. Nov. (ib. p. 312); enjoining the French bishops to conform, in a bull dated 12 Cal. Nov. (ib. p. 313). Odo of Douay and Christian of Beauvais, arriving first of the University nuncios, were brought to recant, October 18th (ib. pp. 313, 315): St. Amour, however, resolutely defended his book, and so successfully that some errors in the "*Evangelium Eternum*" were condemned, and the pope wrote a complimentary letter to the University, dated Nov. 15th (ib. pp. 316—332). (See Ussher, "*De Christ. Eccles. Suc. et Statu,*" cap. ix. §§ 20—29.)

Page 521, note (3).]—The first of these sermons is printed at page 43 of Browne's Appendix to the "*Fasciculus,*" and begins—"Luke xix. In hodierno evangelio proponit vobis Dominus in parabolâ duas personas," &c. This must have been preached on the eleventh Sunday after Trinity. The second sermon is printed at p. 48 of Browne's Appendix. Foxe says that it was "upon the Epistle read in the church on May day," but that is not the fact. Doubtless, it was preached on May day, for internal evidence proves that it was the feast of St. Philip and St. James, *i. e.* May 1st; but the only portion of the services of that day which at all refers to the subject of the sermon is the Second Lesson for the Evening Service, which is the Epistle of St. Jude. The text, or motto, however, of the sermon was really compounded of two passages (Ecclesiasticus iii. 26, and Jeremiah xx. 9), and stands thus in Browne:—"Qui amat periculum peribit in illo. Factus est sermo Domini in corde meo quasi ignis æstuans." It then proceeds: "*Verbum secundò propositum scribitur in Jeremia . . . Ac ut possim ardentius ac diligentius facere, in principio oremus.*" He then resumes:—"Qui amat periculum, peribit in illo." "*Verbum istud scribitur in Eccles. . . Unde omissa commemoratione et laude SS. Apost. Philippi et Jacobi, quorum hodiè est festum . . .*"

Page 522, line 4.]—"In capite quinto" (Illyricus); "in the first chapter" (Foxe).

Page 522, line 7 from the bottom.]—"Vana Gloria, et Religionis Dissipatio."  
—*Illyricus*.

Page 523, line 4 from the bottom.]—Nicholaus Gallus flourished about A. D. 1270: he wrote a treatise called *Sagitta Ignea*, on the corrupt state of the Monastic Orders.—*Illyricus*, col. 1655.

Page 524, line 3.]—"In nocte Sti. Dionysii" (M. Paris, p. 876). St. Denis's Day is October 9th.

Page 524, line 23.]—The Burton Annals give this letter (page 405), heading it "Littera papalis Deo odibilis et hominibus." By the list in Hasted's Kent, the archdeacon of Canterbury, mentioned in the beginning of it, must have been Othoboni, a Genoese. See also Knighton, Script. Decem, col. 2436.

Page 524, last line.]—Guillaume de Fiesque, of a famous Genoese family and nephew to pope Innocent III., was made cardinal-deacon of St. Eustace December A. D. 1244, and died A. D. 1256.—*Moreri's Dict. v. Cardinal*.

Page 525, line 7.]—For the first beginning of these provisions, see Wilkins's Conc. tom. i. p. 558, sub anno 1225.

Page 526. "*The answer of bishop Grosthead to the pope.*"—Foxe, following M. Paris, represents this letter as addressed to the pope: the Burton Annals (page 326) more correctly represent it as addressed to the two persons to whom the pope's letter was addressed, and as beginning thus:—"Robertus, Dei permissione Lincolnæ episcopus, Cantuariensi archidiacono et Magistro Innocentio Domini Papæ scriptori salutem et benedictionem. Intelleximus vos literam Domini Papæ recepisse in hæc verba:—*Innocentius episcopus, &c. . . Dilectis filiis Archidiacono Cantuariensi et Magistro Innocentio scriptori nostro in Anglia commoranti salutem, &c. ut infra.*" [The pope's letter on behalf of his nephew is not given in the Burton Annals till seventy-nine pages later, having been omitted at its proper place.] Noverit autem discretio vestra," &c. M. Paris takes up Grosthead's letter at the word "*Salutem*," and makes it the opening of a letter from Grosthead direct to *Innocent*:—"Rescripsit ei ad hæc verba: Salutem. Noverit discretio vestra," &c. It is not easy, however, to understand how Grosthead should say to Innocent—"Propterea, reverendi Domini." This letter is called by Knyghton, (col. 2436,) "Epistola satis tonans:" it is found in M. Paris, page 870, ed. 1640; the Burton Annals, page 326; Browne's Appendix to the "Fasciculus," page 400; and in MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Cotton MSS.; also in the Exchequer, as appears from the following:—"The memorable Epistle of Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, to pope Innocent IV. against his Provisions, wherein he compares him to *Lucifer* and *Antichrist*, is enrolled 'in perpetuam rei memoriam' in the Red Book in the king's Exchequer at Westminster, folios 16 and 179, to a transcript whereof I find this marginal note—'PAPA ANTICHRISTUS.' No wonder, then, pope Clement V. refused to canonize him for a saint, though earnestly requested by king Edward I." (Prynne's History of King John, Hen. III. and Ed. I. page 132.) Prynne (page 1134) gives the king's letter to pope Clement for the canonization of Grosthead, dated Carlisle, 6 die Maii, 34 Ed. I. [A. D. 1306.] The bishops and clergy and people of England are stated to join in the application: but there is no record of its being granted; and Knyghton says (col. 2436) that in consequence of this letter he never was canonized.

Page 528, line 5.]—Foxe adds "Hebrew," but that is not in the original; see, however, p. 523.

Page 528, line 8.]—Gilles de Torres, a Spaniard, was canon of Burgos, afterwards archbishop of Toledo, created cardinal-deacon of St. Cosmus and St. Damian A. D. 1216, died A. D. 1254. (Moreri, v. Cardinal.) He seems to have been a very thoughtful and respectable person. M. Paris mentions his death sub an. 1255, and gives him this high character: "Qui ætate fermè centenarius, singularis, pare carens, exstitit columna in curiâ Romanâ veritatis et justitiæ, et munus aspernator, quæ rigorem æquitatis flectere consueverunt."

Page 528, line 18. "*John of St. Giles.*"—Mr. Pegge (Life of Grosthead, page 220) says that he probably derived his name from the parish of St. Giles in St. Alban's, now demolished.—*Fuller's Worthies, Tanner, and Wood.*

Page 528, line 25.]—"In paupertate voluntaria, quæ est paupertas spiritûs."  
—*M. Paris*.

Page 528, line 16 from the bottom. "*Approved.*"—"*Authenticam*" (*M. Paris*, page 874); "*Solemn*" (*Foxe*).

Page 528, line 14 from the bottom.]—Grosthead seems to have had some reference to St. Jerome's definition of heresy (*Comment. ad Galatas*, cap. v.), cited in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Causa xxiv. Quæst. iii. cap. 27: "*Hæresis Græcè ab electione dicitur,*" &c. John Huss, in his reply to the attack of John Stokes on Wicliff, cites this definition of heresy as that of St. Augustine, "*Propriè hæreticus est, qui tenet dogma falsum, sacræ scripturæ contrarium, pertinaciter defensando.* Nam Causa 24, Quæst. 3, cap. '*Qui in ecclesia,*' dicitur, quòd hæreticus est, non qui errat, sed qui errorem contumaciter defendit. Sic enim definit hæresim beatus Augustinus in libro '*De Utilitate Credendi,*' quòd hæresis est dogma falsum, scripturæ sacræ contrarium, pertinaciter defensatum. Ex quâ definitione habetur, quòd ad hæresim proprie dictam tria concurrunt, scilicet, error in intellectu, pertinacia in affectu, et contrarietas scripturæ." (*Hist. et Mon. Joh. Huss, Noribergæ*, 1558, tom. i. fol. 109.) Huss refers also to Johannes [Semeca] Teutonicus' gloss on heresy. The "*De Utilitate Credendi*" has been searched in vain for the passage, but is quoted in the Canon Law referred to by Huss. Huss (ut supra, fol. 104) refers to the same definition as found in Augustine's treatise "*De Libris Hæreticorum Legendis,*" where something of the same import occurs.

Page 528, line 5 from the bottom. "*A boy.*"—"Parvulo" (*Grosthead*); "*puero parvulo*" (*Burt. Ann.*); "*nepotulo suo puero*" (*Knighton*).

Page 529, line 9.]—"Non caret scrupulo societatis occultæ, qui manifesto facinori desinit obviare."—*M. Paris*, p. 874.

Page 529, margin.] See the opinion of Æneas Sylvius, (afterward pope Pius II.) on the "non obstante" clause, infra, vol. iii. p. 619.

Page 530, § 8. "*The Coursini.*"—"The Coursini were a set of Italian merchants, infamous for usurious contracts, particularly in France, whence the kings drove them out by repeated laws and statutes. Of those issued by the king of France the most famous is an edict of St. Louis, 1268, permitting them to act as merchants provided they did not practise usury; and another of Philip de Valois, 1346. *M. Paris* speaks of them as a public nuisance in England in the middle of the thirteenth century. Henry III. expelled them, but, by the interference of the pope, re-admitted them, and soon after in 1251 drove them away again. They were one division of the *Lombards*, by which general name the Italian Merchants who lent money were distinguished all over Europe, but divided into societies or companies called, from the head of the firm or house, *Amanati, Accaioiuli, Bardi, Corsini, Caorcini, Coursini, or Cawarsini*. Du Cange, voc. *Caorcini*. Rymer has preserved a recommendation from Edward III. 1331, to David king of Scotland, to repay on his account to certain merchants of the society of *Bardi* at Florence 1000 out of 1300 marks due to him from David's father, Robert."—Mr. Pegge, *Archæologia*, vol. x. p. 242.

Page 530, note (2).]—Most of the individuals mentioned in this section have been spoken of in the note on p. 318. Jacobus de Viteri is also called *de Vitriaco* (Cave); he became cardinal-bishop of Frascati, and, with Robert de Curson and others, engaged actively in preaching up the crusade against the Albigenses A.D. 1215 (See Ussher, "*De Christ. Eccles. Suc. et Statu,*" lib. x. § 41). Respecting Roger, bishop of London, see supra, p. 403.

Page 530, note (4).]—*M. Paris* states (edit. 1640, p. 734) that Richard, earl of Cornwall, by authority from the pope gathered large sums of money from those who were signed with the cross (*Dugdale's Bar.* vol. i. p. 763); and he states at p. 732, that William Longspee, earl of Salisbury, made this precedent a ground of application to the pope for a similar licence, which was granted him, and yielded him above 1000 marks.—*Dugdale*, vol. i. p. 178.

Page 531, § 15. "*A legate should never come into England unless the king himself desire it.*"—See supra, pp. 179, 255.

Page 531, line 10 from the bottom.]—"Luxuria" is here *lust*; hence *lechery*.—*Pegge's Life of Grosthead*, p. 210, note (c), and *Nares's Glossary*, v. *Luxury*.



Page 533, line 11 from the bottom.]—"Nec potuit ei Cardinalis Albi physica suffragari, non enim pepercit Robertus Lincolnensis Sinebaldo Genuensi." (M. Paris.) Albus de Viterbo is mentioned by Moreri, *v.* Cardinal, as created cardinal A. D. 1252, but his title is not stated. He was of the Cistercian order.

Page 534, note (1).]—See the Burton Annals, p. 344. Rymer gives an order, dated Woodstock, 20th August, 40 Henry III. [A. D. 1256], "De domibus Judæorum suspensorum pro puero crucifixo apud Lincoln. vendendis." (See the note on p. 188.) The expulsion of the Jews from France is mentioned by M. Paris, p. 861, ad an. 1252; M. Westm. ad an. 1253. This pillage of the Jews by Henry is in M. Paris, p. 887, ad an. 1254, soon after Easter.

Page 535, line 16 from the bottom.]—This affair is related by *M. Westminster*, ad an. 1260, 44 Hen. III.: the bishop of London, Fulco, died May 12th, A. D. 1259. (M. Paris.) The text of this paragraph has been revised in several places from the original.

Page 536, line 31.]—M. Paris wrote till 43 Hen. III., which ended 27th October, A. D. 1259. He records the death of Fulco by the plague in the spring, and says he was buried at St. Paul's on St. Urban's day, *i. e.* May 25th.

Page 536, note (3).]—This was the first occasion on which tenths were levied by the king on the clergy; and it was done on the authority of a special bull, granted to the king by Pope Innocent IV., who at the same time ordered a new valuation to be taken of all the benefices in England, with a view to this tax; the making of this valuation was committed to Walter de Suthfield, bishop of Norwich, A. D. 1254; whence this valuation was called the 'Taxatio Norwicensis.' The following note of Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 411, on B. Cotton's "De Episcopis Norwicensibus," will show the matter in its true light. The grant itself will be found, according to Brady and Tyrrell, 27 Hen. III., M. P. f. 866, n. 20, 303. "Iste Walterus, mandato Innocentii Papæ, qui Regi decimam omnium bonorum Ecclesiasticorum per triennium percipiendam concesserat, anno 1254 fecit descriptionem valoris reddituum ad Ecclesiasticos in totâ Angliâ spectantium. Missis enim (verba sunt Annalium Burton.) per totum regnum præceptis, in singulis Capitulis et Decanatibus cujuscunque Diocesis fecit decanum et tres rectores vel vicarios, qui fuerint majoris auctoritatis, inquirere veritatem et sub juramento certificare quæ sit justa æstimatio omnium proventuum Ecclesiasticorum tam majorum quam minorum, et prædictas justas æstimationes in scriptis fideliter redigere, ad se transmittendas. Ista descriptio Walteri curâ habita in tabulas publicas descripta est, et dato *Taxe Norwicensis* nomine in cunctis ferè Cleri censibus deinceps usurpata fuit."

Page 537, note (4).]—"Summa or Sagma, onus. Summa bladi quanti constiterit, docet Charta an. 1223. 'Summam bladi, scilicet tres modios bladi: v' vide Sarcina.' "Qualis fuerit *Sarcina bladi* apud Montepessulanum, definitur in Charta an. 1340. 'Sarcinæ bladi quinque sextaria ad mensuram loci illius continentes.'" (Carpentier's Supplement to Ducange.) Bp. Fleetwood in his *Chronicon Pretiosum* (page 57) defines it a *quarter of eight bushels*; and Dr. Kelly (Universal Cambist), and Sir H. Ellis in his Introduction to the Domesday-Book, page xlii. note (11), lead to the same conclusion. M. Paris, ad an. 1205, says, "Summa frumenti duodecim solidis vendebatur."

Page 537, note (6).]—This affair of Sicily lasted from A. D. 1255, when Edmund was actually invested by Alexander IV. with the two Sicilies, to A. D. 1266, when Clement IV., finding the English would be squeezed no more, offered the kingdom of Sicily to Charles, earl of Anjou. Rapin remarks that this affair of Sicily was the main source of Henry's troubles, of the establishment of the charters, and the downfall of popery. Richard, earl of Cornwall, was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on Ascension day, May 17th, 1257. See a letter of his own to a friend in England preserved by M. Paris, in which the feast of St. Philip and St. James (May 1) is incidentally mentioned as happening on a Tuesday, which (by Nicolas's Tables) suits the year 1257. M. Paris calls Ascension Day "sexto Cal. Junii," leaving out "decimo," for 16 Cal. Jun. is May 17th, which (by Nicolas's Tables) was Ascension Day in 1257.

Page 533, line 8.]—M. Paris (page 989) says, "trecenta millia librarum parvarum Turonensium." Foxe, "thirteen hundred thousand of Turen pounds."

Page 538, note (1).]—The original, whence Foxe's text is a little corrected, is as follows:—"Quam tamen pecuniam postea penitentia ductus nunquam recepit nec recipere voluit in vita sua. Imo in literis suis et epistolis, toto tempore suo, se Ducem Normanniæ appellavit. Sed eo mortuo Edwardus filius ejus et successor in regno illa duo verba (Dux Normanniæ) in suis epistolis non posuit."—*Hemingford*, ad an. 1259.

Page 539, line 17 from the bottom.]—Wikes says they were married on the Feast of SS. Fabian and Sebastian, 1235, *i. e.* January 20th, *A. D.* 1236, which was a Sunday. (Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 540, note (1).]—Foxe's text has been improved from the original, which is as follows:—"Justitiarii regis Angliæ qui dicuntur 'Itineris,' missi Herefordiam pro suo exequendo officio, repelluntur; allegantibus his qui Regi adversabantur ipsos contra formam provisionum Oxoniæ nuper factarum venisse."—*Nich. Triv.* ad an. 1260.

Page 541, line 1. "*One month after Pentecost* [June 11th]."—Foxe here, following Hemingford, says, "The fifteenth day after Easter." But, in truth, the previous application of the barons to Henry was made in a parliament which the king summoned to discuss the affairs of the country, and especially the pope's demand for Sicily, on the Quindene of Easter, 1258, *i. e.* April 7th. (Nicolas's Tables.) Henry himself refers to the above parliament in a letter given by Rymer, dated Westminster, May 2d; and in another letter of the same date (given also by Rymer) he grants the barons a parliament, to meet at Oxford one month after Pentecost, to reform the government. St. Barnabas' Day is assigned by the Burton Annals and Wikes, *i. e.* June 11th, and it sat eleven days. Pentecost in that year was on May 12th.

Page 541, line 23. "*That they, departing the realm.*"—Rymer (an. 1258) gives a safe-conduct of the king to his brothers, dated Winchester July 5th, in which it appears that they were to leave England by July 14th.

Page 542, line 1. "*Thirteenth.*"—Foxe says "fourteenth." But Hemingford and the Burton Annals say, the Quindene of St. Michael, *i. e.* Oct. 13th; the latter adds that it was Edward the Confessor's day, *i. e.* Oct. 13th, 1258. The Provisions of Oxford were proclaimed after this Parliament. Oct. 13th fell on a Sunday in 1258, so that probably they did not proceed to business till the Monday, Oct. 14th.

Page 542, line 14. "*To be released of their oath.*"—Three bulls are given in Rymer, sub anno 1261: one to the king, absolving him from his oath, dated Lateran, Id. April. anno pontif. 7; a second, to the Magnates, Prælati, and all concerned, absolving them, dated Rome, 3 Cal. Maii, anno pontif. 7; a third, requiring them to return to their obedience, dated Viterbo, Non. Maii anno pontif. 7.

Page 542, line 17. "*A parliament at Winchester.*"—Foxe says "Another parliament at Oxford." But a parliament was held at Winchester, Whitsunday, June 12th, *A. D.* 1261, at which the king made known the dispensation which he had received from the pope, and his determination not to adhere to his oath, as the barons had neglected theirs.—*Thomas Wikes*.

Page 542, line 13 from the bottom.]—This list of nobles is corrected from Dugdale's Baronage.

Page 543, line 2. "*Was referred to Louis.*"—Hemingford is here rather speaking by anticipation, for the reference to Louis was not made till the close of *A. D.* 1263, after which the Parliament met at Oxford, and the barons there continuing firm, matters were brought to extremity. (See *M. Westm.*) Thos. Wikes, indeed, says, that the reference to Louis was made Candlemas [Feb. 2d] *A. D.* 1262, but he was misled by the date of Louis's award. (See the note on p. 547.)

Page 543, line 10.]—Thomas Wikes dates this temporary peace St. Nicholas's day, *i. e.* Dec. 6th, *A. D.* 1261.

Page 543, line 8 from the bottom. "*Commanded the same to be published.*"—Rymer gives a letter of the king's, commanding all the sheriffs to proclaim him absolved from his oath, dated May 2d, *A. D.* 1262.

Page 545, line 16. "*The same year,*" &c.]—Alexander IV. died May 25th, *A. D.* 1261; and the course of Foxe's narrative has already brought us into the

year A. D. 1262; we should, therefore, rather read here "the previous year." Urban IV. was crowned pope, September 4th, A. D. 1261.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 545, note (2).—Rymer gives Henry's application to Urban for dispensation from his oath, dated January 1st.

Page 545, note (3).—Foxye's text leaves out "Baldwin, earl of Devonshire," and makes "Richard, earl of Gloucester and Hereford" (*sic*) the person who died in France. This is at variance with the truth (see Dugdale's Baronage), and with his own alleged authority, from which the text has been corrected.

Page 546, note (1).—"Joh. Mansel, qui domini regis principalis consiliarius extitit, aridente sibi fortunâ in tantum ditatus est redditibus, ut septingentis de novo sibi accumulatis ad quatuor millia marcarum totalis ejus reditus annuus æstimabatur. Ita ut nostris temporibus non est visus clericus in tantam opulentiam ascendisse."—*M. Paris*, an. 1252.

Page 547, line 10. "*To hear and stand to the arbitrement of Louis.*"—This is rather a premature statement; see the next note. Henry, however, did go to France at this time, for Rymer gives a letter of the king's, dated Westminster, September 15th, A. D. 1263, stating, that being invited to attend a parliament of the French king at Boulogne-sur-mer on the Quindene of the nativity of the Virgin Mary (*i. e.* September 22d), he meant to return to England by the Octaves of St. Michael, *i. e.* October 6th.

Page 547, line 18.]—The parliament at which the king and the barons agreed to make this reference to the French king was held at London on St. Lucy's day, *i. e.* Dec. 13th, A. D. 1263; and the agreement itself is given by Rymer, dated Windsor, Sunday after St. Lucy's day, *i. e.* December 16th, A. D. 1263 (by Nicolas's Tables).

Page 547, line 38.]—Louis's award is given by Rymer, dated "Amiens, the morrow after St. Vincent's day [*i. e.* January 23d], A. D. 1263," *i. e.* 1264 of our reckoning: but that was the day of the *parliament assembling*: the award was pronounced February 3d (see Tyrrell's Appendix). Pope Urban's confirmation of this award is also given by Rymer, dated "17 Cal. April. anno pontific. 3," *i. e.* March 16th, A. D. 1264.

Page 547, line 7 from the bottom.]—The reader is not to suppose that the affair between the king and Simon Montfort in Southwark was now repeated.

Page 547, line 5 from the bottom.]—The parliament met at Oxford on Midlent Sunday (March 30th); where the king produced the pope's absolution again, and the French king's award: but neither was allowed.

Page 548, line 1.]—Thomas Wikes says that the king set out from Oxford, and displayed his banner at Northampton on the Nones (5th) of April, being Saturday before Passion Sunday, which suits the year 1264, according to Nicolas's Tables.

Page 548, line 3.]—This list is corrected from Hemingford and Dugdale.

Page 548, line 14 from the bottom.]—Rymer gives the king's order to the scholars to retire from Oxford to make way for the Parliament, dated Oxford March 15th A. D. 1264.

Page 549, line 13.]—The following list has been collated with the text of Hemingford: the names have also been verified and corrected by Nash's History of Northamptonshire.

Page 549, line 26.]—Foxye dates the battle of Northampton "the Sabbath day in Passion Week, being the third of April." But M. Westm. says, "Hoc actum fuit Sabbato primo Passionis Dominicæ;" Hemingford, "Sabbato primo in Passione Domini:" *i. e.* the Saturday before Passion Sunday, April 5th (by Nicolas's Tables). See also the note on p. 548, line 1.

Page 549, line 14 from the bottom.]—"Warren" is substituted for "Worcester," which is Foxye's reading. See Dugdale's Baronage.

Page 550, line 8. "*Bannerets.*"—"*Vexillarios.*"—*Hemingford*.

Page 550, line 10.]—The editions of 1570, 1576 correctly read "Winchelsea," which afterwards was erroneously altered into "Winchester."

Page 550, line 11. "*The Saturday.*"—Hemingford says "Sabbato," which

Foxe mistranslates "Sunday." The "twelfth day of May," presently mentioned, fell in the year 1264 on a Monday. (Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 551, line 30.]—The following names are corrected from Hemingford and Dugdale.

Page 551, line 13 from the bottom.]—"Warren" is substituted for Foxe's "Warwick," agreeably to Hemingford and Dugdale.

Page 551, line 10 from the bottom. "*Bannerets*."]—"Vexillarios."—*Hemingford*.

Page 551, line 8 from the bottom.]—"Et erat ibi juvenilis ætas quasi totius militiæ suæ."—*Hemingford*.

Page 552, line 4 from the bottom.]—"Per partes utrasque tumultuabat."—*Hemingford*.

Page 553, line 15.]—Foxe says "upon the nineteenth day of May." In thus dating the battle of Lewes he is misled by Hemingford, who says, "*Acta hæc sunt in mense Maii, die Sancti Dunstani*." But Tho. Wikes says it was fought "Prid. Id. Maii, xiv. sc. ejusdem mensis, die Mercurii proximâ ante festum S. Dunstani," i. e. Wednesday, May 14th, A. D. 1264. St. Dunstan's Day is May 19th, and fell that year on a Monday. (Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 553, line 10 from the bottom.]—"Decrescente parte Regis," says Hemingford: this paragraph has been corrected from his text.

Page 554, line 11.]—Foxe here refers to Parker's "*Antiquitates Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*." This passage is to be found in the edition printed at Hanover, 1605, page 188. The first edition was printed at London by John Daye, 1572.

Page 554, note (3).]—The Latin copy in Rymer does not name his chaplains.—"Tertiò actum est, quod magistros tales, familiares clericos suos secum adducat; et hos tantùm clericos alienigenas de consilio suo et familiâ retineat." Baldwin does not appear to have returned till Ascension-Day, May 6th, A. D. 1266.—*T. Wikes*, ad an.

Page 556, line 19.]—Urban IV. died October 2d, A. D. 1264. Clement IV. was crowned Feb. 22d or 26th, A. D. 1265. (*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.) He had been made cardinal-bishop of St. Sabina, A. D. 1261.—*Moreri*, v. *Cardinal*.

Page 556, line 25.]—The words "in England" are put in from Trivet.

Page 556, line 26.]—Thomas Aquinas was called the *angelic* doctor, Bonaventure the *seraphic* doctor: both died the same year, A. D. 1274.

Page 559, line 2.]—Foxe says "Concerning non-residents:" the document itself proves the propriety of the change made, both here and in the margin.

Page 560, line 28. "*The park of Dunetish and Tiley*."]—See Hutchins's Dorsetshire, vol. iii. pp. 257, 260, and Dugdale's Monasticon, v. Cerne. At line 34 "Alfred" is substituted for "abbot," which is a manifest *lapsus*.

Page 561, line 4 from the bottom. "*I bid you adieu*."]—"Commendo vos Deo" (Hemingford), which Foxe renders "betake you to God."

Page 561, note (2).]—Simon Montfort wanted to monopolise the ransoms of the principal prisoners.

Page 561, note (3). "*Philip Basset*."]—So says Hemingford, correctly. See *suprà*, p. 548, and Dugdale's Baronage. Foxe says "John."

Page 561, note (4).]—Foxe's text says "Robert," for which he had Hemingford's authority: but Wikes says "Thomas de Clare;" and Dugdale states, that for this very action he was included with the earl, his brother, in a pardon, which is preserved among the Tower Records.

Page 561, note (5).]—"Si forte torneare deberet, sicut et aliquando voluissent," (Hemingford.) Foxe renders the last words "as they might when they listed."

Page 562, line 16. "*And when this*," &c.]—"Nunciatumque est hoc Edwardo filio Regis per exploratorem suum Margoth, qui, cum mulier esset, in veste tamen virili velut homo gradiebatur. . . . Eratque tunc Edwardus apud Wircestriam quam post Gloucestriam paulò ante devicerat, et accepto nuncio consurgens de nocte abiit."—*Hemingford*.

Page 562, line 26.]—"Cum processissent in itinere, venerunt hostium longæ

quadrigæ, ut victualia quærerent, et continuò captæ sunt, et equi distributi in loco lassatorum equorum per exercitum."

Page 562, line 36. "*Prince Edward immediately returned to Worcester.*" ]—These words are added to the text from Hemingford: "Et statim ad Wirccestriam reversi sunt."

Page 562, line 5 from the bottom.]—"Dixit [speculator] ad comitem . . . . apparent vexilla tuorum. Et ille, Filius meus est: ne timeas. Sed vade et circumspecte, ne forte præoccupemur circumventi; non enim cognoverat adhuc de his quæ filio acciderant. Perrexit ergo speculator ille in altum in cloccario Abbatie," &c.—*Hemingford*.

Page 563, line 1.]—"Festinavitque ut montis clivo ascenso primos belli ictus occupare posset."—*Hemingford*.

Page 563, line 12.]—Hemingford says: "Præcepitque ut confiterentur omnes, et essent parati in prælium, qui pro legibus terræ mori vellent et pro justitia:" which Foxe renders "should make himself ready to God, and to fight out the field; for that it was their will to die for their laws and in a just quarrel."

Page 563, line 8 from the bottom. "*But after the battle,*" &c.]—This and the next sentence had slipped into the middle of the next paragraph.

Page 564, line 26.]—Othobon arrived in England with the queen about All-saints' day, *i. e.* Nov. 1st, and the parliament and convocation met at Northampton on St. Nicholas's day, *i. e.* Dec. 6th. (*Chron. Dunstap.*) Another parliament met at Northampton, April 11th, *A. D.* 1266.—*Evesh. Annales*.

Page 564 note (1).]—The last name mentioned in the above list of slain stands in Foxe "the lord Roger Rowley," in Hemingford "dominus Rogerus de Roule," in Dugdale "Roger de Rowe" (vol. i. p. 758). The individual meant was undoubtedly Sir Roger de Ruhala, or, as the name was afterwards spelt in the more modern portion of the pedigree, Rowe or Rowell, Rouall or Roall; and Dugdale, who is an authority on these points, calls the name Rowe, which spelling is the best that can be given. The family of Rowell was of consequence in the county of Lincoln, and possessed lands in the Isle of Axholme, whither the barons retired. He should not be called the *lord* Roger Rowe, but *sir* Roger Rowe, being one of the many (some say 150) *knights* who were slain with Simon. For this information, the editor is indebted to the kindness of William Courthope, Esq., Somerset Herald.

Page 564, note (2).]—Foxe represents the barons as having been disinherited somewhat later, at the parliament of Northampton. But the Tower Record referred to in this note and cited by Brady and Tyrrell, proves that they were disinherited and their estates seized into the king's hands at the parliament of Winchester, Sept. 8th. Foxe, however, had authority. (See Hemingford, and Knighton quoted presently on note (4).) The error has been corrected in the text by a slight transposition. A commission is printed in Brady's Appendix (vol. i. No. 223), directing an account to be taken of the forfeited estates, to be sent in with the Michaelmas Rents on or before St. Edward's day next ensuing [Oct. 13th]. On that day the parliament resumed its sittings for eight days, when the estates of the barons were absolutely given to the king, who bestowed them on his friends. (Tyrrell, p. 1056.)

Page 564, note (3).]—The bishops referred to were those of *Lincoln, London, Worcester, and Lichfield*. They were pronounced excommunicate by Othobon at the council of Northampton, and ordered to appear "*infra Quadragesima*" to answer for their rebellion. In the meantime the bishop of *Worcester* died, but was absolved on his death-bed (Godwin de Præsulibus). The other three appeared at the time appointed, and were ordered to come and receive judgment "*on the quindene of Easter*;" when they were sent off to the court of Rome, there to answer for their conduct.—*Chron. Dunstap.* and *Thos. Wikes*, ad an. 1266.

Page 564, note (4).]—Foxe had authority for his statements in the text, as the following extract from Hemingford will show:—"Tenuitque Rex Parliamentum suum mense Novembris apud Northampton, et exhæredati sunt omnes qui comiti



Simoni astiterunt, et uxor ejus cum liberis; tenuitque ibidem concilium Othobon, legatus Domini Papæ, et excommunicavit omnes Episcopos, qui eidem comiti Simoni auxilium præstiterant et favorem. Misitque quosdam eorum ad præsentiam Papæ, pro beneficio absolutionis obtinendo; publicavitque quædam statuta quæ fecerat, et concessionem Domini Papæ Clementis quam fecerat Regi et Regina, de decima Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ concessa eisdem per sex annos subsequentes; fiebatque cito post taxatio Norwicensis per Walterum Norwicensem Episcopum, qui ad hoc onus electus est. Factaque sunt hæc in anno Domini 1266."—*Hist. Angl. Scriptores, Edidit Thomæus Gale, Oxon. 1691, vol. ii. p. 587.* The same passage is copied by Knyghton in the Decem Scriptores, col. 2454; it is also quoted by Wilkins in his Concilia, ad annum.—But besides the error of representing the barons as disinherited at Northampton (pointed out in the last note but one, and corrected in Foxe's text), there is probably some error as to the extent of "the new grant made to the king and queen of the tenths for seven" (or even "six," as Hemingford states) "years to come." Several papal bulls are printed in Rymer, dated Viterbo Id. Sep. and 8 Cal. Oct. 1265, transferring to the use of the king *one* year's tenths which had been previously levied on the church by the barons: and afterward a grant was made to the king of the tenths for *three* years, out of which the queen was to have 60,000*l.*; see the notes in this Appendix on pp. 566, note (3), and 567, note (6).—But Hemingford is certainly mistaken in representing the "Taxatio Norwicensis" as now first made, and Foxe is still further mistaken in translating his words "shortly after a tax was also fined upon the county of Norfolk." The time and occasion of the said "Taxatio Norwicensis" being made have been stated in this Appendix, in the note on p. 536. Bartholomew Cotton states in his "Annales Norwicensis" that a twentieth was this year voted by Parliament to the disinherited barons, "secundum taxationem domini Walteri de Suthfend quondam Episcopi Norwicensis" (Anglia Sacra, tom. i. p. 398); and Wikes (see the note in this Appendix on p. 566, note (3)) calls it "taxatio pernequiter innovata": from such expressions, probably, Hemingford erroneously inferred, that the present was the original occasion of the "Taxatio Norwicensis" being made.

Page 564, note (5).—Foxe omits to mention that *Simon de Montfort, jun.* as well as D'Eyvile, threw himself into Axholm. Henry ordered an army to assemble at Northampton to reduce the rebels in Axholm "circa festum Stæ. Lucie" [Dec. 13th]. They surrendered at discretion, Dec. 27th, saving life and limbs. (M. Paris, Annal. Waverl.) On presenting himself before the king at Northampton, Simon, through the intercession of Richard, king of the Romans, was kindly received by the king, and appointed a pension of 500 marks during good behaviour: he accompanied the king to London Jan. 13th, but hearing that he was to be imprisoned in the Tower he suddenly absconded on the night of St. Scholastica's day, being Ash-Wednesday [which gives Feb. 10th, A. D. 1266, by Nicolas's Tables]; he joined the pirates of the Cinque Ports, till they were defeated by Prince Edward at Winchelsea on the feast of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas [March 7th], after which he took refuge in France. Rymer gives a proclamation of Henry, dated Northampton May 18th, A. D. 1266, stating that Simon and his friends were raising forces in France to invade England; and Rymer gives also a bull of excommunication against him for intriguing at Paris against Henry, dated Viterbo 17 Cal. Octob. A. D. 1266; after which he joined the barons in the Isle of Ely, and there surrendered.—*Annal. Waverl., M. Paris, Chron. Dunstap., Rymer.*

Page 564, note (6).—Some place the death of Walter in the year 1267, while all place it in the month of February. There seems little doubt, however, that he died in 1266, for his successor, Nicholas of Ely, appears (by the Annal. Waverl.) as bishop of Worcester among the twelve commissioners chosen at Coventry in the ensuing summer. Nicholas seems also to have been consecrated, with the bishop of Landaff, "octavis Pentecostes," May 23d, A. D. 1266, on the return of archbishop Noriface about Ascension-day (Thomas Wikes); or rather with Roger, bishop of Norwich, Sept. 19th. (Annal. Wigorniensis: see Wharton's note, Anglia Sacra, tom. i. p. 496.)

Page 565, line 29. "*Twelve persons were chosen.*"—These twelve were

chosen and sat at Coventry (M. Paris, Chron. Dunstap.), which will explain the allusion at page 567, line 13.

Page 566, line 6.]—This mention of Simon Montfort tallies with the account given of him in the note on p. 564, note (5).

Page 566, line 10 from the bottom.]—The king was roused to attack the Isle of Ely by the excesses committed by the barons, who had taken refuge there. (Chronicon de Barnewelle, Leland's Collectanea, vol. ii. p. 439.) They attacked and plundered Norwich, 17 Cal. Jan. 1267 (Anglia Sacra, tom. i. p. 398), "circa festum Sti. Nicolai, in mense Decenbri." (T. Wikes.) The king came to Bury on his way to Ely on the Octaves of St. Hilary (Jan. 20th), and held a parliament there "Crastino Purificationis" (Feb. 3d), where he asked for a second tenth besides what the pope had granted him, but was refused. (T. Wikes, Chron. Dunstap.) He besieged the Isle of Ely all Lent; after which he was joined by prince Edward from the North; and left for London, which had been invested by the earl of Gloucester about Easter (April 17th). Henry advanced about 3 Non. Maii (May 5th), and stopped several weeks at Stratford. The earl evacuated London 8 Id. Julii, and made terms for his party.—*Leland's Collec.* ii. p. 439, *T. Wikes, Annal. Waverl.*

Page 566, note (2).]—Walter Gifford, chosen bishop of Bath and Wells May 22d, A. D. 1264, seems to have been translated to York October 15th, A. D. 1265 (Richardson's Godwin): T. Wikes and the Waverley Annals, however, confirm Foxe's statement.

Page 566, note (3).]—Foxe says, "In this year also the Church of England began to pay the tenths of all her revenues, as well spiritual as temporal, to the king." Probably he is quoting here "Scala Mundi," and a little misapprehends the meaning of the original, applying "spiritual and temporal" to the revenues instead of the clergy. The following is the account of the matter in the Waverley Annals:—"Item hoc anno (1266) concessa est Domino Regi decima omnium Ecclesiarum et omnium bonorum Religiosorum et Ecclesiasticarum personarum Angliæ, Walliæ, Hybernæ, et Scotiæ, exceptis Templariis, Hospitalariis, et Ordine Cisterciensi, per tres annos." (Gale, vol. ii. p. 223.) Thomas Wikes, ad annum 1267, says to the same effect:—"Et ne Clericorum marsupia sacculis laicorum abundantius intumescerent, sed esset Cleris sicut et populis, summus Pontifex (excedens potius, si fas sit dicere, potestatis plenitudinem quam exercens) inaudito contributionis genere Anglicanam Ecclesiam [opprimit] concedendo Domino Regi Anglorum decimam partem omnium bonorum et proventuum annuorum, tam Clericorum, quam religiosorum, paucis religiosis duntaxat exceptis, quicum ne cum aliis contribuerent, et sic sua læderent privilegia, inestimabili data pecunia redimenda duxerunt; et non solum sub antiquam vel pernequiter innovatam taxationem decimas suas unius anni reddere sunt coacti, sed et trium annorum sub [novâ] decimatione verum et plenum rerum suarum valorem singuli persolvebant. . . ." (Gale, tom. ii. p. 84.) In explanation and confirmation of the above statements it may be remarked, that there is in Rymer a bull dated "Viterbo Id. Julii, pontificatus anno tertio" [1267], and directed to Othobon, intimating that the pope *had previously* granted the king the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues in England, Ireland, and Wales, for three years, out of which 60,000 pounds Tours were to be deducted and allowed the queen to pay her debts. This bull urges the immediate raising of these 60,000 pounds (si forsitan non sint collecta), to be paid over to the queen's creditors. To the same matter Hemingford probably refers in the passage cited from him in the note on p. 564, note (3).

Page 567, note (2).]—Mention is made of the Peches in the Chronicle of Barnwell Priory (Leland's Collectanea, vol. ii. p. 439), as a family of considerable consequence in those parts, and in particular the brothers Hugh and Robert Peche are stated to have saved the Priory from being burnt by the "Insulares" on the retirement of the king from Cambridge for London. The Priory was founded by an ancestor of theirs. (Tanner's Notitia Monastica.)—Baldwin Wake's ancestor was active in maintaining the Isle of Ely against the Conqueror. Baldwin obtained pardon, and restitution of his lands, on paying three years' value to those to whom they had been given. *Pat. 51 Hen. III.* 3 m. 26, apud *Dugdale*, vol. i. p. 540.

Page 567, note (3).]—This council met “in Quindena Paschæ, quæ ipso anno contigit 6 Id. Aprilis.” (T. Wikes.) It was at this council that the famous Constitutions of Othobon were passed, printed in Wilkins’s *Concilia*, tom. ii. p. 1. Some of them tended to abridge the power of the bishops, and such strong opposition was made to them, that Othobon was forced to adjourn the assembly to the next day: he improved the interim so well by promises or threats, that next day he carried his point.—*M. Westm. ad an., T. Wikes*, p. 85.

Page 567, note (6).]—These new valuations (*taxationes*) were evidently much disliked by the clergy. We have already seen how Wikes speaks of the *Norwich valuation*, in the note on p. 566, note (3). It is not improbable that Othobon attempted (as Foxe says) to get a still more perfect valuation than that, but found the proceeding so odious that he was obliged to desist; for we have no such valuation on record: but it would appear from the following passage from Wikes, ad annum 1269, that the king compounded the matter in another way:—“Circa idem tempus Rex Anglorum, cui, sicut prædiximus, Dominus Papa decimam clericorum sub verum suum valorem (minus sane, si liceret dicere) diu ante concesserat, pendens quod nec antiqua beneficiorum taxatio, nec Walteri Norwicensis Episcopi taxatio nequiter innovata, verum valorem posset attingere, pessimis pessima superaddens, Pontificibus (qui se pro subditorum defensione murum inexpugnabilem exponere debuissent) annuentibus nec non in modico contradicentibus, tandem extorsit, ut pro recompensatione veri valoris non percepti per triennium decimam quarti anni singuli reddere cogerentur” (Gale, vol. ii. p. 88): that is, the king demanded a fourth year’s tenths in compensation for the defect of the three previous years’ tenths below their true value. The juxtaposition of “quarti” and “tres” may have misled Foxe, or his authority, into the statement about “seven” years’ tenths, noticed in p. 564.

Page 567, note (7).]—“Theobaldum archidiaconum Leodiensem, quem vulgus consueto vocabulo vocitabat *Tyardum*, quique tunc temporis cum domino Edoardo peregrinationis causa morabatur.” (T. Wikes, p. 96, ad an. 1270.) Foxe calls him an “archdeacon cardinal;” but he does not appear to have been a cardinal. (See Moreri, v. Cardinal.) He was elected Sept. 1st, A. D. 1271, and consecrated at Rome, March 27th, A. D. 1272. (*L’Art de Vér. des Dates*.) Foxe omits all mention of the six ensuing popes, Innocent V., Adrian V., John XX. or XXI., Nicholas III., Martin IV., and Honorius IV.: Nicholas III. is introduced at p. 579 by the present editor.

Page 568, note (2).]—Foxe in the text says, “Robert Burnell, their chancellor:” but he was at this time (A. D. 1270) only canon of Wells, archdeacon of York, and the prince’s chaplain: he was made chancellor Sept. 21st, A. D. 1274, and bishop of Bath and Wells January 1275, and consecrated by the archbishop at Merton April 7th following. (Richardson’s Godwin “*De Præsulibus*.”) Another unsuccessful attempt was made by the prince, when Edward I., to obtain for him the primacy in A. D. 1278. (See p. 579.)

Page 569, note (1).]—John, of Darlington in the diocese of Durham, was a Dominican, of great learning and probity. He was made private confessor to Henry III. He was made pope’s collector in England “Gregorii X. anno 3,” i. e. A. D. 1271 or 1272; and continued such under John XXI., Nicholas III., and Martin IV. He was consecrated archbishop of Dublin on the Sunday after Bartholomew, A. D. 1279, and died suddenly at London, 5 Cal. Ap. A. D. 1284. His concordance was called *Magna* and *Anglicana*.—*Bale, Fuller’s Worthies, Tanner’s Biblioth.*

Page 571, line 27. “*Then the Christians,*” &c.]—Hemingford’s words are (p. 590): “Animati itaque Christiani tertio exierunt circa festum Beati Petri ad vincula, usque ad Sanctum Georgium, et peremptis quibusdam, cum non invenirent qui resisterent, reversi sunt cum gaudio in locum suum.”

Page 571, line 10 from the bottom.]—This messenger is commonly supposed to have been one of the Assassini, of whom some account has been given in the note on p. 467.

Page 573, line 25. “*Through Palestrina and Metmes.*”]—These appear barbarous words. Gale’s edition of Hemingford reads *Palestinam et Mechines*,

and gives in the note a various reading *Platiam* and *Messinam*; but this is not satisfactory.

Page 574, line 9. "*Hereat prince Edward being ascorned.*"—This is the reading of all the old editions. "Ascorned" is from the French *escorner*, and means *indignant*.—"Holy bread" or "halibread," line 24, alludes to the *vaticum* given to the dying.

Page 575, line 18.]—*Thomas Aquinas* "was born at Aquino, in Italy, 1221. The number of his works is prodigious, amounting to seventeen volumes folio, though he died at the early age of fifty. He is styled '*The Angelical Doctor*;' and his authority among the schoolmen was almost decisive in theology. Like our own Hooker, he was little less eminent for his self-denying humility than for his wide erudition and deep reasoning powers. It is said that when pope Clement IV. showed him a vast heap of wealth, observing, 'You see the church cannot now say, Silver and gold have I none:—True,' replied the great schoolman, 'neither can she now say to the sick, Take up thy bed and walk.' Though, like other fallible men, and especially voluminous writers, he is sometimes found in error, yet Protestant divines and scholars have done justice to the vast attainments of this wonderful man. Dean Philpotts says, 'I do not affect to be deeply versed in his writings; but I have read enough of them to bear testimony to the uncommon vigour and astonishing acuteness of his mind.' (Letters to Charles Butler, Esq.) And Mr. Southey 'speaks of him as 'a man whose extraordinary powers of mind few persons are competent to appreciate.' (Vindiciæ Ecc. Ang.) As calculated in an especial manner to stamp the character of the man, and as a hint to those who forget that *Bene orâsse est bene studuisse*, it may not be improper to insert here the prayer of Thomas Aquinas before commencing study:—"Ineffably wise and merciful Creator! illustrious Source of all things! true Fountain of light and wisdom! Vouchsafe to infuse into my understanding some ray of thy brightness; thereby removing that twofold darkness under which I was born, the darkness of sin and ignorance. Thou, that makest the tongues of infants eloquent, instruct, I pray thee, my tongue likewise: and pour upon my lips the grace of thy benediction. Give me quickness to comprehend, and memory to retain: give me a facility in expounding, an aptitude in learning, and a copious eloquence in speaking. Prepare my entrance into knowledge: direct me in my pursuits, and render the issue of them complete: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."—*Allport's Davenant*, vol. i. p. 33, note.

*Jacobus de Voragine*, "*rectius de Viragine urbe maritimâ Ligurum.*" He was archbishop of Genoa: he was the first to translate the Bible into Italian, about A. D. 1270. He wrote a book called *Legenda Aurea*, being a collection of Lives of the Saints, full of fables, which Ludovicus Vives and Melchior Canus, bishop of the Canaries, called *Legenda ferrea*. He wrote also *Chronicon Genuense*. He died A. D. 1294.—*Hoffman, Moreri, and Cave*.

*Vincentius* of Beauvais, a Burgundian, of the Preaching Friars, flourished A. D. 1244. He was author of the famous "*Speculum Quadruplex*" (Historicum, Naturale, Morale, Doctrinale).—*Cave*.

By the *Cardinal of Ostia* is meant Henry de Segusa or Susa, who was, first of all, made bishop of Sisteron, and then archbishop of Embrun A. D. 1250, and cardinal-bishop of *Ostia*, A. D. 1262: he wrote on the Decretals. He was denominated "*Pons et Splendor Juris.*"—*Cave*.

*Albertus*, styled *Magnus*, "a German, of the Dominican order, and a follower of Peter Lombard; 'a man,' says Mosheim, 'of vast abilities, and an universal dictator in his time.' His celebrity, however, is so clouded with the legendary tales related of his acquirements and performances in occult philosophy, that it is impossible to say what portion of it is duly merited; and of the twenty-one folio volumes attributed to him, it has since been ascertained that many pieces which are there inserted were not composed by him. Still, the distinction he obtained for his extensive acquaintance with the subtle philosophy and obscure theology of the times was so great, that in 1248 he was called to Rome by Pope Alexander IV., and appointed 'Master of the Sacred Palace.' (See the next paragraph.) In 1260, he was elected bishop of Ratisbon; but finding his episcopal duties inconsistent with his love of retirement and study, he resigned his bishopric, and returned to Cologne, to enjoy the leisure of

monastic life. He was, however, drawn from his retirement by pope Gregory X., who sent him into Germany and Bohemia to preach the Crusade. He afterwards attended the council of Lyons, and then returned to Cologne, where he remained until his death in 1280.”—*Allport's Davenant*, vol. i. p. 148, note.

*Durandus*, “one of the most learned lawyers of his time, who flourished in the thirteenth century. He was a pupil of the celebrated Henry de Susa or Segusa, after quitting whom, and taking his doctor's degree, he taught canon-law at Bologna and Modena, and published a famous work, entitled ‘*Speculum Juris*,’ which gained him the surname of ‘*Speculator*.’ Being introduced by his former tutor, now cardinal-bishop of Ostia, at the court of Rome, he was employed by Clement IV. and four succeeding pontiffs in important and honourable charges. Among other posts of distinction assigned him, he was made ‘Master of the Sacred Palace.’ The person holding this office was ‘a kind of domestic chaplain or preacher of the pope.’ A part of his jurisdiction in this capacity ‘referred to the printing of books, and the power of prohibiting them.’ Of this office Mr. Mendham has given a full and interesting account in his valuable work on the ‘Literary Policy of the Church of Rome’ (ch. i. pp. 11—13). In the progress of his preferments and honours, Durandus was created bishop of Mende, and employed as Gregory's legate at the council of Lyons. Being recalled to Rome, he was afterwards created marquis of Ancona, and then count of Romagna, which provinces he governed during the tumults of the Guelph and Ghibelline factions. ‘The *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*’ is the best known of his works, and has been the most frequently reprinted. It is a detailed view of the rites and worship of the Roman church, and contains a competent portion of fable. He died at Rome in 1296.”—*Allport's Davenant*, vol. i. p. 38, note.

Page 575, line 24.]—The Tartar invasion is mentioned *suprà*, at p. 491.

Page 576, line 3.]—See p. 491.

Page 576, line 13 from the bottom. “*The fourth day of March.*”]—Godwin says “4 Cal. Martis,” *i. e.* Feb. 26th.

Page 576, line 10 from the bottom.]—Foxe erroneously makes Henry III. die “A. D. 1273, . . . . in the fifty-sixth year of his reign.” (See *Nicolas's Tables*.)

Page 577, line 6.]—Edward I. landed at Dover, August 2d, A. D. 1274, and was crowned at Westminster, on Sunday, August 19th.—*Nicolas's Chronology of History*.

Page 578, line 16 from the bottom. “*The halfpenny and farthing,*” &c.]—See the note on p. 690, note (4).

Page 579, line 12.]—Edward I., when Prince of Wales, had made a previous attempt to obtain the primacy for this Robert Burnell, then his domestic chaplain. (See the note on p. 568, note (2).) This fresh attempt was made on the abdication of Kilwardby, early in 1278. “*Electi [R. Burnell] causam Rex Nicolao papæ impensè commendavit literis datis 10 Julii 1278 (Rymer), aliisque ad Robertum dignitatem oblatam detrectantem 11 Aug. 1278 scriptis ipsum enixe rogat, ut electioni de se factæ consentiat. Paruit Robertus, missisque ad Curiam Romanam nunciis electionem confirmari petiit. Incassum autem,*” (Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 567, note *d.*) Foxe, in consequence of his having misplaced this portion of his narrative after the account of Boniface VIII., was misled into the notion that this affair happened under “Pope Boniface VIII.”—or *vice versâ*: this portion (as already intimated at the foot of p. 578) has been transposed, and “Nicholas III.” substituted for “Boniface VIII.” Nicholas III. was pope Dec. 26th A. D. 1277—August 22d A. D. 1280.

Page 580, line 15.]—The parliament of Bury was held “in Crastino Animarum Omnium, 24 Ed. 1.,” *i. e.* Nov. 3, A. D. 1296.

Page 580, line 21. “*In crastino Sti. Hilarii.*”]—(Nicholas Trivet, and Knyghton.) Foxe says, “the next Hilary term.”

Page 581, line 19.]—Edward embarked at Winchelsea, August 22d, A. D. 1297.

Page 582, line 16.]—This is called, in the Public Acts, “*Colloquium et Tractatus.*” Another meeting was summoned for Oct. 6th, to finish the matter. The “*Magna Charta*” and “*Charta de Foresta*” referred to as binding on the



kings of England, are those passed 9 Hen. III. A. D. 1224. (See *suprà*, p. 376.) The king himself ratified these proceedings at York on Whitsunday, May 25th, A. D. 1298.

Page 583, line 15 from the bottom.]—For “William I.” Foxe, by a slip, reads “David;” and for “this John Baliol” four lines lower he reads “Edward.”

Page 584, line 6 from the bottom. “*Who immediately sendeth down his precept to the king.*”] Foxe here follows Walsingham. This communication from the pope purports, according to the course of Foxe’s narrative, to have been made A. D. 1299, or 27 Ed. I. It does not appear, however, from the other historians, that any such communication passed that year. It is true, that the pope (at Baliol’s procurement) endeavoured to mediate, and persuaded Edward to surrender John Baliol into the hands of his legate with a view to some award, but with the express *proviso* on Edward’s part (dated Canterbury, June 14th, 27th year of his reign), that the sovereignty of Scotland belonged to him of right, and that John Baliol had acted against his allegiance: this was read over before the legate, John Baliol, and the king’s proctor, and assented to, at Witsand, July 18th, when Baliol was surrendered. This renders it the more extraordinary, that when Edward in the following year (28 Ed. I.) again went into Scotland to quell a fresh rebellion, he was met at the abbey of Dusques, in Galloway, by Archbishop Winchelsey, bearing a papal bull from Boniface, claiming the sovereignty of Scotland for the pope, and desiring him to give over vexing them: this was delivered to the king August 26th, A. D. 1300, and is what Walsingham calls the pope’s “*secundariæ literæ.*” It is very remarkable, however, that this bull is dated the *previous* year, “5 Cal. Julii, quinto pontificatûs,” *i. e.* June 27th, A. D. 1299, the very time when Edward’s claim was being admitted by the pope, with a view to obtaining the surrender of Baliol; which gives us a painful view of papal duplicity, of which, however, this volume has already afforded instances. We may add, that the date of this bull may have misled Walsingham into the belief of a papal “precept” having been sent in the year 1299, the only foundation for which seems to be the “*secundariæ literæ*” having been *written* in 1299, though not *delivered* till A. D. 1300.

Page 588, line 18 from the bottom. “*Robert Bruce, grandson of Robert Bruce above mentioned.*”]—Foxe says “Robert Bruce above mentioned,” which Henry, in his History of England, proves to be wrong.

Page 588, line 6 from the bottom.]—Robert Bruce slew Cumming in the cloisters of the Grey Friars at Dumfries, Feb. 2d, A. D. 1306, and was crowned at Scone Abbey on Lady-day following. Clement V. was crowned pope Nov. 14th, A. D. 1305.—*L’Art de Vér. des Dates.*

Page 589, line 19.]—See the note in this Appendix on p. 567. Massæus rather represents Benedict as setting somebody else to do this, than as doing it himself. “*Quorum unus, non re sed nomine Benedictus, apposuit quendam cubiculo papæ, qui facto foramine per fistulam multis noctibus insonabat velut angelus quispiam.*”—Ed. Antv. 1540, p. 242.

Page 590, note (1).]—The large type in the ensuing narrative of the dispute between Philip le Bel and Boniface VIII. is a translation from Trivet and Walsingham, somewhat modified in the present edition, in order to render the narrative more accurate. Whence Foxe obtained the documents does not appear: the originals are printed in Prynne’s History of John, Henry III., and Edward I.; also in Pierre de Pithou, “*Preuves des Libertez de l’Eglise Gallicane*,” as well as in Dupuy’s “*Histoire du Differend.*”

The affair of the bishop of Pamiers, which Foxe properly mentions as the origin of the dispute, began as far back as A. D. 1295. The monastery of St. Anthony at Pamiers was a peculiar, and had a jurisdiction over the town and suburbs of Pamiers. Clement IV. entrusted this to the protection of Louis, the grandfather of Philip le Bel, “for the honour of the Roman Church.” However, Roger, earl of Foix, in A. D. 1295, attempted to bring the abbot and monastery of Pamiers under his jurisdiction, not without the approbation of Philip; which produced remonstrances and threats from Boniface VIII. Boniface proceeded to erect the abbacy into a bishopric against the king’s declared wishes, and appointed Bernard Saizetti, the abbot, to be the first *bishop of*

*Pamiers*; who rewarded his patron by the most treasonable measures against his lawful sovereign. This led to his being summoned before a parliament at Senlis, where he was put under arrest, and committed to the custody of Giles, archbishop of Senlis, and a process commenced against him the Wednesday after Trinity, *i. e.* May 24th, A. D. 1301; which produced an immediate rupture between Boniface and Philip. (Dupuy.) This therefore was the origin of the quarrel, viz. "Bonifacius Apaneam jussit civitatem fieri, abbate S. Antonini primo episcopo constituto" (p. 154 of "Bonifacius VIII. e familia Cajetanorum principum Rom. Pontifex, Joh. Rubei opus, Romæ, 1651").

Page 590, note (3).—Stephen Aufrere, mentioned in this note, was an eminent lawyer, and president of the parliament of Toulouse. The short paragraph in the text—"Boniface, bishop and servant," &c., is called in history "*La Petite Bulle*," and is thought by some too concise to have been Boniface's, and that it is rather an abstract of the bull "*Ausculta Fili*." That bull, however, is dated "quarto Nonas Decembris, pontificatûs nostri anno sexto [A. D. 1301]."

Page 591, line 6 from the bottom.]—"The archdeacon of Narbonne" was Jacques des Normans, who, in February, A. D. 1302, presented to Philip a letter from Boniface, requiring the release of the abbot of Pamiers and declaring that he had *ipso facto* incurred the church's censure; also the *petite bulle*, and the bull "*Ausculta fili*," citing the French bishops to a council to be held at Rome Cal. Nov. A. D. 1302.

Page 591, note (1).]—The greater part of the foregoing paragraph in the text, viz. from "Moreover to provide" to the words "leave the realm," is added to Foxe's text on the authority of the ensuing letter of the bishops. This addition is absolutely necessary to connect the narrative, and is too important to be lost; for it is supposed that this was the first parliament to which the "*Tiers Etat*" was summoned. The Writ of Summons is not extant, but that the Commons were summoned is positively stated by the bishops in the ensuing letter.

Page 591, note (2).]—The ensuing letter of the French bishops to pope Boniface would stand, according to Foxe's arrangement, at page 603, and is represented by him as their apology for joining in the proceedings of Thursday and Friday, June 13th and 14th, A. D. 1303. The internal evidence, however, of the letter itself shows that it has no reference to those proceedings whatever. The note of time (page 592, line 12), "Tuesday, the 10th of this present month of April," ["*hac die Martis 10 præsentis mensis Aprilis*,"—Dupuy, Prynne,] is alone sufficient to prove that it belongs to A. D. 1302. (See Nicolas's Tables.) It is proper to inform the reader, that Foxe's text has "Wednesday," instead of "Tuesday," which fits the year 1303; and perhaps this was the reason why "Wednesday" was written, "die Martis" being supposed to be a blunder for "die Mercurii." But the letter concludes also, "Datum Parisiis, die Martis prædicta."

Page 594, line 21. "*These things*," &c.]—It may be proper to inform the reader, that, in reply to the foregoing letter of the French bishops, Boniface reproached them for suffering Peter Flotte to utter such "calumnies." The proposed council met at Rome Oct. 3d, and three representatives of the French church were there in spite of the king's prohibition; the result was the bull "Unam Sanctam;" also a bull excommunicating all who should hinder persons going to or returning from Rome, dated Nov. 13th. Boniface sent Jean le Moine, cardinal-priest of St. Marcelline, as his legate into France, Nov. 24th. Philip then wrote a conciliatory letter to Boniface, which was not satisfactory to him, as appears from his answer to the earl of Valois, Philip's brother, dated "6 Cal. Martii, pontif. anno 9:" *i. e.* Feb. 24th, A. D. 1303. Boniface then threatened to proceed against Philip both with the temporal and spiritual sword. At length Gilleaume de Nogaret brought forward his protest and appeal, March 12th.

Page 597, note (1).]—Foxe's copy gives 30 articles, the reason of which is, that he divides some of the articles differently.

Page 598, § 5.]—Arnold of Villa Nova is mentioned at page 510.

Page 602.]—As the reader may feel curious to see the original of this list of French ecclesiastical dignitaries, it is here given: the final "sis" of course requires to be added to complete each adjective. The modern names of the sees are derived from *Gallia Christiana*, and Fabricii *Lux Evangelii Exorians*.

“Nos Nicosien. Remen. Senonen. Narbonen. et Turonen. Archiepiscopi; Laudunen. Beluacen. Cathalaunen. Antissiodoren. Melden. Nivernen. Carnoten. Aurelianen. Ambianen. Morinen. Silvanecten. Andegaven. Abrincen. Constantien. Ebroicen. Lexovien. Sagien. Claromonten. Lemovicen. Ancien. Maticonen. Episcopi; Cluniacen. Præmonstraten. Majoris Monasterii, Cistercien. Sancti Dionysii in Francia, Compendien. Sancti Victoris, Sanctæ Genovefæ Parisiis, Sancti Martini Laudunen. Figiacen. et Belliloci in Lemovicinio, Abbates; Frater Hugo Visitator domorum Ordinis Militiæ Templi, ac Sancti Joannis Ierosolymit. in Francia, et Sancti Martini de Campis Parisiensis, Priores.

Gerard, archbishop of Nicosia in Cyprus, happening to be in France, took part in this appeal: he had been previously ordered home to his see by Boniface, but refused to comply, and a bull was published dated August 15th, 1303, suspending him from his bishopric.—*L'Art de Vérifier des Dates*, and *Fleury, Eccl. Hist.*

“Majoris Monasterii” means Marmoutier, in Tours. See *Recueil des Archevêques, Evêques, Abb. et Prioreux, &c. en France* par Dom. Beaunier, Paris, 2 vol. quarto, 1726, page 888. In Dupuy there are some lists of abbots about this time, where it is called “Majoris Monasterii Turonensis.”

Page 603, line 7. “*Done at Paris*,” &c.]—The passage in the text stands thus in the original (see Dupuy, page 109):—“Actum Parisiis apud Luparam in camera dicti domini Regis, anno, indictione, mense, diebus Jovis et Veneris, ac pontificatu prædictis, præsentibus nobilibus viris dominis Andegaven. Bolon. Dampni-Martini, et aliis comitibus superius nominatis; Mathæo de Trya, Petro domino Chanbliaci, P. domino de Wirmes, Hugone de Bovilla, militibus; necnon Magistris, Stephano Archid. Bruzen., Nic. Archid. in ecclesia Remen., G. Thesaurario Andegaven., Petro de Bella Pertica, Reginaldo dicto Barbou, et Joanne de Montegneyno, ac nonnullis aliis, tam clericis quàm laicis, ad hoc vocatis specialiter et rogatis testibus.”

Page 603, note (1).]—The foregoing introduction to the writ of summons is added to the text for greater clearness.

Page 603, note (2).]—The whole of the ensuing paragraph is added to the text on the authority of Dupuy, Fleury, &c. in order to connect the narrative. Prynne gives the king's circular, inviting the instruments of adhesion, dated “die Jovis post festum Sti. Johannis Baptistæ.”

Dupuy (*Preuves*, p. 166) gives a bull of Boniface, dated Anagni, 18 cal. Sept., grounded on his having heard that “*in festo natiuitatis B. Iohannis Baptiste proximè præterito*, Philippo Regi Francorum Parisiis in præsentia multorum *in Iardino ejusdem Regis* congregatorum contra nos diversa crimina denunciata fuerunt, quandoque eidem Regi supplicatum extitit, quòd ipse hujusmodi denunciationibus assentiret et consilium super hoc apponeret dando ad convocandum seu convocari faciendum Concilium Generale opem et operam efficaces . . .”

Page 603, line 36. “*The Frenchmen, A. D. 1204, with whom the empire remained the space of seventy years.*”]—Foxe says “fifty-eight years;” *L'Art de Vér. des Dates* says “cinquante-sept.” But it is more correct to say “seventy years,” i. e. from the time that Baldwin, earl of Flanders, was crowned emperor of Constantinople at the church of St. Sophia, May 16th, A. D. 1204, to the death of Baldwin II. at the close of A. D. 1273, when the Greek emperor, Michael Palæologus, was left sole master of the city: this was in the time of Gregory X., who was pope A. D. 1271—A. D. 1276. Gregory IX. was pope A. D. 1227—1241: Michael was emperor A. D. 1259—1282.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 603, line 11 from the bottom.]—This general council of Lyons sat May 7th—July 17th, A. D. 1274.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 603, line 4 from the bottom.]—Foxe, in this sentence, puts Michael and Andronicus Palæologus in each other's place.

Page 608, note (1).]—The foregoing paragraph is a translation of Illyricus's “*Catalogus Testium*,” edit. 1608, cols. 1818, 1819, 1698. At page 575, Foxe correctly mentions Urban IV. as the *first founder* of Corpus Christi; Clement V. *confirmed* it at the council of Vienne A. D. 1311. See Clementin. Lib. iii. Tit. 16.

Page 612, line 17.]—Foxe says, erroneously, "under the reign of the aforesaid king Philip, above-mentioned," whereas Philip le Bel died A.D. 1314.

Page 612, line 33.]—For "John XXII." Foxe reads, erroneously, "Clement V." The allusion is to page 609, line 4. Of the contest between the emperor Louis IV. and pope John XXII. more is said afterwards.

Page 612, note (2).]—Bertrand's "*Libellus*" was first printed in black letter, 4to, at Paris, A.D. 1495, uniform with the "*Quadrilogus*," and by the same printer, viz. *Johannes Philippi Alemannus*, and was finished only a few days after it; the "*Quadrilogus*" having been finished March 27th, and the "*Libellus*" April 2d, as the Colophons show. In the British Museum the two are bound together in the same volume. This was the edition which Foxe used: it contains two or three errors, which are corrected in later editions. Considerable pains have been taken to verify and correct the numerous references to Scripture and to the canon and civil law, which are very corrupt: it is believed that all have been discovered, except one or two references to the civil law.

Page 613, line 7.]—"Ad diem octavarum festi Sancti Andreæ, proximè venturum." At the end of this summons, in the printed copies, is subjoined—"die Veneris 15 Decembris;" whence Foxe inserts in the body of his translation of it "the fifteenth day of December," instead of the date expressed in the Latin. Why this second date was foisted in, will be shown in the note on page 635, line 36. Fleury expresses the date nearer, though not exactly, to the Latin, "*huitième jour de Decembre*." See the note in p. 619.

Page 613, line 17.]—"Die verò superiùs in dictis literis contentâ." The following is the Latin list of bishops: "Domini Bituricensis, Auxitanus, Turonensis, Rotomagensis, Senonensis, archiepiscopi: Beluacensis, Cathalanensis, Laudunensis, Parisiensis, Noviomensis, Carnotensis, Constantiensis, Andegavensis, Pictaviensis, Meldensis, Cameracensis, Sancti Flori, Briocensis, Cabilonensis, et Eduensis, episcopi."

Page 619, line 5 from the bottom.]—"On remit l'affaire au Vendredi suivant, quinzisième de Decembre."—*Fleury*.

Page 619, line 3 from the bottom.]—Peter Roger had been elected to the see of Arras, but was appointed to Sens, and "cameræ apostolicæ promisit" Dec. 12th, A.D. 1329. See *Gallia Christiana*; which says that he spoke in this debate "die Veneris, 22 Dec. 1329," and "8 Jan. 1330." He was translated to Rouen 12 Dec. 1330; made Cardinal A.D. 1338; and became Pope Clement VI. A.D. 1342; died A.D. 1352. Francis Petrarcha speaks highly of his talents, and particularly of his memory, which (he states) *could not* forget anything. Petrarcha attributes this faculty to a blow which he had received on his head!—*Gallia Christiana*, tom. xi. xii.

Page 620, line 6 from the bottom.]—The archbishop of Sens seems to have conjectured the reference to Augustine "on Romans xiii." from a comparison of the heading of the Canon—"Item Augustinus sermone 6 de verbis Domini," with the opening of the Canon itself, "Qui resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit," &c. The passage which the Canon recites does not occur in Augustine on Romans xiii., but "in Sermone 62 in Matt. viii." (See the note in this Appendix on page 156, note (1).)

Page 623, line 17. "*Blessed St. Gregory in his Register*."]—Foxe says, "Blessed St. Jerome, in his register:" for which he had the authority of the "*Libellus*" of 1495, and that printed in Goldasti "*de Monarchiâ*:" but the copy in the "*Bibliotheca Patrum*" corrects it.

Page 623, line 7 from the bottom. "*Gregory talketh in his pastoral*."]—Foxe says, "Ambrose talketh in his pastoral," for which he has the same authorities as before (see last note), and the same authority as before corrects the error.

Page 631, line 18. "*It is my duty and office to consult the interest of the emperor in this matter*."]—Foxe says, "to consult with the high Emperor of Salvation in this matter what is to be done," following his text, "*Deinde me consulere oportet imperatorem salutis*:" the later editions read correctly, "*imperatoris salutis*."

Page 632, line 15 from the bottom.]—"Nota hic de castro dato Sancto Remigio pro ecclesia Laudunensi per Clodoveum regem."

Page 635, line 34.]—Fleury calls the foregoing speech of the archbishop of Sens “longue et ennuyeuse harangue.” He gives an abstract of the former part, and says, “Je ne rapporterai le reste des preuves de l’archevêque de Sens, parcequ’il faudroit en même temps en montrer la foiblesse, en faveur de ceux qui ne sont pas versés en ces matières : ce qui convient mieux au discours particulier de la juridiction ecclésiastique.”

Page 635, line 36. “On the Friday next but one, being December the twentieth.”]—Foxe calls this “the Friday following,” which, according to the course of the previous narrative, would bring us to December 22d, the last day mentioned being Friday, December 15th (p. 619). And accordingly Gallia Christiana in the account of Peter Bertrand says, “Egit primò Rogerius apud Vicenas. Deinde die 22do Decembris subsequente Petrus noster dixit in Palatio Regis, Parisiis, et sexaginta articulis a Cygnerio objectis sigillatim respondit.” Fleury also says, “Le Vendredi suivant, vingt-deuxième de Decembre.” It is certain, however, that this session was held on December 29th; for when the bishop of Autun proceeds to reply to the articles *sigillatim*, the “Libellus” says, “Deinde præfatus dominus Eduensis Episc. ad finem prædictum, videlicet ad informandam conscientiam domini regis et ad præstandum consilium, &c. . . . ad singulos articulos sic respondit, et divisit articulos traditos in tres partes; quia quidam articuli tangebant jura ecclesiæ perpetua, &c. . . . quos erant parati defendere, sicut B. Thomas Cantuariensis Episcopus, cujus festum erat illa die, jura ecclesiæ defenderat.” Thomas Becket’s day was December 29th. The first Editor of the “Libellus” (if not some previous copyist), aware of this, endeavoured to pull the previous proceedings onwards by appending to the parliamentary summons—“die Veneris 15 Decembris;” as if to intimate that the parliament did not get to business till that day, instead of December the 7th or 8th. But the fact is that the Latin date of the present session has been misunderstood—“Alterâ autem die Veneris immediatè subsequenti, videl. die 29 Decemb.” where “Alterâ die Veneris immediatè subsequenti” means the *second*, not the *next*, Friday following. “Proximus, alter, tertius.—Cic.” (Ainsworth.) “Immediatè subsequenti” is added, to prevent “altera” from being taken to mean indefinitely *some* other, *another*, Friday; and limits it to mean the *next but one*. Where the Friday *next* following is meant, as at pp. 619, 637, the “Libellus” says simply, “dies Veneris sequens,” and “post hæc die Veneris sequenti.” We may suppose the long interval of a fortnight to have been required for the celebration of Christmas; and this will also account for the bishop of Autun’s repeating at such length the arguments of the archbishop of Sens, which might easily have been forgotten during the Christmas celebration.

Page 635, line 28 from the bottom.]—Peter Bertrand was created bishop of Autun about A.D. 1319. He was eminent for his knowledge of law, both canon and civil. For the talent which he displayed on the present occasion, the king himself paid him the compliment of allowing him to put a stem of lilies on his coat of arms. He died July 23d, A.D. 1348 or 1349. (Gallia Christiana, tom. iv.) His title is *Augustodunensis*, or *Eduensis*, from *Augustodunum*, the Latin name of Autun, which was the capital of the ancient *Edui*.

Page 637, line 8 from the bottom. “On that day [January the 5th].”—“Post hæc die Veneris sequenti.” (Libellus). “Le Vendredi suivant, vingt-neuvième de Decembre.” (Fleury.) Paulus Æmilius (apud Odorici Raynaldi continuationem, Annal. Baron. tom. v.) says—“Primâ actione nihil constitutum. Cum ampliatur, die D. Thomæ Cantuar. festo cum Patrum frequente globo Bertrandus Regem adiit, admonuitque illum illuxisse diem quem pro libertate ecclesiæ Thomas sanguine suo consecraverat. Respondit Rex, omnia sibi curæ futura. Anceps vox. Bertrandus, ut certius lætiusque eliceret responsum, oravit ut ambiguo responso non dimitteret tristes a se sacerdotes.” Where it is plain that Æmilius (as well as Fleury) connects the passage at p. 639, line 9, with T. Becket’s day, or Dec. 29th. But see the note on p. 635, line 36.

Page 640, line 21 from the bottom.]—Gaveston was banished by a decree dated Feb. 22d, A.D. 1307.—*Rymer*.

Page 641, line 3.]—Edward I. died July 7th, A.D. 1307.—*Nicolas’s Chronology of History*.



Page 642, line 6.]—That parliament met the quindene of Easter, April 28th: the writs for the coronation appoint the Sunday after Valentine's-day for the ceremony, *i. e.* Feb. 18th, A. D. 1308 (Rymer); but a memorandum from the Close Rolls (Rymer) says that it actually took place the Sunday after St. Peter in Cathedra, being the morrow after St. Matthias's Day, or Feb. 25th. (See Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 642, line 18.]—This letter is given by Rymer.

Page 642, note (1).]—The archbishopric of York was not vacant at this time: it had been vacant toward the close of the last reign between the death of Thomas Crombridge, September 22d, A. D. 1303, and the consecration of William Greenfield, January 30th, A. D. 1305 (Richardson's Godwin "*De Præsulibus*"); and in that interval Edward I. seems to have presented his chaplain, *Walter de Bedwynd*; for Prynne, page 1187, gives (from Claus. 35 Ed. I. m. 10, *dorso pro Rege et Waltero de Bedewind clerico*) a writ to the sheriff of York, dated "Carlisle, 10 die Marcii, 35 Ed. I." forbidding any one to molest the said Walter in his possession of the treasurership of York which he held by virtue of his royal collation. There was no other vacancy in the see of York till the death of Greenfield, December 6th, A. D. 1315. It seems most natural to suppose that Edward I. left the dispute as a legacy to his son, and that the pope made a fresh attempt on the inexperience of the young king: who seems, however, to have defended and confirmed his father's appointment with considerable spirit. The notes on page 702 will prove this last supposition to be correct.

Page 643, line 9 from the bottom.]—Edward's letter of recal to Gaveston is in Rymer, dated Dumfries, August 6th, A. D. 1307.

Page 645, note (1).]—Foxe puts "*Arpontacus Burdegalensis*" at the end of the foregoing paragraph, as though he were the authority for the whole paragraph, which is not the case. Moreover, "*Arpontacus*" is a misprint for "*Ar. Pontacus*," the running head-line of his *Chronographia* being "*Ar. Pontacus Burdegalensis*."—Bishop Hall's "*Honour of the Married Clergy*" (lib. i. § 12, and lib. iii. § 3) furnished the clue to the other author cited, *viz.* Matth. Parker. Parker cites for his authority Adam Mirimouth's first Chronicle, and W. Thorn's *Chronica* [printed in the *Decem Script.*]. This last is identical with Bishop Hall's "*Hist. Radulphi Bourne, Augustadensis Eccl. Abbatis*." Thorn states (*Script. Decem*, cols. 2009, 2010) that Ralph Bourne was elected abbot of St. Austin's, Canterbury, March 7th, 1310: he waited on the pope then at Avignon for his confirmation, and landed at Dover on his return, xi Cal. Oct. 1310.—Provins is a village (once a very important place) eighteen leagues south of Paris, in Brie. The nunnery here meant was very probably that of Mon Notre Dame des Provins, which was broken up as a female establishment soon after this period, and turned into a priory for monks. See Beaunier (*Recueil des Archevêques, Evêques, Abbes, et Prieux, &c. en France*, 4to. Par. 1726), who assigns a very confused reason; the real one probably was the abominable state of the Society. See also *Gallia Christiana*, under the church of Sens.

Page 647, line 11 from the bottom. "*The black dog of Arden*."]—This is from Walsingham. Arden was a district of Warwickshire, in which the earl had extensive estates; and being fond of the chase, he acquired this nickname with Gaveston, "*niger canis de Arderina* [*Ardenna*], eo quòd fuscus esset."—*Walsingham*.

Page 648, line 33. "*Titivillers*."]—This word means worthless fellows. "Lord Hailes observes from Junius, that things of no value were anciently called '*Titivilitia*,' as the term denoted rotten threads which fall from the distaff; and in general the vilest things of this description." Jamieson's *Scottish Dict. in voc.*, which is fully supported by what appears under the head of *Titivilitia*, in Facciolati's *Lexicon*, Scheller's, &c. Ainsworth's 4to. *Dict.* gives an example of *Titivilitia* from Plautus.

Page 650, last line.]—In the treasury of Durham Cathedral is preserved a mandate from bishop Beaumont to the prior and convent of Durham, in which the bull of pope John XXII. is recited, commanding the prior and convent to collect for these cardinals fourpence per mark from all benefited persons in the diocese.

Page 651, line 2.]—This affair happened at Acle, near Darlington, on Thursday, Sept. 1st, A.D. 1317. The cardinals were on their road to Durham, to attend the consecration of the new bishop of Durham on the following Sunday. (Rymer, iii. pp. 663, 666.) On the sense of "legacy" see the note above on p. 204.

Page 651, middle.]—The king's letter to Rigaud is in Rymer; also the letter given in the next page, which Foxe mis-calls "a prohibition for paying the pope's Peter-pence." Rigaud was not a cardinal (see Moreri, v. Cardinal), and he seems to have had nothing to do with the affair just mentioned.

Page 654, line 16 from the bottom.]—The truce is in Rymer dated May 30th, A.D. 1223: it was for "thirteen" years.

Page 659, line 16 from the bottom.]—*Lyranus*, or *Nicholas de Lyra*, "so called from the place of his nativity, Lyre, a small town in Normandy. He was of Jewish parents, but, on embracing Christianity, entered among the Franciscans at Verneuil, in 1291. Having remained there some time he was sent to Paris, where he applied with the greatest diligence to his studies, and was admitted to the degree of Doctor. He was the author of 'Postils,' or a commentary on the whole Bible, which occupied him seven years in accomplishing. Luther said of him in reference to his work, 'Ego Lyranum ideò amo et inter optimos pono, quòd ubique diligenter retinet et persequitur historiam, quanquam auctoritate patrum se vinci patitur, et nonnunquam eorum exemplo deflectit à proprietate sententiæ ad ineptas allegorias.' The best edition of Lyra's Commentary is that of Antwerp, 1634, in six vols. folio: it is also found in the *Biblia Maxima*, edited by Father de la Haye in nineteen vols. folio. Lyra was also the author of '*Moralia*,' or 'Moral Commentaries upon the Scriptures.' For further account of this author, his works, and the principles that guided him, vide Conybeare's Bampton Lectures for 1824, pp. 210—215, and 'Horne's Critical Introduction.'"—*Allport's Davenant*, vol. i. p. 198.

Page 660, line 1.]—This bishop of Hereford was Adam de Orlton, who was bishop of Hereford 1317—1327, of Winchester 1327—1345. These proceedings were in the 16th year of Edward II., as appears from the Close Rolls, referred to in Godwin's "De Præsulibus," Richardson's note.

Page 660, line 30.]—Foxe erroneously calls this archbishop "Walter Winchelsey." (See Godwin.)

Page 660, note (4).]—John XXII. was crowned Sept. 25th, A.D. 1316, and died Dec. 4th, A.D. 1334.—*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 663, line 31.]—See *suprà*, p. 457, line 2.

Page 666, note (1.)]—Matthew of Westminster's and Nicholas Trivet's Chronicles both come down to the year A.D. 1307.

Page 669, line 6 from the bottom.]—This peace was ratified March 1st, A.D. 1328.—*Rymer*.

Page 670, line 12 from the bottom.]—Mortimer was hung at Elmes, now called Tyburn, Thursday Nov. 26th, A.D. 1330.

Page 670, line 9 from the bottom.]—The queen dowager was confined twenty-eight years at Castle Rising, but not so straitly (as Mr. James shows) as some have supposed.

Page 670, line 6 from the bottom.]—All agree in saying that the prince was born on Friday, June 15th, which suits the year 1330 (Nicolas's Tables); but there is some variation among the historians as to the year. Mr. James says he can find no State paper dated from Woodstock in 1329 or 1331, but abundance in the summer months of 1330.

Page 675, line 13 from the bottom.]—Mr. James, in Appendix II. to his Life of the Black Prince, gives from the Archives of the City of London a letter of the prince containing an account of this battle.

Page 676, line 20. "*A mighty navy of ships*."]—The original adds, "in portu de Swina:" t'Zwyn was then the name of the great Sinus leading to the port of Sluys.—*James*.

Page 676, line 6 from the bottom.]—The letter is in Rymer, dated "Teste custode prædicto, apud Waltham Sanctæ Crucis, June 28th."

Page 677.]—The king's letter and Philip's answer are both in Rymer.

Page 680, § 11.]—The original of this article is: “Item ordinatum est, quod omnia levata qualiacumque sint et qualitercunque sint ante dictas treugas tempore guerræ, sive sint de bonis spiritualibus vel aliter, remanebunt levata: sine hoc quod aliquis teneatur ad restitutionem durantibus dictis treugis.” Foxe renders “levata” *bands*, which makes nonsense. The translation of this article adopted in the text is Dr. Maitland’s, who rightly observes that “levata” is to be understood in the nearly obsolete sense of the English word *lifted*, i. e. *taken and carried off*; in which he is confirmed by Carpentier’s Supplement to Ducange, “*Levare*, abducere, Fr. enlever, lever.”

Page 681, note (1).]—This letter of the archbishop to the king is by Foxe placed *after* the ensuing letter of the king to the dean and chapter of St. Paul’s. The dates of the two show that this order should have been reversed, and they have been transposed accordingly. This transposition has rendered a little modification of the text necessary.

Page 682, note (1).]—Avesbury states that this letter was written for the king by Adam, bishop of Winchester, a great enemy of Stratford’s.

Page 685, line 7.]—Foxe reads “a horse in a satchell;” Avesbury “*equus in perâ*,” on which Hearne has this note:—“*Lineolam sub ‘equus’ duxit manus recentior in Cod. Sebrightiano, et ‘mus’ è regione reposuit. Quid quòd et ‘mus’ habent tam Walsinghamus quam et Antiqua. Britannicæ.*”

Page 686, line 8 from the bottom.]—Higden died and his chronicle ends A. D. 1363.

Page 686, note (1).]—This last sentence is put in from the archbishop’s own letter, as quoted by Dr. Brady from *Historia Sacra*. The archbishop’s letter is intitled “*Excusatio Archiepiscopi ad famosum libellum.*” Dr. Brady (vol. ii. p. 215) gives a full analysis of the letter, and says that it concludes thus: “*Hæc ad libellum famosum responsa sufficiant in præsentî.*”

Page 686, note (2).]—In the foregoing paragraph, Foxe has been misled by his authorities to say, that the truce of Tournay was prolonged for “three years” more: but see the king’s proclamations in Rymer, dated June 18th and September 27th, A. D. 1341, announcing the extension of that truce first to August 29th, and then to June 24th, A. D. 1342. This extension of the truce of Tournay has evidently been confounded with the truce of Malestroit, which is not distinctly mentioned by Foxe, and has been of necessity introduced into his text at p. 690. (See the note on page 690, note (2).)

Page 688, line 14 from the bottom.]—Benedict XII. died April 25th, A. D. 1342, and Clement VI. was crowned pope May 19th.

Page 688, note (1).]—The account given in the paragraph of the text above tallies with the Extracts from the Parliamentary Rolls at pp. 783, 784, relative to this period (17, 18 Ed. III.). The penalty attached to transgression—“imprisonment and losing his life”—is that stated by Walsingham, and no doubt by the “*Chronicon Albanense*,” but it is not correct: see the Extracts from the Parliamentary Rolls 18 Ed. III. at p. 784, line 20. Rapin has been betrayed into the same mistake.

Page 689.]—Foxe, at the top of this page, correctly informs us that the ensuing letter was addressed to the pope by “the nobles and commons,” and it was written originally in French. Hence it tallies with the allusion at page 787, § xii. to some such letter, as having been once sent by the nobles and commons of England to the pope: it is rather singular, however, that Foxe heads it—“Letter of the King of England and of the Nobles and Commons of the same,” &c. That this heading is incorrect sufficiently appears from the opening of the letter itself: and the allusion at page 787, § xii. would lead us to look for any such letter from the king in *Latin*, not in French. And certainly the king was not wanting in the business: for, besides a letter dated Clarendon, July 23d, “*ad Vicecomites Angliæ contra Provisiones Papales*,” grounded on the petition of the Commons at the parliament convoked at Westminster “in Quindena Paschæ;” he also addressed one “*ad Papam*,” dated Westminster, August 30th—“*de regno per exercitus Provisorum invaso*,” and alluding to the complaints of the recent parliament at Westminster on the subject: also another “*ad Papam*,” dated Westminster, Sept. 10th, referring again to the petition of the Commons in the last parliament, and

begging that provisions might cease. Walsingham gives the greater part of this last letter, dated Sept. 26th, heading it, *Epistola missa Papæ Clementi pro libertate ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, plena fructu, cui pro tunc Papa aut Cardinales respondere rationabiliter nesciebant.*

Page 690, line 5 from the bottom.]—Edward the Black Prince was made Prince of Wales, May 12th, A. D. 1343. See Cart. 17 Edw. III. m. 24, n. 27, quoted by Mr. James, vol. i. p. 391.

Page 690, note (1).]—The pope's letter to Edward, complaining of the opposition to his provisions for these two cardinals, is given by Walsingham, dated "Villa Nova, diocese of Avignon, quinto Calend. Septemb. pontificatûs anno secundo," i. e. August 28th, A. D. 1343: also Edward's reply, dated Westminster, September 26th—dated September 10th in Rymer. (See the last note but one.) It appears from these letters, that the two cardinals mentioned in the text were Ademar Robert, a Frenchman, priest-cardinal of St. Anastasia, and Gerard Domar, the pope's own nephew, priest-cardinal of St. Sabine: these two were created together, A. D. 1342. (Moreri, v. Cardinal.) The Parliamentary Rolls of the same year, 17 Ed. III. (see the top of page 784), speak also of two cardinals as having been amply provided for, but one of them was cardinal Talleyrand de Perigord; so that these were a totally fresh pair.

Page 690, note (2).]—This paragraph is added to the text, being necessary to connect the narrative, and to explain a subsequent allusion to "the truce of Vannes" in the next page, which would be unintelligible without this paragraph. The aggressions which led to this expedition of Edward were committed by the French king on the expiration of the prolonged truce mentioned at page 686, which terminated June 24th, 1342, but which Foxe and his authority said was to last for three years, evidently confounding it with this truce of Vannes or Malestroit.

Page 690, note (3).]—The words "to France" (line 26) are put in from Walsingham, who says "de jure suo in regnum Franciæ." (See Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 784.) The emperor Louis made the most abject submissions to Clement VI. A. D. 1343; but the diets of Frankfort and Rens refused to sanction such submissions, and the quarrel soon broke out afresh between the pope and the emperor.—*L' Art de Vér. des Dates.*

Page 690, note (4). "*In the year following, which was A. D. 1344, pence, halfpence, and farthings,*" &c.]—The following passage from Rapin's remarks on the coinage at the end of the reign of Edward III. will serve to explain what is meant by this statement: "In the eighteenth year, every pound weight of gold of this (a given) standard, was to be coined into fifty florences at six shillings a-piece, which made in all fifteen pounds, or into a proportionable number of half and quarter florences . . . Fabian calls the floren a penny, the half floren a half-penny, and the quarter a farthing, of gold. And these words are often met with in old histories and accompts, applied to several coins, as reals, angels, etc.; where it is to be understood by denarius, the whole; by obolus, the half; and by quadrans, the fourth part, or farthing." See *suprà*, p. 578, line 16 from the bottom.

Page 691, line 4. "*Ad sectam suam sive partis.*"—The Act in which these words occur, was passed at the parliament which met at Westminster, the Monday after the Octaves of Trinity 18 Ed. III. [June 16th, A. D. 1344], stat. 3, cap. 2. The French words of the Act are, "a nostre suyte ou à la suite de partie," "at our suit, or at the suit of the party."—*Statutes at Large*, vol. i. p. 242.

Page 691, note (1).]—The following passage—down to the end of the king's letters of defiance, and the two lines immediately succeeding it in next page—has been brought back from a much later position which Foxe had assigned it, to the utter confusion of the narrative.

Page 692, line 19 from the bottom.]—Edward had commissioned the Duke of Lancaster to raise an army to defend his right in Aquitaine, March 24th, A. D. 1344. (Rymer.) The expedition was delayed till now: between June 4th and 11th the earl of Northampton sailed with an army for Bretagne, and the earl of Lancaster soon after, with another for Guienne and Gascony.—*James.*

Page 693, note (2).]—The original Latin of this passage will be found in Avesbury (ed. Hearn, p. 128), and runs thus:—"Post conflictum vero habitum in Cadamo, quidam magnus clericus, de ordine Prædicatorum, dicti Domini Regis confessor, existens ibidem, de dicti Domini Regis Anglorum gestis à Cadamo usque Pussiacum scripsit in hæc verba: Benedicere debemus Deum cæli," &c.

The king's confessor here spoken of was, no doubt, Thomas Bradwardine, a native of Hartfield, in Sussex, who, after passing through Merton College, Oxford, became D.D., and Proctor and Divinity Professor at Oxford, and afterwards attended Edward III. as his confessor during his wars in France. Whilst so employed he was elected archbishop of Canterbury by the monks, but Edward was too fond of him to part with him: being afterwards again elected, he was consecrated A.D. 1349, but lived only forty days. See the account of him in Parker's "*Antiquitates Britannicæ*" and Godwin's "*De Præsulibus*."

Page 694, note (1).]—The Latin of the passage in the text runs thus:—"Post adventum verò dicti Domini Regis apud Pussiacum, præfatus magister Michael Northburgh, valens clericus, de consiliariis dicti Domini Regis existens et continuè progrediens cum eodem, progressum ipsius Domini Regis et Anglorum gesta à Pussiacum usque villam de Caley's scripsit in hunc modum: 'Salutz, voiletz savoir,' &c. (Avesbury, p. 136.) Avesbury by "præfatus" does not refer to the writer of the last letter (as Foxe represents), but to the writer of a previous letter not mentioned by Foxe, detailing the march from La Hogue to Caen and the battle at Caen: that letter Avesbury thus introduces (p. 121):—"Deinde progrediens versus Cadamum, Magister Michael de Northburgh, valens clericus, de consiliariis dicti Domini Regis Anglorum existens, et progrediens cum eodem, ipsius Regis adventum ibidem et progressum versus Cadamum scripsit in hæc verba: *De progressu Regis Angliæ de Hogges usque Cadamum. Fait a remembrez,*" &c. It is plain, then, that that letter and this were written in French by Michael de Northburgh, "valens clericus, è consiliariis Domini Regis;" but that the intermediate Latin letter was written by a different person, who was the king's confessor, conjectured in the last note to have been Thomas Bradwardine. Michael was afterwards bishop of London, A.D. 1354—1361.

Page 695, note (1).]—Foxe reads, "the earl of Northampton and the earl of Norfolk;" Avesbury reads, "le Counte de Northampton et les Countes de Northfolk et Warewik;" but it is certain there was no earl of Norfolk at this time. (See Dugdale's *Baronage*). Mr. Barnes therefore proposes to read with Mirimouth *Suffolk* for Norfolk; and this reading is adopted in the text.

Page 695, note (2).]—The following is Foxe's text above, which evidently needed correction:—"After the siege and winning of Poissy, the third day of September, A.D. 1346, the king through the midst of France directed his passage unto Calais, as by the tenor of this letter you hear, and besieged the same; which siege he continued from the third of September aforesaid," &c.

Pages 696, 697.]—The dates of these two letters are corrected from Avesbury.

Page 698, line 8 from the bottom. "*About the twenty-seventh day of July.*" ] Foxe reads, "about the seventh day of June." Avesbury says, "Vicesimo septimo die Junii." But Avesbury presently after says, "*dicti mensis Julii*;" and he gives a letter of Edward to the archbishop of Canterbury, relating this whole affair, in which he says that Philip came the Friday before the Gule of August, *i. e. July 27th*, in the year 1347 (by Nicolas's *Tables*). It is clear, therefore, that Avesbury intended to say "*Julii*" instead of "*Junii*."

Page 699, line 14 from the bottom.]—"That the next year after, A.D. 1349," is brought up from the end of the paragraph, to render the statement of the matter more exact.—See Nicolas's *Chronology of History*, v. *Pestilences*.

Page 701.]—The first account of the battle of Poitiers was addressed by the Black Prince to his former preceptor or tutor, Reginald Bryan, bishop of Worcester, in a letter written in French, so remarkable for its piety, modesty, and politeness, that if Foxe had known such a letter was (and is still) extant in the archives of the dean and chapter of Worcester, he would hardly have failed to transcribe it, and embody it in his work. The following translation of it is given in Dr. Nash's *History of Worcestershire*, vol. i. p. 34:—



"Reverend Father in God, and most dear friend, we thank you heartily, because we are informed that you are so well and-so sincerely attached to us, in offering up your prayers to God for us and for our expedition; and we are very certain, that on account of the devout prayers of you and others, God has been pleased to assist us in all our exigencies, for which we are daily bound to return Him our thanks, praying, at the same time, that you would on your part continue to behave towards us as you have done hitherto, for which we hold ourselves highly obliged to you. And, reverend father, as to our condition, of which we suppose you desire, of your good will, to hear some account, be pleased to know that at the writing of this letter we were well in health, happy, and every way in good condition, praised be God! May He at all times cause us to hear and know the same of you, and that you will be pleased to certify us by your letters, and by such persons as pass to and fro, as often as you conveniently can. As to the news in these parts, be pleased to know, that on the Eve of the translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury, we began to ride with our forces towards the parts of France, and principally because we had received intelligence of the arrival of our most honoured lord and father, the king, there, in Berry, Orleans, and Tours; and having also received intelligence that the king of France, with a great number of forces near the borders, was coming to give us battle, we approached so near them that an engagement ensued between us in such sort that the enemy were discomfited, praised be God; and the said king and his son and many other persons were taken and killed; the names of whom we send you by our most dear knight, Roger de Cottesford, the bearer of these letters.

"Reverend Father in God, and our very dear friend, may the Holy Spirit have you daily in his keeping!

"Given under our private seal at Bourdeaux, the 10th day of October.

[This letter was delivered to Reginald de Brienne, bishop of Worcester, at Alvechurch, December 1356, with a schedule containing the names of the prisoners and slain in the aforesaid engagement.]

Superscribed,

"To the Rev. Father in God, the Bishop of Worcester."

Page 702, note (1).]—This passage confirms the conjecture thrown out in the note on p. 642, viz. that it was Edward I. and not Edward II. who presented his clerk to the treasurer'ship of York during the vacancy of the see, and that Edward II. only inherited from his father the dispute which grew out of that appointment. It will appear in the next note to this, that Edward III. inherited the very same quarrel. Dr. Brady bears his testimony to the existence of letters in the Records of the very nature here described, and addressed to the same individuals as those whom Foxe mentions.

Page 702, note (2).]—The king's letter to the pope is printed in Rymer, dated Westminster, 14th Dec. 4 Ed. III. It is also given by Dr. Brady, vol. ii. Appendix No. 97, from "*Rot. Romæ*" 4 Ed. III. n. 2. It appears from the letter itself, that Walter de Bedewynd had been presented by Edward's grandfather "*ratione vacationis archiepiscopatus*," and "*per privationem domini Johannis de Columna*;" that the pope originally wanted to annul the king's presentation of Walter, in favour of Cardinal Francis Gayta (Cajetan), who was his own nephew; but that the said Walter de Bedewynd had, notwithstanding, continued in possession of the office ever since till now, when "*ex causa permutationis*" he had resigned it to William de la Mare. But the pope assuming that in consequence of the exclusion of Cardinal Gayta by Edward I. the office had been ever since vacant, he wanted now to disturb the new occupant, De la Mare, and to put in by provision one Peter, cardinal of St. Stephen in *Cœlio Monte*.—Francis Cajetan was created deacon-cardinal of St. Mary in Cosmediu, A.D. 1295, died A.D. 1317.—*Moreri*, v. *Cardinal*.

Page 705, note (3).]—This article is thus put *obliquè oratione* by Illyricus—"7. Quibus scriptis aut sacrarum literarum interpretationibus ad salutem necessariò credendum." On referring to the "*Secunda Dictio seu Pars*" of the "*Defensor Pacis*," cap. 19, the matter is thus stated:—"Nullam scripturam irrevocabiler veram credere vel fateri tenemur de necessitate salutis æternæ, nisi eis quæ canonicæ appellantur, vel eis quæ ad has ex necessitate sequuntur, aut scripturarum sacrarum sensum dubium habentium eis interpre-

tationibus seu determinationibus quæ per generale fidelium seu catholicorum concilium essent factæ, in his præsertim in quibus error damnationem æternam induceret, quales sunt articuli fidei Christianæ." And he proceeds to say, afterwards, "Quòd verò ipsarum interpretationibus, sic factis ut diximus, eadem sit præstanda credulitas [quæ sacris scripturis ipsis] ostendere possumus." His proof is, the promise, "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world;" a promise which he considers to be peculiarly meant for a general council. Marsilius, therefore, cannot be considered quite so clear on the Rule of Faith as might be inferred from Foxe's language in the text. Milner (Cent. 14, chap. i.) speaks rather hesitatingly of his claim to be numbered among the genuine Reformers, though he, with others mentioned by Illyricus and Foxe, very vigorously resisted the papal encroachments on the imperial jurisdiction.

Page 710, note (1).]—The text (ed. 1583, p. 391) makes Antoninus say "that they were condemned in the Extravagant of Pope John, with one Johannes de Poliacò." Illyricus says, "Damnatus est (M. Cesenas) cum Joanne quodam propria bulla, in Extravagantibus Joan. 22. Antoninus Florentinus sic in quarta parte Summæ de hisce proximis duobus et de Petro de Corbaria scribit: 'In Extravagante Joan. 22 quæ incipit *Dudum ab audientia*, &c. reprobantur ut hæreses errores Petri de Corbaria, Joannis, et Michelini ordinis Minorum, qui pertinaciter asserebant,' &c. . . Hactenus Antoninus." If the "Johannes" here mentioned means "Johannes de Poliacò," the statement of Illyricus is more correct than that of Antoninus, for he was condemned *propria bulla*, in a separate bull by himself, "Vas electionis" in the Extravagantes Communes.

We find printed in Martene's Thesaurus Anecdotorum (tom. xi. cols. 640—842) "Processus Varii Johannis Papæ XXII. adversus Ludovicum Bavarum Imperatorem et ejus asseclas, ex MS. Illustrissimi Episcopi Montis Pessulani." Among these processes there is one (cols. 652—660) excommunicating the emperor, dated 10 Cal. April. pontificatûs anno 8 [March 23, A.D. 1324]; another (cols. 727—736) making void his coronation, dated 2 Cal. April. pontificatûs a. 12 [March 31, A.D. 1328]; another (cols. 704—716), "Licet juxta doctrinam," stating and condemning the opinions of John de Janduno and Marsilius Patavinus, dated 10 Cal. Nov. pontif. a. 12 [Oct. 23, A.D. 1327], and another (cols. 736—742) excommunicating themselves, dated 2 Cal. April. pontif. a. 12 [March 31, A.D. 1328]; another (cols. 749—752), "Dudum ad vestri apostolatûs auditum," excommunicating three Minorites, Michael Cesenas, Bonagratia, and William Ockham, dated 8 Id. Jun. pontif. a. 12 [June 6, A.D. 1328]; another (cols. 763—770) containing the excommunication of Petrus de Corvario, dated 12 Cal. Maii, pontific. a. 13 [April 20, A.D. 1329], and a long process is added (cols. 806—816), containing his recantation, dated 8 Id. Sept. pont. a. 15 [Sept. 6, A.D. 1330].

Page 711, note (3).]—Walsingham says that two were burnt at Avignon "feria tertia, in Hebdomade Pentecostes," i. e. Whit-Tuesday, or June 3d, A.D. 1351. Innocent VI. was crowned pope Dec. 30th, A.D. 1352, and died Sept. 12th, A.D. 1362.

Page 712, line 15.]—This dispute happened in the year A.D. 1281, of which the dominical letter was E, suiting (by Nicolas's Tables) the concurrence of St. Nicholas's Day (Dec. 6) with a Saturday, and the day of the Conception (Dec. 8) with a Monday, and St. Thomas's Day (Dec. 21) with a Sunday. The introduction of Friar Gilles, and the bishop of Amiens, is also confirmatory of this date. Du Boulay also and Crevier, in their histories of the University of Paris, and Fleury, in his Eccles. Hist., place this affair to the year A.D. 1281; in which year, also, it appears among the Councils in L'Art de Vêr. des Dates.

Page 712, note (2).]—"Copia prophetiæ fratris Johannis de Rupe-Scissa, Ordinis fratrum minorum provinciæ Aquitanicæ, custodis Ruthenensis (*Rodez*), ac causidici Aureliaci (*Orleans*), in Romanâ curiâ Avenione capti in carcere domini Papæ Clementis VI. pontificatûs sui anno 8, qui Carcer vocatur Carcer Soldan, in mense Novembris, anno ab incarnatione Domini MCCCXLIX."—(*Browne's Appendix*, p. 494.) "Ejusdem Johannis de Rupe-Scissa liber 'Vade mecum in tribulatione,' " is at p. 496 of Browne.

Page 712, note (3).]—Godfridus de Fontanis, or de Fontibus, is mentioned

again by Foxe in connexion with the dispute between the clergy and the friars at page 752, where he is stated to have been concerned with others in the compilation of the treatise "De Periculis Ecclesiæ:" the anachronism of connecting his name with that treatise is incidentally shown by the introduction of his name in this affair of A.D. 1281. (See the note on p. 752.)

Page 712, note (4).—Simon de Beaulieu en Brie was made cardinal in A.D. 1294, which occasioned his being superseded in the see of Bourges that same year by Gilles de Colonne. (See the note on p. 714.)

Page 713, note (1).—Foxe's text (ed. 1583, p. 392) says, "Neither do I thinke to be any of us prelates here now, which have not sometime bene taken out of this university of yours." Godfridus says, "Credo enim quod non sit hodie prælatus inter nos, qui de hac Universitate non sit assumptus;" which Crevier and Fleury both understand to imply, that the whole French episcopal bench of that day had been educated at the University of Paris.

Page 713, note (2).—The following extract from Gallia Christiana, tom. x., relative to this bishop of Amiens, will show his great zeal in the cause of the clergy against the friars, and illustrate the text. "Romam anno 1281 cum Simone Carnotensi episcopo nomine cleri Gallicani missus est ad obtinendam à Martino IV. canonizationem Ludovici IX. Francorum Regis, ut patet ex bulla ejusdem pontificis data x. calend. Jan. pontificatus an. 1. Dum autem Romæ consisteret Gulielmus, fratres minores impetrarunt à summo Pontifice ut possent audire confessiones et absolvere, prælatis minimè requisitis; propter quod orta fuit magna contentio inter prælatos regni Franciæ et fratres prædictos. Occasione hujus controversiæ unà cum Gul. archiepiscopo Rotomagensi scripsit Gulielmus die Mercûrii post festum App. Petri et Pauli, 1282, ad Archiepp. Remensem, Senonensem, et Turonensem, ut eos hortaretur ad concilium celebrandum adversus fratrum minorum molitiones . . . . A.D. 1284 interfuit Parisiis synodo multarum Galliæ provinciarum et acerrimè pugnavit pro decreto Innocentii III.—'Omnes utriusque sexus,'—adversus nova mendicantium privilegia. Quod ad confirmandum Baluzius in notis ad 'Vit. Pap. Aven.,' col. 578, laudat codicem Bibliothecæ Colbertinæ 3266, atque ea de causa Gulielmum a Mathia Flacio Illyrico Testibus Veritatis fuisse annumeratum."

Page 714, note (1).—Foxe's text says, "It was not long after, that the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle followed, in whose Vigil all the heads of the University again were warned the third day after to congregate together in the church of St. Bernard, at the sermon time." Godfridus says, "Cæterum in vigilia Beati Thomæ iterum prælati præconizari fecerunt per scholas ut omnes dominica, tertia scilicet die, hora sermonis, ad S. Bernhardum convenirent." Du Boulay reads "dominica 3 scilicet die." But Fleury says "le lendemain;" and Crevier speaks of the meeting as happening on the feast of St. Thomas, December 21st, which would fall on a Sunday in the year A.D. 1281 (by Nicolas's Tables): Godfridus's error has been corrected in the text.

Page 714, last line but one. "*Master Friar Gilles.*"—Gilles de Columna, a Roman by birth, and a friar of the order of the Eremites of St. Augustine, has been already mentioned by Foxe, *suprà*, p. 508. He was called "*Doctor fundatissimus.*" "A variis academiis virisque principibus expetitus, in Galliam concessit, a Philippo Audace ad Philippum filium, cognomento *Pulchrum*, bonis literis ac moribus imbuendum evocatus: unde in Academiâ Parisiensi philosophiam et theologiam per plures annos summa cum laude docuit." (Cave, Hist. Litt.) He was made General of his Order in A.D. 1292, and archbishop of Bourges, A.D. 1294. (See more in Cave, Moreri, and Gallia Christiana.) The introduction of his name here confirms the date assigned in the text to the dispute at Paris.

Page 724.—See vol. i. p. 292, note (1).

Page 726, line 25.—Foxe seems to have rather puzzled himself, calculating sometimes from the nativity, sometimes from the death of Christ.

Page 736, note (6).—The reading is "yheight" in ed. 1570, p. 497, margin "iheight;" also "iheight" in the margin of ed. 1590, p. 370: "i" is a mere prefix, "height" being the proper word: we sometimes have "be-height." See the Glossarial Index.

Page 728, line 21 from the bottom. "*Plete*."—See p. 743, *bis*, and vol. iii. p. 272 and note in vol. iii. p. 202. "Court of Plete" occurs in the "Apology for the Lollards," edited by Dr. Todd for the Camden Society, p. 79. See Du Cange, in *Pletum*, *Plitum*; and in the Paston Letters, i. 149, edit. 1810, we have "Yelverton came down from the Bench, and *plete* the matter."

Page 746, line 6 from the bottom. "*May no man depart*."—"Depart" is here used in the obsolete sense of "divide." See Todd's Johnson, and Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biogr.* edit. 1839, vol. i. p. 322, note.

Page 747, line 2 from the bottom. "*In Froysard, as yet, have I not found it*."—The different copies of Froysard vary very much, which may account for Foxe's not having been able to find this story about John de la Roche-Taillade. It is, however, in the Paris edition of 1571, vol. iii. p. 77, chap. xxiv., and we have it in Lord Berner's translation, vol. ii. chap. 42, fol. 53; and in Johnes's translation, vol. iii. chap. 47. John de Rupe-Scissâ has been mentioned at pp. 707, 708, 710.

Page 748, line 8. "*Froysard, who both heard and saw him*."—Froysard first mentions this friar in his 1st vol. chap. cxi.; and in chap. ccxv. he says that the first of the two undermentioned cardinals was Peter de Colombier, more usually called Bertrand, in honour of his maternal uncle Peter Bertrand, bishop of Autun. He was made bishop of Arras, 1339; cardinal, 1344; bishop of Ostia, 1353.

Froysard does not appear to have heard or even seen the friar. His words, as translated by Johnes, are these:—"It comes to my remembrance, how, in my young days, during the reign of pope Innocent at Avignon, there was confined in prison a learned clerk, called friar John de la Roche-Taillade. This friar, as I have been told by several privately, for it was never talked of in public, foretold, while in prison, many of the great events which would happen shortly in the world, more especially those that related to France, and the misfortunes that were to befall the church from the pride and arrogance of those who governed it. It was said that during this imprisonment he was brought to the pope's palace, when the cardinal of Ostia, commonly called cardinal of Arras, and the cardinal of Auxerre, disputed with him on those subjects."

The person meant by "the cardinal of Auxerre" was Taleyrand de Perigord, made cardinal-bishop of Auxerre by John XXII. A. D. 1331: he died A. D. 1364. (See Moreri, *v.* Cardinal.) He is referred to by Roche-Taillade with much respect at the conclusion of his prophecy given by Browne in his Appendix to the "Pasciculus." He was one of the two cardinals who, according to Walsingham, endeavoured to mediate between the English and French armies just before the battle of Poitiers, 1356; he is mentioned *infra*, p. 784.

Page 749.]—Richard Fitz-Ralph was made dean of Lichfield, then chancellor of Oxford, 1333; and archbishop of Armagh, (whence his title "Armachanus"), 8 id. July, 1347: he preached in London, 1356, was three years at Avignon, and died 46 cal. Dec. 1360.—*Waræi Hiberna Sacra; Cave.*

Page 749, note (1).]—In Froysard there is more in application of the fable. The following closing words out of Johnes's translation are necessary:—"It was his intention that these should be prudently and properly managed, and not with pomp and pride, as is now done: for which the Lord is wroth, and his anger will be much increased against you in time to come. Should the nobles excuse themselves from giving support to the church, and grow cold in their devotions, and perhaps retake what they had given, it must speedily be destroyed." (See the Latin in Illyriens Flacius.) Johnes, at the end of his translation, gives many references about this friar. He considers it a witty application of *Æsop's* fable of the crow.

Page 749, note (5).]—"Gulielmus Botonerus scripsit Antiquitates Anglicas, lib. iii.: floruit 1460."—*Gesneri Bibliotheca*, p. 300, edit. 1583. See also Vossius de Hist. Lat. p. 654, edit. Lug. Bat. 1651.

Page 752, line 13.]—The extravagant "*Non sine multâ cordis amaritudine*," &c. is printed in Bzovius's "*Eccles. Annales post Baronium*," ad an. 1257, dated "Laterani, 3 cal. Ap. pont. nostri a. 31," i. e. March 30th, A. D. 1257.

Page 752, note (1).]—Foxe is quite correct in representing the four persons just named as leading opponents of the friars. But he is mistaken in repre-

senting them as the joint authors of the "De Periculis Ecclesiæ." The real author of that treatise was Gulielmus de S. Amore, assisted by several others whom Foxe names, *suprà*, p. 521. (See the note in this Appendix on page 520, note (1), and Ussher, "De Christ. Eccles. Suc. et Statu," lib. ix. § 20.) Foxe's statement here involves an anachronism; for Godfridus de Fontibus figured against the friars at a later period, A.D. 1281. (See p. 712.) Simon Jornalensis, or Tornacensis, is said by Cave to have flourished A.D. 1216, and Henricus de Gandavo about the same time with Godfridus de Fontibus, A.D. 1280.

Page 766, note (5).]—The period assigned in the text for the absence of Armachanus from England seems too long, according to the statement made in the note on p. 749.

Page 767, note (2).]—Foxe dates this sermon A.D. 1364: but Mr. Browne, who gives it in the original Latin in his Appendix to the "Fasciculus" of Orthuinus Gratius, places it to the year 1363. This is evidently the true date, for it is implied at p. 768, line 29 and line 12 from the bottom, that the sermon was preached on the fourth Sunday in Advent, being also the day before Christmas day. But it appears from Nicolas's Tables, that in A.D. 1363 Advent Sunday fell on December 3d, whence "the fourth Sunday of Advent" would fall on December 24th, the day before Christmas day. It further appears from its conclusion that the sermon was preached in the second year of pope Urban V., who was consecrated November 6th, 1362.

Page 780, note (1).]—For more respecting this author see *Goldasti De Monarchia*, tom. i. preliminary "Dissertatio de Auctoribus." See also *Cave's Hist. Lit.* v. "Nilus Cabasilas."

Page 781, note (1). "Postil.]"—"Vocem hanc compositam ex præpositione *Post* et pronomine *Illā*, ut significaretur *post illā* (sc. verba textūs) legendam esse explicationem illis subjunctam, satis notum est. Media ætate vocabulum *Postilla* de expositione cujusvis textūs adhibitum fuit. Imprimis tamen pericoparum evangelicarum et epistolicarum interpretationem, uti adhuc illud usurpatur, designabat."—*Walchii Biblioth. Theol.* tom. iv. p. 945, cited in Dr. Cardwell's Preface to Taverner's Postils.

Page 782, note (2).]—Bingen is a town on the Rhine, between Mentz and Coblentz. Illyricus refers for this story to Gaspar Bruschius's "Germ. Monasteriorum Historia." It appears in another work of his "De omnibus Germaniæ Episcopatibus Epitome," lib. primus, Archiep. Mogunt. comprehendens. The council of Mentz, which condemned these persons, is mentioned in the list of councils, A.D. 1387, —*L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.

Page 782, note (4). "*Prince Aimericus hanged*," &c.]—Massæus says, "et ipsius dominam in puteo lapidibus obruerunt." Hoffman, referring to this story in his *Lexicon*, v. Girada, calls Aimericus the præfect or mayor of Lavaur, and states that the lady was Girada, the principal lady of the place.

Page 782, note (5). "*Moreover in the Chronicles of Hoveden*," &c.]—Foxe, in his Latin edition, page 59, refers to Hoveden, A.D. 1182.

Page 782, note (6). "*One Eckhard, a Dominican friar*."—It seems doubtful whether he "suffered." Foxe says in his Latin edition, page 59—"Nec multum Wiclevi tempora præcessit Echardus, Dominicanus, qui Heidelbergre damnabatur hæreseos, autore Tritemio anno 1330." It appears from Trithemius that he flourished A.D. 1330, and that A.D. 1430 (a hundred years after) the faculty of Heidelberg passed sentence against some of his opinions. Illyricus has given a fragment of one of his sermons "De Eucharistia."

Page 783, last paragraph.]—This parliament met on the Quindene of Easter, 17 Ed. III. [April 18th, A.D. 1343.]—See *Cotton's Abridgement of the Parliamentary Rolls*, vol. ii. p. 135.

Page 783, note (1).]—It is worthy of observation that Foxe, in the paragraph which introduces the extracts from the Parliamentary Rolls, speaks of a non-appearance of archbishop Stratford at the king's summons, referring expressly to that particular occasion (A.D. 1341, 15 Ed. III.) which the king complains of at p. 684. Foxe there, as well as here, complains of the unsatisfactory nature of Virgil's account; he therefore proposes now to illustrate the secret causes of *this* his non-appearance by the ensuing Parliamentary



Extracts, but immediately produces Extracts relative to a *previous* non-appearance of the archbishop at York (A. D. 1332, 6 Ed. III.) not mentioned in the course of Foxe's narrative, though alluded to *infra*, vol. iii. p. 381; nor does he produce any Extract from the Parliamentary Rolls referring to his *second* non-appearance; he merely alludes to his impeachment in the very last extract, p. 790.

Page 784, line 3.]—*Taleyrand de Perigord*, bishop of Auxerre, was made priest-cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula A. D. 1331, and afterwards bishop of Albano; and died A. D. 1364. (Moreri, v. Cardinal.) He is the "cardinal of Auxerre" mentioned at p. 748. He is also mentioned in an instrument in Rymer, A. D. 1344, as "Cardinal de Peregortz." The late cardinal Alexander Augustus Taleyrand de Perigord, who died in 1821, and the late famous French diplomatist, Taleyrand de Perigord, were of the same family. See the Gentleman's Magazine for 1821.

Page 784, line 19.]—This parliament met the Monday after the octaves of Trinity, 18 Ed. III. [June 16th, A. D. 1344].—See *Cotton*, vol. ii. p. 146.

Page 787, § 12. "*On a former occasion.*"—The reference here is undoubtedly to the parliament of 17 Ed. III. [A. D. 1343], at which the following reply was made by the king to the petition of the Commons:—"Le Roi est avisez de cet mischief, et voet, q̄ entre les Grantz et les communes soit ordeigne remede et amendment, et il s'accordera. Et aussint le Roi voet et assentuz est; q̄ bones Loïs soient faites au Pape sur ceste matiere, aussi bien de p̄. le Roi et les Grantz, come de p. la commune." (*Cotton*, page 144; 17 Ed. III. tit. 59.) That such letters were sent, is proved in the note in this Appendix on page 689.

Page 789, line 33. "*With the clause 'Anteferri.'*"—"To have the *preference* or *precedence*" of all other "reservations" which might have been granted on the same benefices. The first person presented formerly had the *preference*: see Decretales Greg. IX. Lib. I. Tit. III. cap. 30. "Capitulum." But Boniface VIII. introduced the clause "*Anteferri*," see Sext. Decretal. Lib. III. Tit. IV. cap. 40. "Quodam per literas." Another decretal of the same Pope, Sext. Lib. III. Tit. VII. cap. 7, so well shows the force and operation of the "*Anteferri*" clause, that it is here subjoined:—

"Auctoritate Martini Papæ prædecessoris nostri, quodam ad Præbendam primò in Parmensi Ecclesia vacaturam, nulli alii de jure debitam, in ejusdem Ecclesiæ Canonicum recepto, et alio a nobis in eadem Ecclesia similem gratiam adepto secundò, tertius deinde auctoritate nostra in ipsa Parmensi Ecclesia in Canonicum et in fratrem recipitur, cum prærogativa gratiæ, quòd omnibus prædecessorum nostrorum auctoritate non autem nostrâ receptis in assecutione Præbendæ debeat *anteferri*; post hæc autem quædam vacavit Præbenda in Ecclesia memorata; quæritur, quis eorum alteri præferatur: et secundum quem ordinem Præbendas assequi debeant tres prædicti? Cum igitur ex tenore gratiæ tertio a nobis concessæ appareat evidenter nos voluisse primo tertium, et secundum tertio *anteferri*, decernimus, quòd primam secundus, secundam tertius, et tertiam primus debet obtinere Præbendam: aliàs forma mandati minime servaretur. Licet enim ex persona sua, secundus primam obtinere non posset, ex persona tamen tertii, qui primum superat, illam habet. Sicut contingit in successione illius, qui ab intestato relictis patre (in adoptiva familia constituto) matre atque fratre decedit, in qua successione pater ex se matrem excludit: sed quoniam talem patrem agnatus, materque vincit agnatum, mater patri non ex semetipsa, sed agnati persona, in successione hujusmodi anteferitur."

Page 789, note (5).]—The "gold crowns of the sun," mentioned in this paragraph, "*écus d'or sol*," were worth about *six shillings*.—See *Kelham's Dictionary*, and *Ducange*, vv. *Moneta*, *Scutum*, *Solaris*. See vol. iv. p. 446.

Page 790, note (3).]—Foxe says that Wicliff and his colleagues went "over into the parts of Italy;" but Bruges, where they met the papal legates, was in Flanders, which is here substituted for "Italy." The reader may be surprised to find a dignitary of the Spanish Church among the English envoys. But the fact is, that John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, Edward's fourth son, married Constantia, eldest daughter of Peter the Cruel, king of Castile; and, on the expulsion and assassination of Peter by his bastard brother, Henry, earl of Tristamare, the duke of Lancaster asserted his claim to the crown of Castile

against Henry, and passed in England by the title of king of Castile. This may account for the appointment of John Guter to the deanery of Segovia, in Old Castile. The object of the conference at Bruges was to resist the encroachments on the rights of English patrons of benefices by means of papal 'provisors.'

Page 791. "*Ocleus the Second.*"]—Foxe probably had in his eye a passage of Walsingham's History, in which, speaking of Wickliff, he says (sub anno 1381):—"Johannes Wyclif, reassumens damnatas opiniones Berengarii et *Oclese*, astruere laboravit post consecrationem in missâ à sacerdote factam remanere ibidem verum panem et vinum, ut fuere per prius." Tauner (in his *Bibliotheca*) hence infers that Thomas Ocleve, the poet, "astruere laboravit," &c.; but adds, "Videtur tamen se ab omni hereticâ pravitare purgare in libro 'Consolatio sibi a sene oblata.'" The poet, however, did not flourish till 1410. Why Foxe calls this witness Ocleus "*secundus*" is not apparent; there is a MS. account of Wickliff by Foxe in the British Museum, apparently the rough draught of this account, in which there is a blurring at this name: may not "*Ocleus II.*" have been introduced by a confusion with Nicolas II., the pope who condemned Berengarius, and whose name is therefore continually associated with his?

Page 791, line 7. "*Bruno of Angers.*"]—There is in the "*Bibliotheca Patrum*" (de la Bigne, Paris, 1624, tom. iii. page 319) a treatise thus intitled: "*Epistola Durandi Leodiensis Episcopi, de Corpore et Sanguine Domini, contra Brunonem Andegavensem Episcopum et Berengarium Turonensem.*" There was also a charge against Bruno that he was unfriendly to the baptism of infants: but Ussher thinks ("*De Christ. Ecclesiarum Successione et Statu*," cap. vii. § 37), that he only denied any benefit to result merely *ex opere operato*.

Page 794, line 19. "*Thirty thousand marks.*"]—The ransom really paid for Richard was 100,000 marks (see *suprà*, p. 317, and the note in this Appendix on that page).

Page 794, note (1).]—The last two sentences of the foregoing paragraph read thus in the Latin edition, p. 3: "Hinc Ricardi invictissimi regis facta in Hierosolymam expeditio, qui mox eodem captus itinere, ac Cæsari deditus, vix triginta marcarum millibus redimi poterat. In eadem expeditione Fridericus Rom. Imperator angustissimæ virtutis, in anne submersus interiit, anno 1189. Quin et Philippus Gallorum rex vix sine luculentis damnis in patriam incolumis rediit. Tanti erat sanctæ urbis crucisque recuperatio." All the English editions, except the first (Lond. 1563, p. 86), most strangely render "in anne submersus interiit" "was much endamaged;" and all read 1179 instead of 1189, or rather 1190 (see *L'Art de Vér. des Dates*; and *suprà* pp. 301—309, 315—317).

Page 794, note (2).]—The two foregoing sentences read thus in the Latin edition, p. 3: "Quid erat causæ, cur Urbanus se dolore conficeret, quòd Antiochia cum sancta cruce è manibus Christianorum amitteretur? Sic enim reperimus in annalibus, quòd ubi Hierosolyma cum rege Guidone et cruce Domini in Sultani potestate redigeretur, Urbanus rei gravitate nimium ictus, curæ magnitudine occubuit. Cui successit Lambertus, qui Gregorius octavus dicitur, cujus instinctu receptum est à Cardinalibus, ut abjectis divitiis et delitiis omnibus prædicarent crucem Christi, et mendicando omnium primi acciperent crucem, aliosque præcederent in terram Ierusalem. Sic enim habent historiæ verba." *Antioch* is clearly a mistake for *Jerusalem*: (see *suprà*, p. 271,) and *Lambertus* is a mistake for *Albertus*. (See Hoffman, Moreri, and *L'Art de Vér. des Dates*.)

Page 795, note (2). "*Then he who doth succeed,*" &c.]—This sentence would be more intelligible were we to read, "then it followeth—not that he who doth succeed to Peter's chair, doth of course express Peter's faith; but—that whoever doth most nearly express Peter's faith deserveth, in whatever chair he sit, to be accounted a successor of Peter, and is such, albeit in such wise, that he getteth thereby no sort of worldly splendour and glory." The whole passage is here given from the Latin edition, p. 4:—"Quòd si Petro singulare aliquod indultum a Christo privilegium suspicamur, quod non idem cæteris item Apostolis communicatum sit, idque ob privatum aliquem hominis affectum,

cujusmodi multæ in nobis dominantur affectiones ; longè fallimur. Sin propter divinam sublimem ac expeditam confessionem, quam Petrus, non solus sed unus omnium nomine, expresserat : jam, non is qui in cathedram succedit Petri illico exprimit fidem Petri ; sed quisquis proximè exprimit Petri fidem, quacunque sedet cathedra, meritò Petri successor habendus est, sicque successor est, ut nihil tamen hinc humani splendoris ac gloriæ corroget. Functio est non gradus, ministerium non magisterium, apostolatus. Quemadmodum nec inter ipsos, opinor, apostolos ulla erat dignitatis aut loci præeminentia : sed una omnes mente, eodem spiritu, Domini non suum agebant negotium : sic ut qui minor inter ipsos foret, pluris haberetur apud Christum testem. Quocirca et horum successio laudem quidem apud Deum, apud mundum vero nullam dignitatem emerebatur. Quo pacto enim, ut præclarè apud Eusebium proconsuli respondet Polycarpus, cum mundanis divitiis aut terreno fastigio cohæret illorum professio, qui pro Christo omnia habent pro derelictis ?”

Page 796, line 11 from the bottom. “*Keningham, a Carmelite Friar.*”—He is mentioned repeatedly at the opening of the next volume. His name is also spelt Kiningham and Kynnyngham.

Page 797, line 3.]—The Latin edition (p. 5) here says—“Post hos tum sacerdotes, mox episcopi rem capessabant : postremò quum nec horum potentia satis valere videbatur adversus prorumpentem veritatem, ad fulmen pontificis tanquam ad triarios concursus est. Hæc enim extrema esse anchora solet in istiusmodi procellis, ubi monachorum clamores ac Pharisæica improbitas parum proficiunt.”

Page 797, line 21. “*As years and time,*” &c.] Foxe here quotes from a Latin chronicle which he calls “*Chronicon D. Albani,*” lent him by archbishop Parker (pp. 799, 801, note), and which seems to supply all the following narrative to p. 806. This chronicle has been searched for by antiquaries, but without success. There is, however, a chronicle in the Harleian MSS. No. 6217, intitled, “*An Historicall Relation of certain passages about the end of King Edward the Third, and of his Death,*” a transcript of which was communicated by Sir George Amyot to the S. A., who printed it in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxii. This is supposed to be a translation of part of the Latin chronicle which Foxe uses here, and calls the *Chronicle of St. Alban’s*. Foxe’s pages have been collated with that chronicle. Several illustrations and corrections of his text have been derived from thence, which shall be noticed in their place ; the notes, also, of Sir G. Amyot, have furnished some useful information.

Page 797, note (1).]—The benefice from which Wicliff is here said to have been ejected is commonly understood to have been the Wardenship of Canterbury Hall, into which he had been instituted by the founder, archbishop Simon Islip, A.D. 1365, and from which he was ejected by archbishop Simon Langham, A.D. 1367. Wicliff appealed to the pope, who, after three years, confirmed his expulsion, A.D. 1370, and charged Simon Sudbury (then bishop of London) and others, to execute this order. (See the documents at the end of this Appendix.)

A correspondent of the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for August and November, 1841, proves that there was another John Wicliff, Vicar of Mayfield in Sussex, contemporary with the Reformer, and is of opinion that the John Wicliff of Mayfield, and not the Reformer, was the Warden of Canterbury Hall. (See the notices on the subject printed at the end of this Appendix.)

Page 799, last paragraph. “*Which, in the slanderous pen of Polydore Virgil,*” &c.]—There is some flaw in the construction here, which the reader may supply for himself. The following are Polydore Virgil’s words :—“*Fuere ea tempestate viri longè sanctissimi, multò doctissimi atque fortissimi, quorum supra mentionem appositè fecimus, idcirco nihil est, quod de eis rursum commemoremus. Extiteret aliqui insigni infamia, quorum caput et princeps Joannes Vuytheliffus : is, ut fama est, à primo indignatus, quòd non potuisset ad summos sacerdotialis ordinis aspirare honores, factus inde sacerdotibus cunctis inimicius, cepit divina scripta perversè interpretari, atque novam instituire sectam, usque cò, ut in nobili Oxoniensi gymnasio publicè sit in sacerdos ut legis eversores debacchatus.*”—*Polyd. Virgil. Ang. Hist.* lib. xix. *Edouardus tertius*, p. 399.

Page 800, last line. "*Which day was Thursday the nineteenth of February.*"—This date is thus expressed in the contemporary English Chronicle in the Harleian, just adverted to: "Thursday, before the feast of St. Peter his chaire," which (by Nicolas's Tables) would give Feb. 19th, A.D. 1377. The following useful observations are made on this date by Sir G. Amyot, the editor of the Chronicle:—"The date here assigned to this remarkable transaction is doubted by Lowth, because the Pope's Bull, which he supposes to have been the cause of Wicliffe's citation to St. Paul's, bears as late a date as the 22d of May, 1377. He therefore concludes, that the tumult could not have happened many days before the death of Edward the Third, which occurred on the 21st of June. Lewis, in his Life of Wicliffe (p. 50), supposes the meeting at St. Paul's not to have taken place till the February of the succeeding year, after the accession of Richard the Second; in which he is followed by Mr. Baber, in the memoirs prefixed to his edition of Wicliffe's New Testament, p. xvii. This, however, is completely at variance not only with the relation in the text, but also with that of Walsingham, the continuator of Murimuth, and the other contemporary or early authorities. Mr. Godwin (Life of Chaucer, ii. p. 251) defends the earlier date, suggesting that the citation to St. Paul's was the immediate and personal act of the English prelacy, and that it was the citation of Wicliffe to Lambeth in the following year, which was the result of the Pope's interference, the English bishops having found themselves too weak in the contest, and having, on that account, invited the interposition of the sovereign Pontiff. This appears to be the true solution, agreeing with the statement in the text, that it was upon the suggestion of the bishops, that archbishop Sudbury had been unwillingly moved to issue the citation. It is true, indeed, that the mandate (preserved in Wilkins' Concilia, iii. p. 123) which the archbishop and the bishop of London, in consequence of the authority vested in them by the pope's bull, issued to the chancellor of Oxford on the 5th [Kal.] of January [*i. e.* Dec. 28th] following, required Wicliffe's presence at St. Paul's on the thirtieth juridical day from that date. But, as we have no account from the contemporary writers that any second meeting in St. Paul's actually took place, it may be reasonably concluded that Lambeth was afterwards substituted, as a less likely scene for the renewal of popular commotion, though the result proved otherwise. The opinion here expressed may be strengthened by remarking that not only Foxe, but his able antagonist, Harpsfield, who, though a zealous papist, was furnished with materials for his Ecclesiastical History by archbishop Parker (in whose mild custody he was a prisoner), understood the tumult at St. Paul's to have preceded and been the cause of the pope's interference, and that the proceeding at Lambeth was the consequence of it.—*Hist. Wicliffiana*, p. 683."—See the note in the Appendix to vol. iii. p. 4.

Page 801. "*Erubuit dux, quod non potuit prævalere litigio.*"—In the Harleian Chronicle we read, "The duke was ashamed that he colde not in this stryfe prevail;" which is alleged in the Archæologia (vol. xxii. p. 258) as one of the proofs that that Chronicle is a translation of the St. Alban's Chronicle, which Foxe used.

Page 802.]—Of Walter, lord Fitzwalter, a particular account will be found in Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 220. As hereditary Constable of Castle Baynard and Banner-bearer of London, he enjoyed very important rights and privileges in the City, which are set forth in Stow's Survey of London, Strype's edition, vol. i. p. 60.

Guy de Bryan was, as Dugdale observes, a person of very great note in his time. He had been Standard-bearer to the king in Calais, and was afterwards employed in many important military and civil services.—*Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 151; *Archæologia*, vol. xxii. p. 260.

Page 802, line 17. "*Captain.*"—It is "*Custos*" in the Harleian Chronicle. See the note on p. 342, note (3).

Page 802, line 21. "*John Philpot, then burgess for the city.*"—It appears from the list of City Members, given in Maitland's History of London, that John Philpot was M.P. for the city of London in the years 1377, 1381, 1383. In the Harleian Chronicle he is called "a cytezen of special name." He was exceedingly rich, and was afterwards knighted by king Richard, for the

share which he took in quelling Wat Tyler's insurrection in 1381. See Editor's note in the *Archæologia* for more about him.

Page 802, line 23. "*The mayor would never suffer,*" &c.]—The Harleian Chronicle (p. 259) says, "the mayor and commons."

Page 803, line 6. "*In his place within himself.*"—The Harleian Chronicle (p. 260) says, "in the inn of the marshall."

Page 803, line 21. "*With their bills,*" &c.]—"The armed men wandered up and down the chambers, thrusting through the beds with their lances. The privy houses were searched, but all in vain."—*Harleian Chronicle*, p. 261.

Page 803, line 24. "*John Yper . . . had desired them to dinner.*"—"This was at Ipres inn, in St. Thomas Apostle, west of the church. William of Ipres, a Fleming, who came over to the aid of king Stephen against the empress Maud in 1138, built this 'great messuage' (as Stow calls it) near the Tower Royal, where the king 'was then lodged, as in the heart of the city, for his more safety.' (Stow's London, by Strype, vol. iii. p. 8.) William was created earl of Kent by Stephen, but in the subsequent reign was forced to leave England, and died a monk at Laon, according to Dugd. Bar. i. p. 612. But Stow says he was recalled and restored to his possessions, which remained to his descendants. John of Ipres, named in the text, was a person of sufficient importance to be appointed one of king Edward's executors. See Nichols's Royal Wills, p. 63."—*Archæologia*, vol. xxii. p. 261, note.

Page 803, line 34.]—For "Kingston," the Harleian Chronicle (p. 262) reads "Kenyngton." The princess here mentioned was Joan, widow of the Black Prince.

Page 804, line 9. "*One of his gentlemen.*"—"A certayn soldier of the duke's, called Thomas Wynton, a Scotchman borne."—*Harleian Chronicle*, p. 263.

Page 804, line 18.]—Foxe reads "Sir Albred Lewer," the Harleian Chronicle (p. 263) "De Ver." Sir Aubrey de Vere was uncle to Robert earl of Oxford, afterwards duke of Ireland, the favourite of Richard the Second.

Sir Lewis Clifford, an ancestor of lord Clifford of Chudleigh, became a leader among the Lollards, but afterwards recanted to archbishop Arundel. (Walsingham, p. 409.) His very remarkable will, in which he enjoins his executors to bury him, "false and traytor to his Lord God," with extraordinary indignities, is preserved in Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 341.—*Archæologia*, vol. xxii. p. 264.

Page 805.]—This story about the martial bishop of Norwich is given in the Harleian Chronicle, p. 277; where we find the place correctly named "Lynn," of which the Latin is *Lenna*: Lynn is also the reading in the interdict of archbishop Sudbury, printed in Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iii. p. 118.

Page 809, note (2).]—Foxe, in the text, professes himself uncertain as to the occasion of this fresh return of benefices held by aliens in England. It is certain, however, that the return was required in consequence of an order of the parliament which met at Gloucester, the Wednesday after the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist, 2 Rich. II. [October 19th, A.D. 1378], that the temporalities of all the benefices held in England by those cardinals and others, who took part with the antipope Clement VII. against the true pope Urban VI., should be seized into the king's hands. (See the Notes out of the Parliamentary Rolls, 2 Richard II., *infra* vol. iii. p. 214.) The schism in the papacy between Urban VI. and Clement VII. divided all Christendom, each state declaring for one or other of the two popes, not so much on account of the right of the parties, as for political reasons. France, whose interest it was that the pope should reside at Avignon, joined with Clement; and, for a contrary reason, England thought it more advantageous to adhere to the pope of Rome. (Rapin.) The enactment of the parliament will be found in Cotton, p. 46, 2 Rich. II. tit. 70, 71, 78. Rymer gives many instruments founded on this parliamentary enactment, appropriating the proceeds of the benefices in question, and transferring the benefices to new parties.



## A D D E N D A.

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Page 28, middle. "*The one for Greek . . . the other for Latin.*"—“Ex nugis hæc, a majoribus nostris, ex ignorantia linguæ suæ vernaculæ, *i. e.* Saxonicæ, sæpius inculcatis et avide devoratis. Locorum enim unus *Creclade* Saxonibus *cpecca-gelade*; alter *Leccelade*, recte nuncupandus. Utriusque nomen est compositum; illud a Saxon. *cpecca*, posterioribus *Creeke*, Zelandis *Kreke*, *i. e.* *amnis, torrens*, in majorem fluvium labens, vel in maris brachium cadeus: hoc autem a Sax. *leccian*, quod *rigare, irrigare*, sonat; cui vicinum Teutonicor. *lecken*, *i. e.* *stillari, derivari*; unde *Leckæ*, Hollandiæ rivuli, *Rheni* brachii nomen; ut et apud Saxones *leacpeapð*, *i. e.* *hortulanus olitorius*, sic dictus, quia hortum irrigat; item nostratum, *to leake, a leake*, and *leaking*: utrique voci Saxonorum *laðe* (quod a *laðian* ortum *purgationem, exonerationem*, sonat) ideo addito, quod eo loci (circa Oxon.) omnes quidam exonerando se purgant . . . decidantque in alium (*Thamesis* nimirum) fluvium.”—Somner’s Glossary, appended to Twysden, X. Scriptores.

Page 62, line 6 from the bottom. "*A virgin made hand-fast to Christ.*"—Osborne’s words are, “Tu Pontificis manum audes contingere, qui virginem deitatis munere arratam non timuisti præripere?” (*Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 111.) It would here appear that the ancient northern custom of betrothing previous to marriage by the ceremony of joining hands, was in usage in the West of England in the 13th century. In Scotland it existed to a very late period, as we learn from Pennant’s *Tour*, part i. 91, and from the instance quoted by Jamieson, in voc. “*To hand-fast*, to betroth by joining hands.” In England, also, the term at least remained to a comparatively modern period, as appears from Palsgrave’s *Esclaircissement de la Langue Fr.* B. III. f. xii. 1530, where we find, “*Une fiansayles*, an assuring or *hand-fastynge* of folks to be maryed.” Sir F. Madden’s note on Layamon’s *Brut*. III. 312. See the *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, iv. 372.

Page 728. “*The Ploughman’s Prayer.*”—See Harleian Miscellany, vol. vi. pp. 92—117, ed. 1810, where this document appears in a yet older language and phraseology than as it is given in Foxe. It was first printed in 1531.

Page 763, note (1). “*Ex vita S. Clementis.*”—In Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, cap. 170, where there is a long story about Clement’s mother, named Macidiana, being shipwrecked, and taking to mendicancy in an island not far from Antandros, where St. Peter fell in with her so occupied.—Page 779, ed. Dresdæ, 1846.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE WARDENSHIP OF  
CANTERBURY HALL, OXFORD.<sup>1</sup>

No. I.—*Specialis Licentia Domini Regis Edwardi III. pro appropriatione Advocationis Ecclesiæ de Pageham Aulæ Cantuariensi in Oxonia.*

Edwardus Dei gratiâ Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ et Aquitaniæ, omnibus ad quos præsentis literæ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quòd de gratiâ nostrâ speciali, et ad devotam supplicationem venerabilis Patris Simonis Cant' Archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ Primatis et Apostolicæ sedis Legati, piè desiderantis incrementum salubre cleri regni nostri propter multiplicationem doctrinæ salutaris, quæ jam per præsentem epidemiam noscitur plurimum defecisse, concessimus et licentiam dedimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris (quantum in nobis est) eidem Archiepiscopo, quòd ipse in Universitate Oxon' quandam Aulam sive Domum Aulam Cantuariensem vulgariter et communiter vocitandam, in quâ certus erit numerus Scolarum tam Religiosorum quam Secularium, actibus scolasticis insistentium et Deo pro nobis et salute Regni nostri specialiter exorantium secundum formam ordinationis inde per eundem Archiepiscopum super hoc faciendæ, suis sumptibus erigere poterit et fundare, et eisdem scholaribus in perpetuum assignare; et, in eventu quo Domus sive Aula sit fundata et Scholares in ea assignati fuerint, advocacionem Ecclesiæ de Pageham suæ jurisdictionis immediatæ, quæ est de advocacione suâ propriâ et de jure suo Archiepiscopali, et quæ de nobis tenetur in capite (ut dicitur), eisdem Scolaribus et successoribus suis dare possit et etiam assignare, habendam et tenendam præfatis Scolaribus et successoribus suis de nobis et hæredibus nostris in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam in perpetuum: Et eisdem Scolaribus, quòd ipsi tam Aulam quam advocacionem prædictas a præfato Archiepiscopo recipere, et Ecclesiam illam appropriare, et eam sic appropriatam in proprios usus tenere possint sibi et successoribus suis prædictis, pro nobis et salute Regni nostri oraturi juxta ordinationem prædicti Archiepiscopi, de nobis et hæredibus nostris in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam in perpetuum (sicut prædictum est), tenore præsentium similiter licentiam dedimus specialem, statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante: Nolentes quòd prædictus Archiepiscopus vel successores sui aut præfati Scholares seu successores sui ratione præmissorum seu statuti prædicti, aut pro eo quòd dicta advocacio de nobis tenetur in capite (sicut prædictum est), per nos vel hæredes nostros, Justitios Escaetores, Vicecomites, aut alios ballivos seu ministros nostros quoscunque occasionentur, molestentur in aliquo, seu graventur. Salvis tamen nobis et hæredibus nostris, ac aliis capitalibus Dominis feodi illius, servitiis inde debitis et consuetis. In ejus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium xxº. die Octobris, anno regni nostri tricesimo quinto.—Patent Rolls, 35 Ed. III. part 3, m. 6. MS. in Bibl. Lamb. No. 104, fol. 211.

No. II.—*Charta Foundationis Aulæ Cantuariensis, et Donationis Maurii de Wodeford Lincoln. Dioceseos dictæ Foundationi.*

Sapientia Dei Patris, per utrum Beate Virginis volens prodire in publicum, sicut ætate proficere voluit, sic gratiæ et sapientiæ suæ munera paulatim aliis proficiendo secundum processum ætatis suæ magis ac magis realiter ostendebat, ut alii qui ab ejus plenitudine fuerint particulariter sapientiam recepturi prius humiliter addiscerent et proficiendo crescerent in doctrinâ, posteaque quod sic didicerint aliis salubriter revelarent. Quia igitur per sapientiam, sic non absque sudore et laboribus adquisitionem, reguntur regna et

(1) The following documents are taken from the Rolls in the Tower; the "Lis Romæ agitata inter Joannem Wiclif et Henricum de Wodehull Monachum pro officio Custodis Aulæ Cantuariensis in Academia Oxoniensi," MS. in Bibliotheca Lambethana, No. 104, folio 209, and the Archiepiscopal Registers. Many of them have been printed before by Lewis and Vaughan, but with some serious inaccuracies. They are arranged in their chronological order.

in justitiâ confoventur, Ecclesia militans germinat et sua diffundit tentoria; Nos Simon permissione divinâ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas et Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, ad hæc sepius revolventes intima cordis nostri, ac considerantes viros in omni scientiâ doctos et expertos in epidemiis præteritis plurimum defecisse, paucissimosque propter defectum exhibitionis ad præsens insistere studio literarum, de magnificæ Trinitatis gratiâ, et meritis beati Thomæ martyris patroni nostri firmiter confidentes, de bonis nobis a Deo collatis Aulam quandam in Universitate Oxon' et nostræ provinciæ, de consensu et licentiâ serenissimi principis Domini Edwardi Regis Angliæ illustris, in loco quem ad hoc nostris sumptibus comparavimus, construximus et fundavimus, quam pro duodenario Studentium numero duximus ordinandam. In partem igitur dotis et sustentationis ipsius Collegii octo hospitia conductitia, juxta situm loci in quo habitationem hujusmodi studentium assignavimus consistentia, quæ gravibus sumptibus nostris et expensis propterea specialiter acquisivimus, per hanc Cartam nostram conferimus et donamus, et etiam assignamus; maneriumque de Wodeford Lincoln' Dioceseos ad per dilectum Nepotem nostrum Willelmum de Islep spectans cum omnibus suis pertinentiis eidem collegio procuravimus insuper assignari. Datum apud Maghefeld Idus Aprilis anno Domini 1363, et nostræ Consecrationis xiv.—MS. in Bibl. Lamb. No. 104, fol. 211.

No. III.—*Verba Ordinationis quoad Custodem Aulæ Cantuar' Domino Archiepiscopo nominandum.*

et debet ipse præfici sicut cæteri monachi officarii dictæ Ecclesiæ per Dominum Archiepiscopum præficiendi; viz. Prior et Capitulum eligent de toto Capitulo tres personas ydoneas et meliores in religione et scientiâ ad dictam Curam, et eos in scripturâ communi Domino Archiepiscopo nominabunt; quorum unum ex illis sic nominatis, quem voluerit, Archiepiscopus præficiet in Custodem, Curam et Administrationem tam spiritualium quam temporalium ad ipsam Aulam pertinentium sibi plenius committendo.—Eccl. Christ. Cant. Reg. K. fol. 67.<sup>1</sup>

*Nominatio Custodis Aulæ Cant' noviter fundatæ in Universitate Oxon' per Reverendum Patrem Dominum Simonem de Islep Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem.*

Reverendo in Christo Patri ac Domino, Domino Simoni Dei gratiâ Cant' Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primati et Apostolicæ sedis Legato, Vestri humiles et devoti Prior et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Christi Cant' obedientiam, reverentiam, et honorem. Ad curam et officium Custodis Aulæ Cantuar' in Universit. Oxon. per vos noviter fundatæ, fratres Henricum de Wodhulle sacrae paginæ Doctorem, Johannem de Redyngate, et Willielmum Rychemond, nostros confratres et commonachos, vobis juxta formam et effectum Ordinationis vestrae factæ in hac parte tenore presentium nominamus; supplicantes quatenus unum ex illis tribus sic nominatis, quem volueritis, in Custodem dictæ Aulæ præficere, et eidem curam et administrationem tam spiritualium quam temporalium ad ipsam Aulam pertinentium committere dignetur vestra paternitas reverenda; quam ad Ecclesiæ suæ Regimen conservet in prosperis Trinitas indivisa. Dat. sub sigillo nostro communi in Domo nostrâ Capitulari Cant' xiii. die Martii, anno Domini millesimo ccc<sup>mo</sup>. lxi<sup>do</sup>. [A.D. 1363.]

No. IV.—*Appropriatio Ecclesiæ de Pageham Custodi et Scolaribus Aulæ Cantuariensis.*<sup>2</sup>

Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis ad quos præsentis literæ pervenerint Simon, permissione divinâ Cantuar' Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas et Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, salutem et perpetuam rei gestæ memoriam cum benedictione dexteræ Dei Salvatoris. Quotiens ad penuriam studentium in famosâ et peramabili Universitate Oxon., nostræ Cantuar' provinciæ, mentis intuitum dirigimus, totiens cordis nostri viscera doloris gladio sauciantur. Hæc enim sicut stella cœli vernantia Seminis sui germina multiplicare et sicut vinea Israelitica quandam de Egypto translata palmites suos et propagines per

(1) See however the notes hereafter on No. XI.

(2) Now printed for the first time, from MS. 104, Biblioth. Lambeth. fol. 212 b.

universum orbem diffundere paucis etiam annis transactis consueverat, formositate Rachelis simul et fecunditate Leæ divinitus adornata. Sed provocantibus demeritis nostris aggravata manus Domini tam copiosam tam fructuosam propagationem quasi in manipulum frondium geminato ruinæ pestilentialis impetu redigebat. Nos hinc peramabili filię nostræ adeo lacrymosâ infecunditate laboranti interno compatientes affectu, et in aliqualem ipsius consolationem aliquot sibi soboles adjicere cupientes, quandam Aulam Collegiatam sub certo Studentium numero vocabulo Aulæ Cantuar' stabilitam infra tentorii sui metas fundavimus, possessiones temporales propterea per nos acquisitas eisdem Aulæ et Studentibus in dotem perpetuam assignando. Sane ex parte dictæ Aulæ Custodis et Studentium nobis extitit significatum, quòd possessiones prædictæ pro ipsorum Studentium sustentatione congruâ et aliis ejusdem Aulæ seu Collegii supportandis oneribus non sufficiunt nec sufficere poterunt in futurum. Propter quod nobis humiliter supplicarunt, quatenus ecclesiam parochialem de Pageham nostrorum patronatûs et jurisdictionis immediatæ eis et eorum Collegio in usus proprios concedere dignemur. Nos igitur volentes necessitati eorum consulere et utilitati providere, ipsorum supplicationibus tanquam justis et rationi consonis inclinati, præhabito super præmissis et ea continentibus solemnî et diligenti tractatu cum Reverendis et Religiosis viris Priore et Capitulo Ecclesiæ nostræ Cantuar', jurisque ordine qui in hac parte requirebatur in omnibus observato, de communi consensu et assensu eorum præfatam Ecclesiam de Pageham cum suis membris juribus et pertinentiis universis, præfatis Aulæ Collegio et Studentibus eorumque successoribus appropriamus annectimus et unimus, ipsamque in usus proprios eorum concedimus in perpetuum possidendam; adjicientes et concedentes ipsis Custodi et Studentibus plenam potestatem et liberam quòd (cedente vel decedente seu aliquiditercunque dimittente Rectore dictæ Ecclesiæ qui præsentem incumbit) ipsam Ecclesiam et ejus possessionem auctoritate præsentium per se alium seu alios ingredi, obventiones redditus et proventus ejusdem quoscunque percipere, ac de eisdem libere disponere valeant; ullâ aliâ licentiâ seu auctoritate loci ordinarii aut alterius cujuscunque super hoc petitâ aliquiditer seu optentâ non obstante. Salvis tamen vicariis perpetuis dictæ ecclesiæ parochialis et capellæ de Berghstede Capellanique perpetuæ de Bogenor eidem Ecclesiæ annexis ac porcionibus ab olim eisdem perpetuo assignatis; Reservatisque nobis et successoribus nostris utriusque vicariæ Capellanique hujusmodi collacione, prout ad nos et predecessores nostros pertinere solebant temporibus retroactis. In quorum omnium testimonium sigillum nostrum fecimus his apponi. Datum in domo Capitulari Ecclesiæ nostræ Cantuar' prædictæ quinto Idus Maii, anno Domini millesimo ccc<sup>mo</sup>. lxiij<sup>o</sup>, et nostræ Consecrationis xiiij<sup>o</sup>.

## No. V.

The Rectory of Pageham was resigned at Mayfield by "Dominus Willielmus in theiye capells Lincoln. Dioc." . . . "præsentibus Episcopo Roffensi, Nicholao Chaddesden, Ricardo Warmington, et Willielmo Islep cruciferario Archiepiscopi." . . . "IX Cal. Junii 1363."—Reg. Islep. in Archiv. Lamb. fol. 301.

No. VI.—*Royal Liccnce for the conveyance of certain Messuages in Oxford to Canterbury Hall.*<sup>1</sup>

Pro Custode et Scolari-  
bus Aulæ  
Cantuari-  
ensis  
in Villa  
Oxon.

Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Licet &c. ob affectionem tamen quam ad venerabilem patrem Simonem Archiepiscopum Cantuar' (qui quandam domum Scolariū vocatam Aulam Cantuar', in augmentationem cleri regni nostri, qui per pestilencias in eodem regno invalescentes est multipliciter diminutus, in villa Oxon. de nostra licentia noviter fundavit) merito gerimus et habemus; Volentes dilectis nobis in Christo Custodi et Scolariis Aulæ predictæ gratiam facere specialem, concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris (quantum in nobis est) dilectis nobis in Christo—Abbati de Abyndon quòd ipse unum messuagium et tres solidatas redditus cum pertinentiis in Oxon.—Priori Sanctæ Frideswydæ Oxon. quòd ipse sex messuagia cum pertinentiis in eadem villa—Magistris Gillo Durant<sup>2</sup> et Johanni

(1) Now printed for the first time from the Patent Rolls, 37 Ed. III. part i. No. 9.

(2) William Durant was at this time Warden of Merton.

de Colton quòd ipsi unum messuagium cum pertinentiis in eadem villa—Magistro Thomæ de Gloucestre de Oxon. quòd ipse unum messuagium cum pertinentiis in eadem villa—Abbissæ de Godstowe quòd ipsa unum messuagium cum pertinentiis in eadem villa Oxon.—et Magistro et Sclaribus de Bayllohalle quòd ipsi unum messuagium cum pertinentiis in eadem villa, dare possint et assignare præfatis Custodi et Sclaribus Aulæ Cantuar' habenda et tenenda eisdem Custodi et Sclaribus et successoribus suis Custodibus et Sclaribus Aulæ illius in puram et perpetuam elemosinam in perpetuum. Et Eisdem Custodi et Sclaribus Aulæ Cantuar' quòd ipsi messuagia, tofta, et redditum, prædicta cum pertinentiis a præfatis Abbate, Priore, Gillo et Johanne, Thoma, Abbissa, et Magistro et Sclaribus de Baillohalle, in formâ prædictâ recipere possint et tenere ipsis Custodi et Sclaribus dictæ Aulæ Cantuar' et successoribus suis Custodibus et Sclaribus ejusdem Aulæ in puram et perpetuam elemosinam in perpetuum (sicut prædictum est), tenore præsentium similiter licentiam dedimus specialem, statuto prædicto non obstante; nolentes quòd prædicti Abbas, Prior, Gillus, Johannes, Thomas, Abbissa, et Magister et Scolare de Baillohalle heredes seu successores sui, aut præfati Custos et Scolare prædictæ Aulæ Cantuar' vel successores sui prædicti, per nos vel heredes aut ministros nostros quoscunque inde occasionentur in aliquo seu graventur: Salvis tamen capitalibus dominis feodorum prædictorum serviçiis inde debitis et consuetis. In cujus rei, &c., teste Rege apud Westmonast' primo die Junii.

Pei ipsum Regem.

No. VII.—*Willelmi de Islep confirmatio prædictæ Donationis Manerii de Wodeford. See No. II.*

Sciant præsentis et futuri, quòd Ego Willelmus de Islep ad instantiam Domini mei Domini Simonis Dei gratiâ Cant' Archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ Primatis et Apostolicæ sedis Legati, dedi concessi et hac præsentem Cartâ meâ confirmavi Custodi et Clericis Aulæ Collegiatæ Cant', per ipsum Dominum meum in Universitate Oxon' noviter fundatæ, Manerium meum quod habeo in Wodeford cum omnibus suis pertinentiis in Comitatu Northampton, habendum et tenendum prædictum Manerium cum omnibus suis terris, pratis, pascuis, pasturis, redditibus, homagiis, serviitiis, stagnis, vivariis, aquis, molendis, gardinis, columbariis, cum omnibus aliis suis pertinentiis prædictis, Custodi et Clericis et eorum successoribus in perpetuum, tenendum de capitalibus Dominis feodi per servitia inde debita et de jure consueta. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum meum præsentibus apposui, his testibus, venerabili in Christo Patre Domino Willelmo Dei gratiâ Roffensi Episcopo, Magistro Nicholao de Chaddesden Legum Doctore Cancellario, Domino Johanne Waleys milite, Dominis Thoma de Wolton seneschallo terrarum, et Willelmo Islep cruciferario dicti Domini Archiepiscopi, et multis aliis. Et ad majorem securitatem præmissorum, Ego Willelmus de Islep supradictus præsentem Cartam subscriptione et signi-appositione Magistri Richardi Wodeland clerici, notarii auctoritate Apostolicâ publici, ad requisitionem meam specialem feci et obtinui communiri. Datum apud Maghefeld quarto die mensis Junii anno Domini millesimo cccxlxiii. et anno Regni Regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum xxxvii.

Et Ego Richardus Wodeland de Calceto<sup>1</sup> clericus Cicestrensis Dioceseos, notarius Apostolicâ auctoritate publicus, dationi et confirmationi et concessionem prædictis, et sigilli appositioni Cartæ prædictæ unâ cum suprascriptis testibus, loco, die, mense et anno Domini supradictis, indictione primâ, pontificatûs sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini Domini Urbani dignâ Dei providentiâ Papæ Quinti anno primo, præsens interfui et præfatum Willelmum de Islep dictam Cartam perlegere audivi, et ad rogatum dicti Willelmi hic me subscripsi, et signum meum apposui præsentibus consuetum in testimonium præmissorum.—MS. in Bibl. Lamb. No. 104, fol. 212.

No. VIII.—*Confirmatio Chartæ Foundationis, &c. See No. II.*

In Dei nomine, Amen. Per præsens publicum instrumentum omnibus innotescat, quòd anno ejusdem Domini 1363 secundum computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, indictione secundâ, pontificatûs sanctissimi in Christo Patris

(1) *Calcetum* means Chalk, near Arundel in Sussex.



et Domini Domini Urbani dignâ Dei providentiâ Papæ Quinti anno secundo, mensis Februarii die quarto, coram Reverendo in Christo Patre Domino Simone Dei gratiâ Cant' Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primate et Apostolicæ sedis Legato, in Camerâ suâ infra Manerium suum apud Cheryng Cant' Dioceseos personaliter constituto, producta fuit exhibita et lecta quædam Carta, ipsius patris sigillo mihi notario subscripto satis noto consignata, quam idem Dominus Archiepiscopus asseruit se fecisse, et contenta in eâdem rata, grata, et firma se habere, ac velle perpetuis temporibus valitura: Cujus quidem Cartæ tenor de verbo ad verbum sequitur in hæc verba: *Sapientia Dei Patris per uterum Beatæ Virginis volens prodire, &c. . . Datum apud Maghefeld Idus Aprilis, anno Domini 1363 et nostræ Consecrationis xiv.* Acta fuerunt hæc anno, indictione, pontificatû, mense, die, et loco prædictis, præsentibus venerabili in Christo Patre Domino Willelmo Dei gratiâ Episcopo Roffensi, Magistris Nicholao de Chaddesden, Legum Doctore canonico Ecclesiæ Lichfieldensis, Cancellario dicti Domini Archiepiscopi, Willelmo Tankerville Rectore Ecclesiæ de Lawfar,<sup>1</sup> London', Johanne Barbo clerico Roffensis Dioceseos, testibus ad præmissa rogatis.

Et Ego Richardus Wodelond de Calceto clericus Cicestrensis Dioceseos, notarius Apostolicâ auctoritate publicus, productioni, exhibitioni, et lecturæ Cartæ predictæ, assertioni et ratihabitioni dicti Domini Archiepiscopi, ac omnibus et singulis prout superiùs scribuntur et recitantur unâ cum præfatis testibus interfui, eaque omnia et singula sic vidi fieri et audiri, veramque copiam sive transumptum ipsius Cartæ superiùs descriptæ aliis negotiis occupatus per alium scribi feci, et hic me subscripsi et signum meum apposui præsentibus consuetum.—MS. in Bibl. Lambeth. No. 104, fol. 211 b

No. IX.—*Instrumentum Collationis Johannis de Wyclype Guardianatui Aulæ Cantuariensis in Universitate Oxoniæ.*

Simon, &c. dilecto filio Magistro Johanni de Wyclype salutem. Ad vitæ tuæ et conversationis laudabilem honestatem, literarumque scientiam, quibus personam tuam in artibus magistratam Altissimus insignivit, mentis nostræ oculis dirigentes, ac de tuis fidelitate circumspectione et industriâ plurimum confidentes, in Custodem Aulæ nostræ Cantuar', per nos noviter Oxoniæ fundatæ, te præficimus, tibi que curam et administrationem Custodiæ hujusmodi incumbentes juxta ordinationem nostram in hac parte committimus per præsentem; reservatâ nobis receptione juramenti corporalis per te nobis præstandi debitè in hac parte. Dat. apud Maghefeld v<sup>o</sup> idus Decemb. anno Domini mcccclxv, et nostræ consecrationis xvi.—Ex Registro Islep in Archivis Lambethanis fol. 306.

No. X.—*Præfectio Johannis de Radyngate in Custodem Aulæ Cantuariensis Oxon.<sup>2</sup>*

Simon, &c. religioso viro fratri Johanni de Radyngate monacho ecclesiæ nostræ Cantuar' salutem, &c. Ad custodiam Aulæ nostræ Cantuar', in Universitate Oxon. per bonæ memoriæ dominum Simonem de Islep nuper Archiepiscopum Cantuar' predecessorem nostrum immediatum de bonis dictæ Ecclesiæ Cantuar' fundatæ, ad quam per dilectos nobis in Christo filios Priorem et Capitulum ecclesiæ nostræ predictæ juxta formam foundationis Aulæ predictæ nominatus existis—te admittimus; teque Custodem dictæ Aulæ præficimus per præsentem, quamdiu nobis placuerit duraturum, curam et administrationem prædictæ Aulæ tam in temporalibus quam spiritualibus tibi committentes: Salvis in omnibus juribus et consuetudinibus nostris ac nostræ Cantuar' ecclesiæ dignitate. In ejus, &c. Datum apud Stanbroke, ii Kal. Aprilis anno Domini supradicto [i. e. March 30th, A. D. 1367].

Item eisdem die et loco mandatum fuit omnibus et singulis Scolaribus Aulæ predictæ, quòd sint dicto Custodi intendentes et obedientes.

*Præfectio Henrici de Wodhull in Custodem Aulæ Cantuariensis Oxon.<sup>2</sup>*

Item apud Maghefeld x Kal. Maii, anno Domini Millesimo ccc. lxxvj. dominus præfecit fratrem Henricum de Wodhull monachum Cantuar' saciæ

(1) Laver in Essex. See Morant, i. 129—143, and Newcourt's Repertorium, ii. 367—371.

(2) Printed now for the first time from Regist. Laugham, folio 98.

paginæ professorem in Custodem Aulæ Cantuar' in Oxon' sub formâ [eâdem quâ] alii fratri Johanni Radyngate superius extitit factum, et mandante Scolaribus ejusdem Aulæ pro admissione ipsius Custodis sub formâ inferius expressatâ.

Simon &c. dilectis filiis nostris Magistro Johanni Wycliff et cæteris Scolaribus Aulæ nostræ Cantuar', in Universitate Oxon' per bonæ memoriæ dominum Simonem de Islep nuper Cantuar' Archiepiscopum predecessorem nostrum de bonis dictæ Ecclesiæ Cant' fundatæ, salutem gratiam et benedictionem. Cum nos religiosum virum fratrem Johannem Radyngate monachum et confratrem ecclesiæ nostræ Cant', in Custodem Aulæ nostræ predictæ per nos antea præfectum, à curâ et regimine ipsius Aulæ certis ex causis et literis nos ad hoc moventibus revocaverimus et absolverimus, habitâque deliberacione diligenti et maturâ cum dilectis nobis in Christo filiis Priore et Capitulo Ecclesiæ nostræ predictæ religiosum et discretum virum fratrem Henricum de Wodhull ejusdem ecclesiæ nostræ commonachum sacræ paginæ professorem ad Custodiam Aulæ predictæ admiserimus, et ipsum fratrem Henricum in Custodem ejusdem Aulæ cum omnibus ad eandem Custodiam pertinentibus præfecerimus, curamque et regimen ipsius Aulæ et personarum ejusdem tam in temporalibus quam spiritualibus per nostras certî tenoris literas sibi in hac parte concessas, quamdiu nobis placuerit duraturas, ut est moris, sibi commiserimus: Vobis omnibus et singulis vestrum in virtute obedientiæ mandamus firmiter injungendo, quatenus præfatum Henricum, in Custodem Aulæ nostræ memoratæ per nos (ut præmittitur) præfectum, in Custodem vestrum et ejusdem Aulæ nostræ benignè admittatis et ipsum seu ipsius in hac parte substitutum recipiatis, ac eidem in omnibus prout decet effectualiter pareatis. Datum apud Maghefeld, x Kal. Maii, anno Domini prædicto.

No. XI.—*Expositio Cause pro parte Johannis Wycliff coram Summo Pontifice.*

In nomine Dei, Amen. Expositum est dudum sanctissimo in Christo patri et domino nostro domino Urbano dignâ Dei providentiâ Papæ Quinto in pleno consistorio, in præsentia nonnullorum Reverendissimorum patrum dominorum Cardinalium, pro parte venerabilis viri Magistri Johannis de Wyclif Magistri in artibus ac in sacrâ theologiâ Bacularii, asserentis se Custodem Aulæ seu Collegii Cantuar' in Universitate Oxon', Lincoln' dioc', et quorundam aliorum consociorum seu Scolarium in dictâ Aulâ seu Collegio studentium;—Quod olim bonæ memoriæ dominus Simon Archiepiscopus Cantuar' in dicto studio Universitatis Oxoniæ de bonis suis re sibi ratione personæ suæ pertinentibus et ex suâ industriâ anteaquam Archiepiscopus fuisset acquisitis quoddam Collegium clericorum Scolariū, in quo esse deberent unus Custos et undecim clerici Scholares, fundaverat construxerat et dotaverat: Et tandem ecclesiam parochialem de Pageham Cicestrensis dioc', ad collacionem ipsius domini Archiepiscopi pertinentem jurisdictionis immediatæ Cant' Archiepiscopi, sui Capituli auctoritate ordinariâ canonicè unierat et eisdem illam in usus proprios concesserat, et venerabilem virum Magistrum Johannem de Wyclif in artibus Magistrum et in theologiâ Bacularium (ut asserebatur) et in presbyteratûs ordine constitutum Custodem dictæ domus fecerat et deputaverat, et Custodiam ejusdem (quam officium perpetuum clerici Seculares in dicto Collegio esse nolebant) per suas literas sibi contulerat et concesserat, et plures libros<sup>2</sup> et res alias ad eum ratione personæ suæ spectantes dicto Collegio in suo testamento et ultimâ voluntate legaverat, quos per manus executorum suæ ultimæ voluntatis hujusmodi præstari et solvi et erogari voluerat et mandaverat. Tandem, ipso fundatore sublato de medio et Reverendissimo in Christo patre et domino domino Simone Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinale tunc ad Cant' Ecclesiam translato, Idem dominus Simon tunc Archiepiscopus nunc Cardinalis dictum Magistrum Johannem absque causâ quâcunque rationabili a dicto officio remove, et quendam fratrem Henricum de Wodehull monachum Ecclesiæ Cant', ut dictis clericis Scolaribus præseset, in eodem officio ponere intendebat.

(1) It is a curious fact that in the Wytlessey Register, folio 86, we find a similar case to the above; John Sidynden was appointed Warden of Canterbury Hall, Oxford, "4 Idus Augusti, A. D. 1371;" and in the very next entry we find William Richemond appointed instead of John Sidynden, "18 Kal. Octob. eodem anno."

(2) The following curious direction is added in Islep's "Ordinatio" (see Wilkins, iii. p. 56):—"Inhibemus insuper sub anathematis vinculo, ne aliquis dictorum librorum extra domum nostram alicui accommodetur, nisi alicui de Scolaribus Aulæ nostræ de Merton, et tunc cum scripturâ privatâ."

Et quia idem Magister Johannes Custos et Socii prædicti, cùm (ut dixerunt) esset contra juramentum per eos præstitum in inceptione ipsorum, ad hoc consentire et religiosum virum fratrem Henricum monachum prædictum admittere noluerant sed recusarant; prædictus dominus Simon tunc Archiepiscopus nunc autem Cardinalis fructus dictæ parochialis Ecclesiæ de Pageham in quibus quasi tota substantia sustentationis clericorum hujusmodi consistebat temeritate suâ propriâ sequestraverat, ut sic facilius dictos Scholares eidem consentire aut mendaciter agere in opprobrium cleri compelleret, et sic eodem Scholares fructibus ejusdem ecclesiæ spoliaverat et detinebat spoliatos, ac libros et alia legata prædicta contra ultimam voluntatem testatoris prædicti per dictos executores detineri fecerat et procuraverat indebitè et injustè in distractionem dicti Collegii ac Custodis et Sociorum prædictorum grave præjudicium atque dampnum. Propter quod fuerat ad sedem Apostolicam ab impugnacione tituli hujusmodi et fructuum prædictorum sequestratione et nonnullis aliis gravaminibus legitimè appellatum.

*Expositio Causæ pro parte domini Simonis Archiepiscopi et Monachorum coram Summo Pontifice.*

Postque incontinenter expositum est etiam dicto domino nostro Papæ in dicto consistorio, in præsentia prædictorum Reverendissimorum patrum dominorum Cardinalium, pro parte Reverendissimi patris et domini domini Simonis olim Archiepiscopi Cantuar', nunc vero Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis;— Quòd olim bonæ memoriæ dominus Simon de Islepp Archiepiscopus Cantuar' cupiens in scientiis volentibus proficere misericorditer subvenire, et præcipuè ad augmentandam inter monachos scholasticam disciplinam, quoddam Collegium sive Aulam, quæ Aula vulgariter vocatur Aula Cantuar', in Universitate Oxon' de bonis Ecclesiæ Cantuar' et Archiepiscopatus sui instituerat et fundaverat.<sup>1</sup> In cujus fundacione statuerat et inter cætera ordinaverat quòd in ipso Collegio essent duodecim personæ Studentes, quorum quatuor, viz. Custos monachus dicti Collegii et tres Socii, essent monachi ecclesiæ Cantuar', et octo alii Scholares (ut dicitur) Seculares Studentes, qui in licitis et honestis Custodi præfato subessent, quòdque monachus hujusmodi, in Custodem dicti Collegii præficiendus, Archiepiscopo Cantuar' qui pro tempore esset deberet per Priorem et Capitulum dictæ Cantuar' Ecclesiæ ad Custodiam hujusmodi nominari. Juxta

(1) It is proper to state, that the original "Constitutiones et Statuta Aulæ Cantuariensis" appear in Islep's Register, folio 213, whence they are printed in Wilkins' Concilia, iii. p. 52; and that they do not bear out the representations of Archbishop Langham and the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury. They are addressed by Islep to the Prior and Chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury; and he requires "attentius ea inter vos debite publicari vestrumque consensum et assensum communem eisdem, prout vobis expediens videbitur, accommodari: literas necnon vestras super consensu et assensu sic adhibitis nobis remitti patentes, præsentium tenorem habentes, sigilli vestri communis appensione prout decuerit communitas." He says nothing about the mixture of Regulars and Seculars, and calls it simply "Aulam quandam Studentium" or "Scolarium."

With respect to the Warden, he directs as follows:—"Imprimis Aula prædicta vocabitur 'Aula Cantuariensis,' et habebit superiorem, qui nominabitur Custos. Ejusdem Aulæ Custos debet esse vir propectæ ætatis, maturus, sobrius, et honestus, expertus et approbatus, et scientia merito commendatus, in spiritualibus potissimè, et in temporalibus plurimum circumspectus, et cæteris quantum ad curam dictæ Aulæ meritò præferendus. Et debet ipse præfici tali modo; viz. Senior domus, quam cito commodè poterit, postquam Custodis officium fuerit vacuum, omnes Socios pro viribus congregabit; qui sic congregati, dilacione quâcunque postpositâ, juxta formam traditam inferius, sc. de Sociis admittendis, eligent de toto Collegio tres personas ydoneas et meliores in agilibus et scientiâ ad dictam curam, et eos in scripturâ communi domino Archiepiscopo nominabunt. Quorum unum ex illis sic nominatum, quem voluerit, Archiepiscopus præficiet in Custodem, curam et administrationem tam spiritualium quam temporalium ad ipsam Aulam pertinentium sibi plenius committendo. Habebit insuper dictus Custos undecim Socios actualiter consentientes, et ultra illos unum capellanum, qui nisi rationabili causâ præpediatur de Sociis dictæ Aulæ, cum capellam habuerint ad hoc ordinatam, quotidie celebrabit. Et sic erunt xii Socii in universum præter capellanum sumptibus Aulæ prædictæ, qui omnes dicto Custodi suo (quem præesse et præminere eis et cæteris ministris inferioribus et exterioribus dictæ Aulæ volumus in omnibus quæ ad dictam Aulam et ordinationem ejusdem concernent) humiliter obediunt, verbo et facto pareant et intendant." He was to have £10 per annum.

"Custos autem, si pacem inter Socios discordes trina vice facere neglexerit, aut ipsemet eam notabiliter totiens turbaverit, seu in correctionibus faciendis tot vicibus negligens fuerit aut remissus, vel personarum nimis favorabiliter acceptor; tunc infra mensem ter ad minus interpositis competentibus temporis interstitiis, per seniores Socium de consensu cæterorum Sociorum moneatur, ut se corrigat et defectus suos suppleat; quod si non fecerit, significetur per Socios domino Archiepiscopo, ut ipse eum corrigat et emendet; vel, si incorrigibilis sit, simpliciter amoveat a dicta Aulâ, et alium subroget loco sui." (Wilkins, iii. p. 55.)

"Nobis et successoribus nostris solummodo liceat . . . statuta nostra prædicta, cum et quotiens opus fuerit, declarare, corrigere, adjuvare, et mutare." (Wilkins, iii. p. 58.)

Archbishop Islep may, indeed, have been induced somewhat to modify his original scheme, in consideration of the assistance given to his newly-founded Hall by some of the Religious Houses, as appears above from Document No. VI.; but there is no notice of any such modification in his Register, and the contrary seems implied at line 18 of the next page.

quam ordinationem hujusmodi et statuta (quam et quæ dominus Symon tunc Cantuar' Archiepiscopus nunc Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis petiit humiliter per ipsum dominum Papam haberi pro expressis) idem quondam dominus Simon de Islep dum vixerit quendam fratrem Henricum de Wodehull præfata Cantuar' Ecclesiæ monachum et sacræ theologiæ professorem, per Priorem et Capitulum dictæ Cant' Ecclesiæ ad hoc nominatum, in Custodem dictæ Aulæ seu Collegii præfecerat, et ipsum ad dicti Collegii possessionem, custodiam, et administrationem, tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus, per tres ejusdem Cant' Ecclesiæ monachos, ad hoc debitè nominatos sive electos in socios dictæ Aulæ, recipi fecerat et admitti. Subsequenter eisdem Custodi monacho et Sociis et Aulæ prædictæ Ecclesiam parochialem de Pageham Cicestrensis dioc', patronatûs et immediatæ jurisdictionis Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, appropriaverat et (ut dicebatur) annexaverat, et (ut dicebatur) ecclesiæ possessionem dicti Custos monachus et Collegium tenuerant et habuerant per aliqua tempora : Et licet fundatoris ordinationes et statuta fuissent et essent per Priorem et Capitulum dictæ Ecclesiæ Cant' (ut dicebatur) acceptata et approbata, adeoque dictis Priore et Capitulo invitis nihil in eorum præjudicium circa præmissa debuisset seu deberet immutari, quidam tamen Johannes de Wylyf, in licitâ absentia dicti fratris Henrici monachi Custodis et aliorum monachorum Scolariū dictæ Aulæ, in dicto Collegio et possessione ejusdem se intrudi et Magistrum ejusdem Aulæ nominari procuraverat et fecerat sub dolo et de facto, licet in præmissis quoad factum excusationis colorem quendam conniventia præfati domini fundatoris in gravi infirmitate tunc detenti prætereundum videbatur; qui tamen de jure penitus non procedebat. Verum quia (præfato domino quondam Archiepiscopo fundatore ab hac luce subtracto) Reverendissimus in Christo pater dominus Simon olim Archiepiscopus dictæ Ecclesiæ Cant' nunc verò Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis—considerans dictum Collegium per secularem<sup>1</sup> personam non debere totaliter gubernari obstantibus statutis et ordinationibus supradictis (illudque, si procederet, in grave præjudicium monachorum ecclesiæ Cant' et in enormem ipsius ecclesiæ cederet lesionem)—præfato Johanni intruso et aliis prædicti Collegii Sociis prætensis ipsius incursûs consortibus dederat in mandatis, ut (cessantibus intrusione et ceteris sic de facto præsumptis) præfatum Henricum monachum Custodem (etiam iteratò ex habundanti per dictos Priorem et Capitulum eidem domino Archiepiscopo ad Custodiam et Curam dictæ Aulæ nominatum,<sup>2</sup> et per ipsum dominum Archiepiscopum in Custodiam ejusdem præfectum), juxta præsentationem suam hujusmodi, vel ejus locumtenentem ad Custodiam dictæ Aulæ admitterent ut deberent; sed dictus Johannes intrusus et sui complices hoc facere recusaverant: Perpendens autem ex his et aliis idem dominus Simon tunc Archiepiscopus nunc autem Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis super statu dicti Collegii, ne majora pericula provenirent et præcipuè ne fructus scholasticæ disciplinæ inter monachos (ut præmittitur) inchoatus in aliquo depravatus foret, præfatum Johannem intrusum, se Magistrum et Custodem dicti Collegii prætendentem, et prætensos socios suos Seculares ad exhibendam fundacionem et ordinationem Collegii sive Aulæ prædictas, ac titulum super appropriatione et unione prædictæ Ecclesiæ de Pageham quam asserebant canonice sibi factam, coram se fecerat evocari ad certos locum et terminum competentem. Et quia in termino hujusmodi nichil in eâ parte sufficienter exhibuerant seu allegaverant, idem dominus tunc Archiepiscopus nunc Cardinalis se in fructibus dictæ Ecclesiæ de Pageham sequestrandis debite interpositum fuerat comminatus, ni melius studerent exhibere. Ex quibus dictus Johannes intrusus et præfati consortes sui se fingentes gravatos ad sanctam sedem Apostolicam, tam contra ipsum dominum tunc Archiepiscopum nunc Cardinalem quam fratrem Henricum præfatum, (ut dicitur) appellaverant.

*Commissio Causæ Andruyno Cardinali per dominum Papam Urbanum Quintum.*

Quibus sic per utramque partem sic ut præmittitur expositis et exauditis, idem sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus noster dominus Urbanus papa

(1) This word has been misread "Scolarem" by Lewis, who argues from it that Wickliffe had been one of Archbishop Islep's scholars, before he was made Warden. The word "intrusus" repeatedly applied in this Document to Wyclif and his "consortes" implies the contrary.

(2) Under date "xx die mensis Aprilis," 1367. Eccles. Christi Cant. Reg. K. fol. 67.

Quintus prædictus causas supradictas in expositionibus superius contentas Reverendissimo in Christo patri bonæ memoriæ domino Andruyno, miseracione divinâ tit' Sancti Marcelli presbytero Cardinali, commisit audiendas decidendas et fine debito terminandas cum omnibus suis consequentiis, &c.—The remainder, being substantially comprised in the next document, is for brevity omitted here. Cardinal Adrian's judgment of the case is dated, "in Monteflascon<sup>1</sup> in hospicio habitationis suæ ibidem, Die Lunæ, vicesimâ tertiâ mensis Julii, pontificatûs Urbani Quinti anno septimo," i. e. Monday, July 23d, A. D. 1369: Cardinal Bernard's attestation of it, "apud Monteflascon' in domo habitationis nostræ die quintadecimâ mensis Maii, A. D. 1370, &c."

No. XII.—*Mandatum Apostolicum ad exequendam sententiam Cardinalis Andruyni contra Wyclyffum.*

Urbanus Episcopus servus servorum Dei venerabili fratri Episcopo Londoniensi, et dilectis filiis Abbati Monasterii sancti Albani, Lincoln' Dioceseos, ac Archidiacono Oxon' in Ecclesiâ Lincoln', salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Petitiõ dilectorum filiorum Prioris et Capituli Cant' Ecclesiæ ordinis Sancti Benedicti nobis exhibita continebat, quòd, licet Collegium Aula Cant' nuncupatum Scholarium Universitatis Oxon' Lincoln' Dioces' (in quo quidem Collegio nonnulli Clerici et Scholares esse consueverant) per unum ex Monachis dictæ Ecclesiæ (qui Custos dicti Collegii esse et tres alios Monachos dictæ Ecclesiæ secum habere debet, prout in ipsius Collegii fundatione extitit canonice ordinatum) regi deberet: Tamen dilecti filii Johannes de Wyclyff, Willermus Selbi, Willermus Middleworth, Richardus Bengerus, clerici Eboracensis, Saresburiensis, et Oxoniensis Dioceseos, false asserentes dictum Collegium per clericos Seculares regi debere, dictumque Johannem fore Custodem Collegii supradicti, Henricum de Wodehul Monachum dictæ Cant' Ecclesiæ ac Custodem dicti Collegii, ac nonnullos Monachos dictæ Ecclesiæ cum præfato Henrico in dicto Collegio commorantes, de ipso Collegio excluserunt, ipsosque Collegio ipso ac bonis inibi existentibus, in quorum possessione iidem Henricus et alii Monachi exstebant, spoliarunt, et nonnulla alia in ipsorum Monachorum præjudicium acceptarunt, necnon omnia bona dicti Collegii occuparunt. Propter quod dilectus filius noster Simon tit' sancti Sixti Presbyter Cardinalis tunc Archiepiscopus Cantuar', videns et prospiciens hujusmodi bona dicti Collegii per dictum Johannem et alios clericos supradictos qui ipsius Johannis consortes erant dissipari, fructus parochialis Ecclesiæ de Pageham, Cicestrens' Dioc', sub Jurisdictione Archiep. Cant' pro tempore existentis consistentis, sequestrari fecit: Ortâque propterea inter Johannem de Wyclyff et ejus consortes ex unâ parte, et dictum Cardinalem super præmissis et eorum occasione ex alterâ, materiâ quæstionis, nos causam hujusmodi (cum partes ipsæ in Romanâ Curiâ sufficienter præsentis existerent) bonæ memoriæ Andruyno tit' sancti Marcelli presbytero Cardinali ad earum partium instantiam audiendam commisimus, et fine debito terminandam; et quòd idem Andruynus Cardinalis (prout ei melius et utilius pro statu dicti Collegii videretur expedire) posset a dicto Collegio clericos Seculares amovere, vel (si ei utilius videretur pro Collegio supradicto) Religiosos supradictos ab ipso Collegio auctoritate prædictâ amovere, ita quòd unicum et solum Collegium Regularium vel Secularium remaneret; cum potestate etiam in dictâ causâ simpliciter, et de plano, ac sine strepitu et figurâ judicii procedendi. Coram quo Magistris Richardo Bengero procuratore Johannis et ejus consortium prædictorum, ac Alberto de Mediolano,—per Magistrum Rogerum de Freton procuratorem dictorum Simonis Cardinalis necnon Prioris et Capituli prædictorum (qui quidem Prior et Capitulum pro interesse suo ad causam hujusmodi veniebant) substituto; donec eum revocaret, prout ad hoc ab ipsis Simone Cardinale ac Priore et Capitulo sufficiens mandatum habebat—in Judicio comparentibus; tandem, postquam inter partes ipsas coram eodem Cardinale ad nonnullos actus in causâ hujusmodi processum fuerat, præfatus Richardus quandam petitionem summariam pro parte suâ exhibuit in causâ supradictâ. Postmodum vero nos eidem Andruyno Cardinali commisimus, ut in causâ hujusmodi solâ facti veritate inspectâ procederet, etiam terminis secundum stilum palatii Apostolici servari consuetis non

(1) Monte Fiascone, 12 miles N. N. W. of Viterbo.



servatis. Postinodum vero præfatus Rogerus coram eodem Andruyno Cardinale in judicio comparens nonnullas positiones et articulos, quamdam petitionem summariam in eorum fine continentes, pro parte suâ tradidit in causâ supradictâ; ac deinde, cum generales vacationes in dictâ Curiâ de mandato nostro indictæ fuissent, nos eidem Andruyno Cardinali commisimus, ut in causâ hujusmodi procedere et partes ipsas per suas literas portis Ecclesiæ Viterbiensis affigendas citare posset quociens opus esset, non obstantibus vacationibus supradictis. Idemque Andruynus Cardinalis ad ipsius Rogeri instantiam præfatum Johannem Wycliff et ejus consortes, cum dictus Richardus procurator in dictâ Curiâ diligenter perquisitus reperiri non posset, per suas certi tenoris literas portis dictæ Ecclesiæ Viterbiensis affixas, ad producendum et ad produci videndum omnia jura et munimenta, quibus partes ipsæ vellent in hujusmodi causâ uti, citari fecit ad certum peremptorium terminum competentem: in quo præfatus Rogerus coram eodem Andruyno Cardinale in judicio comparens prædictorum citatorum non comparentium contumaciam accusavit, et in ejus contumaciam nonnullas literas autenticas instrumenta publica et alia jura et munimenta quibus pro parte suâ in hujusmodi causâ voluit uti produxit; idemque Andruynus Cardinalis ad ipsius Rogeri instantiam prædictum Richardum tunc in prædictâ Curiâ repertum ad dicendum contra eadem producta quidquid vellet per portarium suum juratum citari fecit ad certum peremptorium terminum competentem; in quo præfatus Rogerus coram eodem Andruyno Cardinale in judicio comparens prædicti Ricardi non comparentis contumaciam accusavit, præfatusque Andruynus Cardinalis ad dicti Rogeri instantiam prædictum Ricardum ad concludendum et concludi videndum in causâ hujusmodi, vel dicendum causam rationabilem quare in eâ concludi non deberet, per portarium suum juratum citari fecit ad certum terminum peremptorium competentem: in quo Magistro Johanne Cheyne, substituto de novo per dictum Rogerum donec eum revocaret, prout ad hoc a præfatis Dominis suis sufficiens mandatum habebat, coram eodem Andruyno Cardinale in judicio comparente, et dicti Ricardi non comparentis contumaciam accusante, et in ejus contumaciam in hujusmodi causâ concludi petente, supradictus Andruynus Cardinalis reputans eundem Richardum quoad hoc (prout erat) merito contumacem, in ejus contumaciam cum dicto Johanne Cheyne in hujusmodi causâ concludente conclusit, et habuit pro concluso. Subsequenter vero præfatus Andruynus Cardinalis prædictos Johannem de Wycliff et ejus consortes, cum dictus Richardus procurator latitaret et diligenter perquisitus in præfatâ Curiâ reperiri non posset, ad suam in causâ hujusmodi diffinitivam sententiam audiendam per suas certi tenoris literas portis dictæ Ecclesiæ Viterbiensis affixas citari fecit ad competentem peremptorium certum diem: in quo dicto Rogero coram eodem Andruyno Cardinale in judicio comparente, et dictorum citatorum non comparentium contumaciam accusante, et in eorum contumaciam sententiam ipsam ferri petente, memoratus Andruynus Cardinalis reputans eosdem citatos quoad actum hujusmodi (prout erant) merito contumaces, in eorum contumaciam (visis et diligenter inspectis omnibus et singulis actibus actitatis habitis et productis in causâ hujusmodi coram eo, ipsisque cum diligentia recensitis et examinatis, habito super his consilio cum peritis) per suam diffinitivam sententiam ordinavit, pronunciavit, decrevit, et declaravit, solos Monachos prædictæ Cantuar' Ecclesiæ, Secularibus exclusis, debere in dicto Collegio, Aulâ [Cantuar'] nuncupato, perpetuo remanere; ac exclusionem et spoliationem, contra prædictos Monachos per dictum Johannem de Wycliff et ejus consortes prædictos attemptatas, fuisse et esse temerarias injustas et de facto præsumptas, easque in quantum de facto processerint, revocandas et irritandas fore, et quantum in eo fuit revocavit et irritavit; Et Henricum ac alios Monachos supradictos, (sicut præmittitur) spoliatos et de facto exclusos, ad Collegium necnon omnia bona mobilia et immobilia supradicta restituendos et reintegrandos fore, ac restituit et reintegravit; necnon fructuum sequestrationem ad utilitatem dictorum Monachorum relaxavit; Et insuper Johanni de Wycliff et ejus consortibus supradictis super præmissis perpetuum silentium imponendum fore, et imposuit; prout in instrumento publico inde confecto—dilecti filii nostri Bernardi dñodecim Apostolorum Presbyteri Cardinalis (cui nos, præfato Andruyno Cardinale antequam instrumentum super hujusmodi sententiâ confectum sigillasset vitâ functo, commisimus ut instrumentum sigillaret)

sigillo munito — plenius dicitur contineri. Nos itaque dictorum Prioris et Capituli supplicationibus inclinati, hujusmodi diffinitivam sententiam, utpote proinde latam, ratam habentes et gratam, eamque auctoritate Apostolicâ confirmantes, discretioni vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus vos vel duo aut unus vestrum per vos vel alium seu alios sententiam ipsam executioni debitæ demandantes, eamque ubi et quando expedire videritis auctoritate nostrâ solempniter publicantes, Henricum et alios Monachos prædictos ad dictum Collegium, Aulam [Cantuar'] nuncupatum, necnon ejus bona mobilia et immobilia supradicta, amotis exinde dictis Johanne de Wyclif et ejus consortibus prædictis, auctoritate nostrâ restituatis et reintegretis, ac restitutos et reintegratos juxta juris exigentiam defendatis, contradictores per Censuram Ecclesiasticam appellatione postpositâ compescendo. Dat. Viterbii v Idus Maii, Pontificatus nostri anno octavo. [A.D. 1370.]—MS. in Bibl. Lamb. No. 104, fol. 217b.

No. XIII.—*Processus Thomæ Southam, Archidiaconi Oxoniæ, ad exequendum Mandatum Papale contra Wyclevum.*<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Southam, Archidiaconus Oxoniæ, Lincoln. dioc., Executor ad infra-scripta unâ cum aliis Collegis nostris, cum illâ clausulâ 'Quatenus vos vel duo aut unus vestrum per vos vel alium seu alios, &c.' a sede Apostolicâ specialiter deputatus, tibi Johanni Wiclif ac Willermo Selbi, Willermo Middleworde, et Ricardo Benger, clericis, omnibusque aliis et singulis quorum interest, vel intersit, aut interesse poterit, et quos infra-scriptum tangit negocium seu tangere poterit quomodolibet in futuro, quocunque nomine censeantur, salutem in Domino et mandatis nostris ymo veriùs Apostolicis firmiter obedire. Ad vestram et cujuslibet vestrum noticiam deducimus per præsentem, quòd constitutus in præsentia nostrâ coram notario publico et testibus infra-scriptis venerabilis et discretus vir Magister Rogerus de Freton in Romanâ Curiâ advocatus et procurator ac procuratorio nomine venerabilium et religiosorum virorum Prioris et Capituli Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis ordinis Sc<sup>i</sup>. Benedicti, ac Henrici de Wodhull monachi Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ et Custodis sive Magistri Collegii Aulæ Cantuariensis nuncupati, in Universitate Oxoniensi Lincoln' dioc' situatæ, ac monachorum cum eo commorantium in eodem, procurator, de cujus procurationis mandato coram nobis legitimè exstitit facta fides, quasdam literas Apostolicas, verâ bullâ plumbeâ papali cum chordulâ canapis more Romanæ Curie bullatas, unâ cum quodam instrumento publico sententiæ diffinitivæ per bonæ memoriæ Reverendissimum in Christo patrem dominum Andruynum, miseratione divinâ tit' Sc<sup>i</sup>. Marcelli Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ presbyterum Cardinalem, pro dicto domino Henrico Custode sive Magistro dicti Collegii Aulæ [Cant'] nuncupati et monachis in dicto Collegio commorantibus et contra vos Johannem Wiclif, Willermum Selbi, Willermum Middleworde, et Richardum Benger, clericos, et vestrum quemlibet, latæ, ac sigillo Reverendissimi in Christo patris domini Bernardi miseratione Divinâ tit' Basilicæ duodecim Apostolorum presbyteri Cardinalis munito, non abolitas non cancellatas nec in aliquâ sui parte corruptas vel viciatas, nobis præsentavit, easque cum eâ quâ decuit reverentiâ noveritis [nos] recepisse. Quarum literarum Apostolicarum tenor sic incipit: '*Urbanus episcopus servus servorum Dei venerabili patri Episcopo Londoniensi et dilectis filiis Abbati monasterii Sancti Albani Lincolnensis dioc' et Archidiacono Oxoniæ in Ecclesiâ Lincoln', salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Peticio &c.*' et sic finit: '*Discretioni vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus vos vel duo aut unus vestrum per vos vel alium seu alios sententiam ipsam executioni debitæ demandantes, eamque ubi et quando expedire videritis auctoritate nostrâ solempniter publicantes, Henricum et alios monachos prædictos ad dictum Collegium Aulam [Cant'] nuncupatum necnon ejus bona mobilia et immobilia supradicta, amotis exinde dictis Johanne de Wiclif et ejus consortibus prædictis, auctoritate nostrâ restituatis et reintegretis, ac restitutos et reintegratos juxta juris exigentiam defendatis, contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postpositâ compescendo. Dat. Viterbii v Idus Maii, Pontificatus nostri anno octavo.*' Quibus quidem literis coram nobis (ut præfertur) et testibus infra-scriptis per notarium infra-scriptum lectis, visisque per nos, et intellectis,

(1) MS. Lambeth, No. 104, folio 219b; printed now for the first time.

fuimus per Magistrum Rogerum procuratorem antedictum cum instantiâ requisiti, ut dictum mandatum Apostolicum nobis in hac parte directum executioni debitè mandaremus, juxta ipsarum literarum Apostolicarum seriem et tenorem. Nos igitur Johanni de Wiclif ac tuis consortibus omnibus et singulis omnia et singula in dictis literis Apostolicis et instrumento sententiæ contenta tenore præsentium intimamus insinuamus et notificamus ac ad tuam et cujuslibet consortium tuorum noticiam deducimus per præsentem; vobisque universis et singulis sub excommunicationis pœnâ, quam in vos et vestrum quemque canonicâ monicione præmissâ ferimus in hiis scriptis, si mandatorum nostrorum hujusmodi contemptores extiteritis seu contemptor extiterit aliquis vestrum, districtè præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus infra sex dierum spacium post denunciationem seu intimationem præsentem vobis seu alicui vestrum factam, quorum dierum duos pro primo, duos pro secundo, et reliquos duos dies pro tercio et peremptorio termino ac monicione canonicâ assignamus, Collegium Aulam [Cant'] nuncupatum eidem Henrico de Wodhull aut cuicunque alteri Magistro sive Custodi loco sui forsan deputato ac Monachis cum dicto Magistro in dicto Collegio commorantibus seu mansuris (tanquam et eorum cuilibet de jure debitum et per dictam sententiam diffinitivam adjudicatum) cum omnibus suis juribus fructibus redditibus proventibus obvencionibus aliisque bonis dicto Collegio qualitercunque pertinentibus universis, omnino dimittatis et quisque vestrum dimittat, ac eisdem Magistro et monachis supradictis restituere liberè et reintegrare non postponatis nec postponere præsumatis, postponat aut postponere præsumat aliquis vestrum, sub pœnis et censuris supradictis. Teque Johannem Wiclif ac omnes et singulos quos tuos in dicto Collegio reputas ad præsens seu antea reputasti consortes, et quoscunque alios, ab occupatione et detensione dicti Collegii Aulæ [Cant'] nuncupati ac quorumcunque bonorum ad dictum Collegium pertinentium administratione auctoritate prædictâ (quantum possumus) amovemus et denunciamus amotum per præsentem: Eundemque dictum Henricum aut quemcunque alium Magistrum loco sui in dicto Collegio forsan deputatum ac monachos cum eo in dicto Collegio commorantes ad dictum Collegium Aulam [Cant'] nuncupatum regendum et gubernandum omniaque alia bona et singula mobilia et immobilia ad dictum Collegium Aulam [Cant'] nuncupatum tam de jure quam de consuetudine qualitercunque pertinentia auctoritate prædictâ restitimus et (quantum possumus) reintegramus: Eundemque Magistrum Rogerum procuratorem in personas dicti domini Henrici de Wodhull, seu cujuscunque alterius Magistri sive Custodis deputati seu deputandi loco ejusdem, ac monachorum; necnon dictos dominum Henricum et quemcunque alium Magistrum forsan loco sui deputatum seu deputandum ac monachos in personam dicti magistri Rogeri eorum procuratoris, in possessione Collegii Aulæ [Cant'] nuncupati membrorumque et pertinentium ejusdem per birreti nostri traditionem (quantum possumus) inducimus et investimus de eodem: Inhibentes nihilominus tibi Johanni de Wiclif ac illis etiam omnibus et singulis quos tuos in hac parte reputasti seu reputas (ut prædicitur) consortes et vestrum cuique in solido sub pœnis antedictis, quòd de Collegio Aulâ [Cant'] nuncupato prædicto seu bonis qualitercunque eidem pertinentibus de cetero non intromittas nec intromittat aliquis vestrum quovismodo; nec eidem Magistro aut monachis in dicto Collegio Aulâ [Cant'] nuncupato ad præsens commorantibus seu in futurum mansuris, per te vos alium vel alios publicè vel occultè directè vel indirectè, deinceps molestiam aliquam inferas seu inferat aliquis vestrum vel jacturam; Sed permittas et quisque vestrum permittat ipsos Magistrum et Monachos ipsis Collegii jurumque et pertinentium ejusdem pacificâ possessione gaudere, eisque et eorum cuilibet de fructibus redditibus juribus et obvencionibus universis ad dictum Collegium Aulam [Cant'] nuncupatum pertinentibus respondeatis et faciatis ab aliis (quantum in vobis est) responderi. Nos etiam in te Johannem de Wiclif tuosque in hac parte consortes ac omnes alios et singulos mandata nostra hujusmodi contemptentes ac eis obedire minimè curantes seu non parentes cum effectu; necnon in omnes et singulos contradictores et rebelles eisdem Magistro Collegii Aulæ [Cant'] nuncupati aut monachis in dicto Collegio commorantibus seu mansuris super juribus et bonis dicto Collegio et eis (ut

præferitur) pertinentibus, aut ipsos impediētes seu in aliquo perturbantes publicè vel occultè tam clericos quam seculares, seu ipsis Johanni de Wiclif vel ejus consortibus ad impediendum in aliquo ipsos Magistrum et monachos auxilium consilium vel favorem præbentes, eorumque omnium et singulorum complices auctores et fautores; necnon in quacunque alias personas fructus redditus et proventus aut aliquod jus dicto Collegio Aulæ [Cant'] nuncupato de jure vel consuetudine pertinentes occupantes seu injustè detinentes (nisi infra tempus prædictum satisfecerint dicto Collegio de præmissis) exnunc prout extunc, canonicâ monicione præmissâ, excommunicationis sententiam ferimus in hiis scriptis et etiam promulgamus. Ceterum cum ad executionem ulteriorem super præmissis aliis in Romanâ Curiâ occupati negociis intendere non valemus, Priori de Lewes, Priori Nigrorum Monachorum in Universitate Oxoniæ, Cancellario Saresburiensi, Magistro Rogero de Freton decano Cicestrensi, ac Magistro Waltero Baketon doctorum doctori canonico Cicestrensi, et eorum cuique in solido, in virtute sanctæ obedienciæ et sub excommunicationis pœnâ, quam in eos et in eorum quemque exnunc prout extunc eâdem canonicâ monicione præmissâ ferimus in hiis scriptis, si mandata nostra hujusmodi neglexerint adimplere, districtè præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus ipsi vel eorum alter qui super hoc requisitus fuerit ad Collegium Aulam [Cant'] nuncupatum supradictum, et ad domum habitationis dictorum Johannis de Wiclif suorumque consortium, necnon ad alia loca de quibus expediens fuerit, personaliter accedant seu accedat, quum super hoc fuerit requisitus, et dictas literas Apostolicas instrumentum sententiæ et hunc nostrum processum et alia quæ pro hujusmodi executione negotii expediens videbitur, in dictâ Universitate Oxoniæ et alibi ubi necessarium fuerit et fuerint requisiti seu aliquis vestrum ad hoc faciendum congruè fuerit requisitus, tibi Johanni de Wiclif et tuis consortibus omnibusque aliis et singulis quorum interest intersit seu interesse poterit in futuro, conjunctim vel divisim, denuncient notificent legant legi faciant et publicari procurent; et dictos Magistrum Henricum aut quemcunque alium Magistrum seu Custodem loco sui in dicto Collegio forsan deputato vel deputandum, ac monachos cum eo in dicto Collegio commorantes, in corporalem possessionem dicti Collegii Aulæ [Cant'] nuncupati jurumque et pertinentium ipsius inducant et defendant inductos; eisque et eorum cuilibet faciant de ipsius Collegii Aulæ [Cant'] nuncupati fructibus redditibus proventibus juribus et obventionibus universis a quibuscunque personis integrè responderi; ac illos qui prædictas excommunicationis sententias per nos latas incurrerint quoquomodo, tamdiu ubi et quando expedire viderint, singulis diebus dominicis et festis inter missarum solemniam pulsatis campanis, Cruce rectâ, candelis accensis et demum extinctis, excommunicatos denuncient et faciant publicè ab aliis denunciari, et ab omnibus mandent arctius evitari, donec nostris et Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ voluerint parere mandatis et absolutionis beneficium in formâ juris meruerint obtinere. Vicesque nostras committimus cum cujuslibet coactionis canonicæ potestate, donec eas ad nos duxerimus revocandas, mandatum nostrum ymo veriùs Apostolicum super hiis fideliter exequendo, juxta traditam seu directam à sede Apostolicâ nobis formam; Ita tamen quòd in eorundem Magistri et Monachorum antedictorum præjudicium nichil valeant attemptare. Præfatas quoque literas Apostolicas instrumentum sententiæ et hunc nostrum processum volumus penes Magistrum Collegii Aulæ [Cant'] nuncupati aut monachos supradictos vel eorum procuratorem remanere, et non per vos vel quemquam alium contra prædictorum Magistri et monachorum vel eorum procuratoris voluntatem detineri: Contrarium vero facientes præfatis nostris sententiis, prout superiùs latæ sunt, canonicâ monicione præmissâ volumus subiacere. Mandamus tamen dictis Magistro et monachis et eorum procuratoribus, ut vobis faciant (si petieritis) copiam de præmissis, vestris tamen sumptibus et expensis. Et si forte contingat nos super præmissis in aliquo procedere (de quo nobis potestatem plenariam reservamus), non intendimus propterea commissionem nostram hujusmodi in aliquo revocare, nisi de revocatione hujusmodi in nostris literis facta fuerit mencio specialis. Per hunc etiam nostrum processum non intendimus in aliquo nostris præjudicare Collegis, quominùs ipsi vel eorum alter (servato tamen hoc nostro processu) possint in hujusmodi negotio procedere per se vel alium seu alios, prout eis et eorum alteri videbitur expedire: Absoluzione vero omnium et singulorum, qui præfatas nostras sententias incurrerint quoquomodo, nobis vel superiori nostrq tantum-

modo reservatâ. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium plenior, præsentem nostrum processum sive præsens publicum instrumentum per notarium publicum infrascriptum subscribi et publicari mandavimus. Et quia sigillum autenticum ad præsens non habemus, sigillum Reverendissimi in Christo patris domini Symonis, tit' Sancti Sixti Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ presbyteri Cardinalis, præsentibus apponi procuravimus. Et nos Symon Cardinalis antedictus sigillum nostrum, ad rogatum dicti domini Thomæ Executoris, præsentibus fecimus apponi. Datum et actum in Claustris fratrum Augustiniensium extra muros Mont' Flascon', sub anno a nativitate Domini Millesimo ccc<sup>mo</sup>. septuagesimo, Indictione octavâ, Mensis Maii die vicesimâ septimâ, pontificatûs sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Urbani Divinâ providentiâ Papæ Quinti anno octavo; præsentibus venerabilibus et discretis viris dominis Ade de Eston in sacrâ theologiâ professore, Willermo de Preston rectore parochialis ecclesiæ de Oke, magistro Johanne de Upton bacalario in legibus, et domino Willermo Bary perpetuo vicario parochialis Ecclesiæ de Pedyngton, Norwicen' Lincolnien' Wygornien' et Dunelimen' dioc', testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Et ego Richardus de Croxton clericus Elien' dioc', publicus Apostolicâ et Imperiali auctoritate notarius, præmissis omnibus et singulis prout superscribuntur et dum hæc per dominum Executorem et coram eo agerentur et fierent, sub anno indictione Pontificatu mense die et loco predictis, unâ cum prænominatis testibus, præsens interfui, ac ea omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audiui, et in hanc publicam formam redegei; aliisque negociis occupatus de mandato dicti domini Executoris per alium scribi feci, signoque meo solito unâ cum appensione [sigilli] dicti Reverendissimi patris et domini Cardinalis signavi, rogatus et requisitus, in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum præmissorum.

No. XIV.—*Regia Pardonatio omnium Foris-facturarum Aulæ Cantuariensis et eidem pertinentium, et Confirmatio Papalis Sententiæ Deprivationis Wycliff.*

Edwardus, Dei gratiâ Rex Angliæ et Franciæ et Dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus ad quos præsentis literæ pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quòd, cum nuper (ut accepimus) de gratiâ nostrâ speciali et ad devotam supplicationem Simonis tunc Archiepiscopi Cant' qui de Islep cognominatus extiterat, piè desiderantis incrementum salubre Cleri nostri propter multiplicationem doctrinæ salutaris, per literas nostras patentes sub magno sigillo nostro concesserimus et licentiam dederimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris (quantum in nobis erat) eidem Archiepiscopo, quòd ipse in Universitate Oxon' quandam Aulam sive Domum Aulam Cantuar' vulgariter et communiter vocitandam, in quâ certus foret numerus Scolarum tam Religiosorum quam Secularium, actibus scolasticis insistentium et Deo pro nobis et salute Regni nostri specialiter exorantium, secundum ordinationis formam inde per eundem Archiepiscopum super hoc faciendâ, suis sumptibus erigere posset et fundare, et eisdem Scolariibus in perpetuum assignare; et (in eventu quo Domus sive Aula sit fundata et iScolares in eâ assignati forent) advocationem Ecclesiæ de Pageham Jurisdictionis ipsius Archiepiscopi immediatæ (quæ quidem Ecclesia de advocatione propriâ ejusdem Archiepiscopi et de jure suo Archiepiscopali extiterat, et quæ quidem Advocatio de nobis tenebatur in capite, ut dicebatur) eidem Scolariibus dare posset et etiam assignare, habendam et tenendam præfatis Scolariibus et successoribus suis de nobis et hæredibus nostris in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam in perpetuum;—Et eisdem Scolariibus, quòd ipsi tam Aulam quam advocationem prædictas a præfato Archiepiscopo recipere, et Ecclesiam illam appropriare, et eam sic appropriatam in proprios usus tenere possent sibi et successoribus suis prædictis, pro nobis et salute regni nostri oraturi, juxta ordinationem prædicti Archiepiscopi, de nobis et hæredibus nostris in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam in perpetuum, sicut prædictum est:—Dictusque Archiepiscopus postmodum juxta dictam licentiam nostram quandam Aulam Collegiatam sub certo Scolarum studentium numero in Universitate prædictâ vocabulo Aulæ Cantuariensis exerexit et fundaverit, certosque Monachos Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar' unum videlicet Monachum Custodem Aulæ ejusdem, cæterosque Scolares in eâdem, unâ cum certis aliis Scolariibus Secularibus in Aulâ prædictâ ordinaverit et constituerit;



et eis Aulam illam, necnon advocacionem prædictam, dederit et assignaverit eisdem Custodi et Scolariis et successoribus suis perpetuo possidendas, ipsique Custos et Scholares dictas Aulam et advocacionem a præfato Archiepiscopo receperint, ac Ecclesiam prædictam sibi et successoribus suis in proprios usus unâ cum Aulâ prædictâ in perpetuum habendas appropriaverint:—Ac deinde, *præter licentiam nostram supradictam* amotis omnino per prædictum Archiepiscopum dictis Custode et cæteris Monachis Scolariis videlicet Regularibus ab Aulâ prædictâ, idem Archiepiscopus quendam Secularem<sup>1</sup> Custodem dictæ Aulæ ac cæteros omnes Scholares in eâdem Seculares<sup>1</sup> duntaxat constituerit, eisdemque Custodi et Scolariis Secularibus duntaxat in proprios usus perpetuo possidendas dederit et assignaverit, ipsique Custos et Scholares Seculares duntaxat Aulam et Ecclesiam prædictas ex tunc continuatis temporibus durante vitâ præfati Archiepiscopi possederint, tam fructus dictæ Ecclesiæ quam alia bona ad Aulam prædictam spectantia usibus suis propriis applicantes.—Et demum defuncto dicto Archiepiscopo, ac Reverendo in Christo Patre Simone tir' sancti Sixti Presbytero Cardinale tunc in Archiepiscopum Cantuar' consecrato, idem Cardinalis tunc Archiepiscopus fructus dictæ Ecclesiæ de Pageham sequestrari fecerit: Ortâque propterea inter dictos Custodem et Scholares Seculares ex parte unâ et præfatum Cardinalem super præmissis et eorum occasione ex alterâ materiâ quæstionis, appellationeque interpositâ, et habito inde processu in Romanâ Curiâ, auctoritate Apostolicâ videlicet felicis recordationis Domini Urbani Papæ Quinti per diffinitivam sententiam de facto ordinatum fuerit ibidem pronunciatum decretum et declaratum, solos Monachos prædictæ Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ, Secularibus exclusis, debere in dicto Collegio Aula [Cantuar'] nuncupato perpetuo remanere, necnon dictos Monachum Custodem ac alios Monachos Scholares, sic de facto (ut præmittitur) a dicto Collegio ac bonis inibi existentibus (in quorum possessione fuerant) per amotionem hujusmodi et occupationem dictorum Secularis Custodis et Scolariis Secularium spoliatis et exclusis, ad Collegium illud necnon ad omnia bona supradicta et omnia alia bona mobilia et immobilia dicti Collegii, per eosdem Secularem Custodem et Scholares Seculares post amotionem prædictam occupata, restituendos et reintegrandos fore:—Ac jam dilecti nobis in Christo Prior et Conventus Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar' antedictæ, virtute dictorum ordinationis pronuntiationi decreti et declarationis auctoritate Apostolicâ factorum (uti præmittitur), quendam (ut asseritur) Commonachum suum ejusdem Ecclesiæ Christi Custodem dicti Collegii Aulæ [Cant'] nuncupati, ac certos alios Commonachos suos dictæ Ecclesiæ Christi Scholares in eodem Collegio ordinaverint et constituerint, amotis dictis Secularibus ab eodem penitus et exclusis, *contra formam licentiæ nostræ supradictæ*:—Nos, quanquam dicta advocatio Ecclesiæ de Pageham per aliquem progenitorum nostrorum unâ cum aliquibus prædiis seu tenementis aliis in dotationem fundationem seu aliâs in augmentationem Archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis, sen Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar' antedictæ, data, concessa, seu assignata extiterat, volentes nihilominus, ob devotionem sinceram quam [habemus] ad dictam Ecclesiam Christi Cant' et beatum Thomam Martyrem quondam ejusdem Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopum, cujus corpus gloriosè cathalogo sanctorum ascriptum quiescit honorabiliter in eâdem, securitati tam dictorum Prioris et Conventus quam Commonachorum suorum, quos ipsi Prior et Conventus Custodem dicti Collegii et Scholares in eodem jam (ut præmittitur) ordinarunt, et in futurum ordinaverint, providere; de gratiâ nostrâ speciali et pro ducentis marcis quas dicti Prior et Conventus nobis solverunt in huiusmodi nostro perdonavimus omnes transgressiones factas, necnon forisfacturam, si qua dictæ Aulæ cum pertinentiis et advocacionis prædictæ virtute statuti de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis editi vel aliâs nobis incursa fuerit in hac parte; dictasque sententiam, ordinationem, pronuntiationem, decretum, et declarationem auctoritate Apostolicâ factas

(1) This word has been hitherto misprinted "scolarem," and proof was thought to be furnished from this passage also, that Wickliffe was a Scholar of Canterbury Hall before he was Warden. (See p. 929, note (1).) When Wodehull and his three fellow Monks were excluded from the Hall, Wickliffe and his three fellow Seculars are mentioned as occupying their room. These last must therefore have been newly introduced, otherwise the "duodenus numerus" would have been incomplete.

(ut prædictum est), et executionem eorundem, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris (quantum in nobis est) acceptamus, approbamus, ratificamus, et confirmamus; volentes et concedentes pro nobis et hæredibus nostris (quantum in nobis est), quòd prædicti Custos et cæteri Scholares Regulares dicti Collegii Aulæ Cantuar' nuncupati, Monachi dictæ Ecclesiæ Christi Cant', et eorum successores per prædictos Priorem et Conventum constituti, et per eosdem Priorem et Conventum et eorum successores constituendi, seu aliàs loco amovendorum substituendi, actibus scolasticis juxta ordinationem ipsorum Prioris et Conventus et successorum suorum religiosè insistentes, Aulam prædictam teneamenta que in ipsâ contenta cum pertinentiis, necnon Ecclesiam prædictam et advocationem ejusdem, in usus proprios ipsorum Custodis et scholarium Regularium teneant, videlicet dictam Aulam et prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis, quæ de nobis in burgagium tenentur (ut dicitur) de nobis et hæredibus nostris ac aliis Capitalibus Dominis feodi per servitia inde debita et consueta, et dictas Ecclesiam et advocationem de nobis et hæredibus nostris in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam, ad orandum specialiter pro salute animæ nostræ et pro animabus progenitorum nostrorum ac hæredum nostrorum in perpetuum, sine occasione vel impedimento nostrî vel hæredum nostrorum, Justitiariorum Escaetorum, vicecomitum, aut aliorum ballivorum seu ministrorum nostrorum vel hæredum nostrorum quorumcunque; statuto vel forisfacturâ prædictis, aut dictis donatione, concessione, seu assignatione advocationis prædictæ per aliquem progenitorum nostrorum in dotationem, fundationem, vel aliàs in augmentationem Archiepiscopatus seu Ecclesiæ Christi prædictorum, seu dictâ fundatione per præfatum Simonem de Islep quondam Archiepiscopum tam pro studentibus sive scholaribus Regularibus quam Secularibus factâ (ut præmittitur), seu aliquo alio præmissorum,—non obstantibus. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westm' octavo die Aprilis, anno Regni nostri Angliæ quadragesimo sexto, Regni vero nostri Franciæ tricesimo tertio. [A. d. 1372.]—Privy Seals 46 Ed. III., and MS. in Bibl. Lamb. No. 104, fol. 209.

No. XV.—*Confirmatio appropriationis Ecclesiæ de Pageham Custodi et Scholaribus Aulæ Cantuariensis.*<sup>1</sup>

Universis sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ filiis præsentes literas inspecturis Willielmus permissione divinâ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et Apostolicæ sedis legatus, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Vestra noverit universitas, bonæ memoriæ dominum Simonem de Islep, nuper Cantuar' Archiepiscopum predecessorem nostrum, ecclesiam parochialem de Pageham nostræ jurisdictionis immediatæ cum suis membris juribus et pertinentiis universis Custodi et Studentibus Aulæ Cantuar' vulgariter nuncupatæ, in Universitate Oxon' per ipsum predecessorem nostrum fundatæ, et Collegio dictæ Aulæ appropriâsse annexisse et unisse, et literas super hoc fecisse sub formâ quæ sequitur, nihil addito seu mutato, prout in registro dicti predecessoris nostri de verbo ad verbum invenimus veraciter contineri. *Universis sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ filiis ad quos præsentis literæ pervenerint, &c.* [See No. IV. suprâ.] Quam quidem appropriationem sic (ut præmittitur) per ipsum predecessorem nostrum factam, quatenus ad nos attinet et de jure facere possumus, ex nostrâ gratiâ speciali ratificamus approbamus ac in tenore præsentium confirmamus. In quorum omnium et singulorum testimonium sigillum nostrum fecimus his apponi. Datum apud Lambeth' xvij Kal. Maii A<sup>o</sup>. D<sup>i</sup>. millesimo ccc<sup>mo</sup>. lxxij<sup>o</sup>, et nostræ translationis quarto.

No. XVI.—*Bulla Papalis pro dispensatione cum Statuto Universitatis Oxon' &c.*

Gregorius episcopus servus servorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Apostolicæ servitutis nobis injunctæ desuper officium mentem nostram incitat et inducit, ut circa ea quæ statui prospero personarum sub religionis habitu Domino famulantium ac literarum studio Theologicæ facultatis insistentium opportuna fore conspiciamus operosis studiis intendamus. Oblata siquidem nobis pro parte dilectorum filiorum Custodis ac scholarium Monachorum collegii sive domus Aulæ Cantuariensis nuncupatæ Studii Oxon' ordini Sancti Benedicti Lincoln' dioceseos petitionis series continebat, quòd in ipso Studio quoddam

Statutum existit, quo cavetur expressè, ut nullus ibidem ad honorem Magisterii in Theologîâ assumatur, nisi prius rexerit in Artium facultate; et quòd etiam de antiquâ et approbatâ consuetudine hactenus pacificè observatâ in eodem Studio nullus Religiosus, cujuscunque ordinis existat, ad regendum admittatur in eâdem Universitate in Artium facultate prædictâ; propter quod ipsi Custos et Scholares, quamvis sint in primitivis scientiis sufficienter instructi, ac aliàs ad hoc sufficientes et idonei ad hujusmodi Magisterii honorem in eâdem Theologîâ recipiendum, minimè admittuntur ibidem. Quare pro parte ipsorum Custodis et Collegii nobis existit humiliter supplicatum, ut providere ipsis super hoc de benignitate Apostolicâ dignaremur. Nos igitur volentes eosdem Custodem et Collegium favore prosequi, graciosè hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, volumus ac eisdem Custodi et Collegio Apostolicâ auctoritate concedimus, quòd Custos et Scholares dicti Collegii qui sunt et erunt pro tempore, quamvis non rexerint in hujusmodi Artium facultate, dummodò aliàs in primitivis scientiis sufficienter fuerint instructi, ac cursus suos fecerint in Theologicâ facultate, et per diligentem examinationem, juxta morem ipsius Studii, sufficientes et idonei reperti extiterint ad Magisterium recipiendum in eâdem, ad hujusmodi Magisterii honorem et docendi licentiam in ipsâ Theologicâ facultate in Studio supradicto (servatis tamen Constitutionibus Viennensis Concilii ac felicis recordationis Benedicti Papæ XII. predecessoris nostri, et aliis solemnitatibus in talibus consuetis) sublato cujuslibet difficultatis obstaculo liberè admittantur, non obstante Statuto et consuetudine hujusmodi, etiamsi juramento, confirmatione Apostolicâ, vel quacunque aliâ firmitate roborata existat, quæ aliàs in suo volumus robore permanere. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ voluntatis et concessionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare præsumpserit, indignationi Omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursum. Datum Avinionæ iv Non. Decembris, pontificatûs nostri anno quinto. [A. D. 1375.]—Ex. MS. in Bibl. Lamb. No. 104, folio 209.

## EARLY NOTICES OF DIFFERENT WYCLIFFES.

IN the Subsidy Rolls, 1 Ed. III. [A.D. 1327], we find Robert de Wyclive taxed 1s. 6*d.* at Wyclive cum Gyllinge: in the Subsidy Rolls, 6 Ed. III. [A.D. 1332], we find Rogerus de Wycliff taxed 3*s.*, and Millo de Wycliff 8*d.*, at Wycliffe cum Grillington.

For the Wycliffe pedigree, see note in Appendix to Vol. III. page 53.

The following Table of early Rectors of Wycliffe on the Tees is printed in Dr. Whitaker's Richmondshire, from Torre's Archdeaconry of Richmond.

<i>Instituted.</i>	<i>Rector.</i>	<i>Patron.</i>	<i>Vacant.</i>
	Dns. John de Clervaulx.		per Mort'.
2 Augt. 1362.	Dns. Robert de Wycliffe. Cl.	Catharine relictæ Rogi de Wycliffe.	
7 Augt. 1363.	Dns. William de Wycliffe.	Johannes de Wycliffe.	
7 Augt. 1369.	Dns. Henry Hugate, Cap. Dns. William Marshall.	Idem.	per Mort'.
17 May, 1435.	John Forster, Cap.	Johannes de Wycliffe, Armiger.	

For the Will of Robertus de Wyclyf, dated Sept. 8th, 1423, from the Durham Langley Register, fol. 115, see *Testamenta Eboracensia* (Surttees' Society).

IN Baliol College, from Carta No. 34 in pyxide Mickle Benton it appears, that Robert de Serby was Master of Baliol Nov. 20th, 1356: in the same pyxis is another Carta, which represents "Mag. Joh. de Wiclif" as "procurator magi. et scholarium" "die Lunæ in fest. Natal. Dni. Edw. III. 34," *i. e.* Monday, Dec. 28th, 1360. The presumption is, that John de Wiclif was then Master of Baliol; for in pyxide Abbotsley, Nos. 9—13, are five Cartæ relating to a vacancy in the living of Abbotsley, in one of which (Carta 10), dated April 9th, 1361, the "Scholares" of Baliol (among whom appears one William de Wycliff) present "Johñes de Wycliff Magister sive Custos Collegii vel Aulæ de Balliolo, suburb. Oxon." to the rectory of Abbotsley, and appoint him their "procurator" for taking possession of the living. From another Carta it appears that he went to the spot, rang the bells, and performed all things usual at the induction of a clergyman; and the Gynwell Register, folio 367, states that he presented himself before the bishop of Lincoln as "Custos sive Magister Aulæ de Balliolo," and exhibited the Pope's Bull for the appropriation of Abbotsley to Baliol, in July 1361. The same Register, folio 123, shows that he was instituted to the rectory of Fylingham May 14th, 1361, on the presentation of the Master and Scholars of Baliol, at which time we know that he was Master from the Abbotsley transaction. From Carta 28 in pyxide Stî. Laurentii in Judaismo it appears that John Hugate was Master of Baliol in 1366. The mention above of Henry Hugate as presented by John de Wyclif to the rectory of Wyclif on the Tees, shows a connexion or friendship between the Wyclifs and the Hugates; and that John Hugate succeeded John de Wyclif in the Mastership collaterally proves that John Wyclif of Baliol belonged to the family on the Tees.

From the Bokyngham Register, Memoranda folio 56, we learn that John de Wycleve, rector of Fylingham, obtained, April 13th, 1368, a licence of non-residence for two years "insistendo literarum studio in Universitate Oxon.;" and from the same Register, folio 419, it appears that Nov. 12th following he exchanged Fylingham for Ludgershall, on the presentation of "Frater Johannes

de Pavely, Prior Hospitalis Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia." It appears from the same Register that Wycliffe was still rector of Ludgershall Nov. 11th, 1371; and that William Neubald was rector May 29th, 1376. See also p. 944, *infra*.

In the Patent Rolls, 48 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 23, and the Privy Seals, 48 Ed. III., we find a grant of Royal Letters presenting "*dilectum clericum nostrum Johannem de Wyclif*" to the rectory of Lutterworth, dated Shene "*vii. die Aprilis, anno regni quadragesimo octavo*," 1374. He went shortly after on an embassy to treat with the Pope's envoys at Bruges, in Flanders (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vii. 41): in the Exchequer account given in by Wycliffe, he acknowledges having received 60*l.* for his expenses July 31st, anno Regis 48: the charges were, at 20*s.* per diem from July 27th, the day on which he set out from London, to Sept. 14th, the day on which he returned, 50*l.*; the passage both ways, 2*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*; total 52*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* He is called Prebendary of Aust, in the Collegiate Church of Westbury, diocese of Worcester, about July 13th, 1375, and is stated to have had royal letters "*per breve de privato sigillo*," ratifying his appointment, dated Nov. 6th, Pat. Rolls, 49 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 8: there is no notice of it, however, among the Privy Seals, and another person was appointed to the same prebend Nov. 18th, Pat. Rolls, 49 Ed. III. p. 2. m. 11.

Queen's College, Oxford, was at first a house in which three or four students in theology, with the name of "*scholars*," answering to the modern "*fellows*," found a poor subsistence. There is no list extant of original entrances in 1340, but the Bursar's Compoti for 1347, 1350, and for most years after that, are extant, wholly or in part. This series has been very carefully examined by an antiquary of the last century, and recently within the last year: from these it appears that there were usually four sets of rooms let in the College, evidently not always to members of the College. On these rolls we find mentioned not only John Wyclif, but also John de Trevysa and Nicholas Herford, known friends of the Reformer; and (what is very important) William Middleworth and William Selby, two of the three "*consortes*" of John Wyclif in the affair of Canterbury Hall. (See above, p. 930.) The following extracts from these "*Compoti*," never before made public, will be acceptable to the reader.

1363 ("*ab 8<sup>o</sup> die Oct. 1363 ad 19 Oct. 1364*"). "*Item duobus operariis circa cameram Wiclif per quatuor dies iiis.*"

1365 ("*a 21<sup>o</sup> Martii, 1365, usque ad 26 Sept. 1366*"). "*Item de duobus annis de camera Wyclive xls.*"

1369 Heading "*Compotus Mag. Joh. Trevysa a 5 Maii ad 29 Sept. 1369.*" Middleworth, Herford, and Trevysa, are all Fellows this year.

1369—72 (from Sept. to Sept.). The same three are Fellows during these three years.

1373—4 (from Sept. to Sept.). The same three are Fellows. Treviza's chamber repaired. His name is spelt two ways on this roll.

1374—5 (from Sept. to Sept.). Herford (*sic*) and Middelworth are now acting as Bursars, with two others. Middelworth and another go to London on College business.

"*Item pro stramine ad co-operiendam latrinam Wyclif iis. Item mulieri trahenti idem iiij*d.* Item de x*d.* solutis co-operienti latrinam Wyclif. Item de 1*d.* obm. pro nouschyn<sup>1</sup> ad eandem. Item pro lateribus et clavis ad idem opus vi*d.* Item de x*d.* solutis uni tegulatori super latrinam Wyclif."* Among the "*Pensiones*" we have, "*Item pro camera Mag. Joh. Wiclif xxs.*"

1378—9 (July to July). Middelworth is Fellow.

1380 (beginning Aug. 2). For chamber rent we find these entries:—

"*Pro pensione Selby xxs.*"

"*Pro pensione Wiclif xxs.*"

1381 (a festo S. Dionysii, 1381, ad F. Circumcisionis, 1382), payment to Willielmo Middelwrye as a Fellow.

1385. "*Item pro expensis præpositi et Medulworth London ante festum Natalis Domini iiii*l.* xix*s.* vii*d.* ob.*" (N.B.—Middleworth is not a Fellow this year.) "*Item pro brevibus pro Trevisa et Trevet x*d.**" "*Item pro brevibus*

(1) *Nouschyn* probably means a door-fastening: see Du Cange vv. *Nochia* and *Nusca*: and Schiller's Gloss. Teuton. in v. *Nuosci*, where it appears that *Nuschin* (Teut.) means Fibula, a clasp or buckle.



contra Trevisa *xxd.* in Festo Joh. Bapt." Among the "*Pensiones camerarum*" we have "*Item rec. de M. Willielmo Selby pro duobus annis xxs.*" "*Item de M. Willielmo Medulworth xliis. iiijd.*"

1386 (November). "*Item tectoribus pro Camera Selby et pro latrinâ ix d.*" Selby is again mentioned among the "*pensiones camerarum.*"

"*Item rec. de M. Joh. Trevisa iiii l. viz. iiii marc. pro pensione cameræ suæ de quatuor annis præcedentibus, et vis. viij d. ad satisfaciendum pro brevibus contra ipsum impetratis.*"

1388. Selby again pays chamber rent.

1392—3. A man is sent to Lincoln "*pro testamento Willielmi Selby ex præcepto præpositi.*" Johannes Trevisa pays *xxs.* "*per manus Cowby servientis sui,*" part of an old debt; he was, therefore, no longer resident.

1394—5 ("*a festo transl. S. Thomæ episc. 1394,*" to the same in 1395). John Trevisa pays "*xxs. de antiquâ obligatione suâ.*" "*Item de Mag. Will. Middelwvord pro magnis concordantiis iiii l. xliis. iiii d.*" Middelwvord makes a donation "*ad dorsarium<sup>1</sup> Aulæ.*"

1395—6. John Trevisa pays room-rent "*pro anno regis xviii.*" [1394—5.]

1398—9. John Trevisa pays part of an old debt.

The above Extracts have been made from the Bursars' Rolls, after a careful examination of them from 1347 to 1400, omitting 1348, 1349; and the Editor is much indebted to the Rev. William Thomson, M.A., Fellow Tutor and Bursar of Queen's College, for his kindness in copying and transmitting them.

The John Wyclif here mentioned, closely connected as he was with Trevisa and Herford, Selby and Middleworth, may fairly be presumed to have been both the Reformer and the Warden of Canterbury Hall. It seems fair to conclude also, that he was the same with the John de Wyclif of Baliol, who probably, after vacating the Mastership in consequence of accepting the rectory of Fylingham, resided some time on his benefice, then returned to Oxford about Christmas 1363, and resided at Queen's for two years, not as a Fellow, but as a Divinity Student, maintaining himself on his rectory. This account would synchronise with the above Extracts, and with the appointment to the Wardenship of Canterbury Hall in Dec. 1365. It is worthy of remark, that the Master and Scholars of Baliol had given a message in Oxford toward Islep's infant foundation (see Document VI. above), which would be an additional recommendation of the Wyclif of Baliol to Islep's favour.

In Merton College it appears from the Compotus of Richard Byllingham, who was Bursar from the Annunciation to the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula in 30 Ed. III., that one Wyklif was Seneschal or Steward for the week in which Ascension day fell (*i. e.* June 2d, 1356, by Nicolas's Tables); which will account for the sum received by him from the Bursar for the Fellows' commons that week being above the average; "*Wyklif iiii l. viii s. v d. obm. — pro festo facto in die Ascensionis pro xviii. extraneis.*" He must have been a Fellow, and of some standing. The Catalogues of Fellows of that date are not authentic, and were probably made up in Elizabeth's reign from Bursars' Rolls and other such documents. In the oldest Catalogue *John Wyclif* appears, and no other. On the same Roll with Wyklif appears the name of Benger, of course another Fellow. Benger's name appears once more as a Seneschal of the week in 34 Ed. III., 1360-1. His Christian name is not stated: in fact, the weekly Seneschals seldom have their Christian names attached. For this information the Editor is indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Edmund Hobhouse, B.D., Fellow and Bursar of Merton. Richard Benger was one of Wyclif's "*consortes*" in the affair of Canterbury Hall, and acted as proctor for his party at the Court of Rome. (See page 930.)

A correspondent of the Gentleman's Magazine, "*W. C.,*" in the year 1842 (see the Gentleman's Magazine for August of that year) discovered the following entries in the Archiepiscopal Registers at Lambeth, relative to one John de Whyteclyve:—

xij Kal. Augusti anno Domini supradicto [1361] dominus Simon Dei gratiâ Cantuar' archiepiscopus apud Maghefeld contulit vicariam ecclesiæ parochialis

(1) Probably the *Concordantiæ Magnæ* of Hugo de S. Caro is meant, as presented by Middleworth to the College Library. (Adelung's Glossary.) *Dorsarium* means a curtain.

de Maghefeld predicto, vacantem per mortem domini Radulphi Baker de Sevenoakes ultimi vicarii ejusdem et ad suam collacionem spectantem, domino Johanni de *Whyteclve* presbytero, et ipsum vicarium instituit in eâdem cum onere residendi in eâ: ad quod faciendum juramentum præstitit corporale juxta formam constitutionis Othonis et Ottoboni, &c. et statim Ricardus Wodeland nomine decani de Southmallyng induxit eum in corporalem possessionem ejusdem vicariæ, præsentibus in collacione discretis viris Magistro Ricardo de Warmington auditore, Johanne de Barton secretario nostro, præsentibusque in inductione eodem Magistro Ricardo auditore, et Magistris Roberto de Spaldyng et Michaele de Heynton presbyteris. (Ex Registro Islep, folio 287b.)

Quintodecimo Kal. Januarii anno Domini supradicto apud Aumberle venerabilis in Christo pater dominus Willielmus, Dei gratiâ Cicesterensis episcopus, vice mandato et auctoritate nostris sibi per nos in hâc parte commissis de data apud Lambeth xliij die mensis Decembris anno Domini predicto, domino Simoni Russell presbytero vicariam Ecclesiæ parochialis de Maghefeld, decanatus de Southmallyng, nostrorum patronatus et jurisdictionis immediatæ, per resignationem domini *Johannis Whiteclve* presbyteri, ultimi vicarii ibidem, (ex causâ permutationis de dictâ vicariâ cum ecclesiâ parochiali de Horstedkaynes Cicestr. dioc. quam idem dominus Simon primitus obtinebat, ex certis causis et legitimis per eundem venerabilem patrem auditis examinatis discussis et approbatis in manus ejusdem factæ et per ipsum admissæ) vacantem, et ad collacionem domini pleno jure spectantem, contulit, &c. (Ex Registro Sudbury, folio 134 a.) [December 18th, 1380.]

John *Whyteliff*'s will appears in the Courtney Register, folio 207, made Nov. 12th, and proved Nov. 21st, 1383: it describes him not only as rector of Horstedkaynes, but also as prebendary of Chichester. He directs his body to be buried in the chapel of the Hospital of St. Peter and Paul at Maidstone. The Registers of Chichester Cathedral unfortunately do not commence till 1396, and the date of his collation to the prebend cannot be ascertained; but William Reade, a former Fellow of Merton as well as archbishop Islep, was bishop of Chichester from 1369 to 1385; and there can be no reasonable doubt that this was the Wyklif of Merton, who enjoyed the patronage of his fellow-collegians.

"W. C." goes a step further, and contends that it was this individual, and not the Reformer, whom Islep appointed Warden of his new foundation of Canterbury Hall, Oxford; and there is much to be said for this opinion. The Statutes of Canterbury Hall are but a parody of those of Merton. The Warden of Merton (see Document VI. above) presented a messuage to Canterbury Hall. The books of Islep's new Hall (see before, p. 927, note (2)) were to be lent only to Merton Scholars. Richard Benger, the proctor of the Seculars at the Papal Court, seems to have been of Merton. It is quite natural that archbishop Islep, having already noticed his fellow-collegian, should, after four years' experience of him at Mayfield, select him for Warden of his new Hall. It is also natural that bishop Reade, who had been Provost of Wengham College, should sympathise with his fellow-collegian, ejected from the Wardenship of Canterbury Hall, and make him a Prebendary. And it is remarkable that neither the Reformer himself, nor his great adversary Walden, nor Walsingham, nor Knyghton, full of ill-will and invective as their writings are against the Reformer, once mentions his ejection from the Wardenship.

It is not easy, however, to set aside the tradition that the Reformer was the Warden of Islep's Hall. William Wydford, the friar, was employed by archbishop Arundel formally to refute Wickliffe's doctrines in 1396, only 12 years after his death, and he says distinctly:—"Et hæc contra religiosos insaniam generata est ex corrupcione. Nam priusquam per religiosos possessionatos et prælatos expulsus fuerat de aula monachorum Cantuariæ, nichil contra possessionatos attemptavit, quod esset alicujus ponderis; et priusquam per religiosos mendicantes reprovatus fuit publicè de heresibus de sacramento altaris, nichil contra eos attemptavit, sed posterius multipliciter eos diffamavit; ita quòd doctrinæ suæ malæ et infestæ contra religiosos et possessionatos et mendicantes generatæ fuerunt ex putrefactionibus et melancholiis." (*Septuaginta duo Questiones de Sacramento Eucharistiæ*, MS. Harl. 31, fol. 31.) We may add the following: "Wiclif studuit in collegio Cantuar.: et indutus russeta veste longa nudis

pedibus incedebat." (*Ex Chronico incerti auctoris*, cited in Leland's Collect. ii. 409.) The monk of St. Alban's, whom Foxe cites, might have derived his information from his own Society, the abbot of which was one of the persons appointed by the pope to eject Wyclif and his companions. (See page 930.) Some positive evidence on the other side seems wanting, to outweigh this testimony. Wydford's statement moreover is the more entitled to credit, as Selby was but recently dead, and Middleworth was still surviving, and a host of witnesses would have been able at once to contradict the friar, had he been mistaken in connecting the Reformer with Canterbury Hall. The Reformer's bold defence of the King *versus* the Pope in 1367, while the cause was yet pending in the papal court, in proportion as it seems impolitic, would serve the more to prove the depth of his convictions and the straightforwardness of his character; and his subsequent silence on the subject of his ejection may have proceeded from his respect for the papal injunction of silence. (See page 931.) And, after all, his ejection probably strengthened his interest at Court, and would, in that case, be no matter of regret. The vicar of Mayfield was appointed to the vicarage expressly *cum onere residendi in eâ*; and we find no licence of non-residence, nor resignation and re-appointment to the vicarage, in the Register, though in folio 246 of the Courtney Register we find no less than three appointments to the vicarage of Mayfield in about two months. He is positively mentioned as John "Whyteclyve," vicar of Mayfield, in the will of John Watford, rector of Snargate, Kent, proved 6 Id. (8) September, 1368 (Reg. Wytlessey, fol. 107).<sup>1</sup> And it is very remarkable that the vicar of Mayfield's name in four different Registers is spelt with the first syllable substantially the same, *Whyte*, *White*, and *Whyt*, suggesting the idea of his being a native of one of those Whitcliffs, of which there are several in Yorkshire alone, so called from some white rock in the locality, such as the Scar of Whitcliff, a mile from Richmond on the Swale. Whereas the Warden of Canterbury Hall is always spelt with the first syllable *Wy* or *Wi*. A portion of the parish of Sevenoakes was called Whytcliff, and belonged at that time to the See of Canterbury. (See Hasted's Kent.) Accordingly we find an appointment in the Wytlessea Register (folio 66b) to the "Balliva de Whytcliff." It is curious that John de Whytcliff's predecessor in the vicarage of Mayfield was Radulphus Baker *de Sevenoakes*: and he himself may have been a native of the Whytcliff portion of the same parish, and so have come under the notice and patronage of Islep, who may have sent him to Merton, and afterwards provided for him.

On the whole then, the view given after the Queen's College Extracts, while it is supported by old tradition, seems the more probable. When we consider the troublesome temper of Wodehull, and the antipathy of the Reformer to the Regulars, and the credit which he had gained with the University in his public controversy with them in 1360, and his peculiar qualifications as a theologian for carrying out Islep's intentions in founding the new Hall, we must allow it to be a natural thing for Islep to confer the appointment on him, and for Wyclif to accept it. We may add, that the peculiar terms in which Islep describes Wyclif as "in artibus Magistratum" (see Document IX.) seem to imply, that he was appointed out of regard to the University Statutes, which had been violated by Wodehull's obtaining his D.D. degree, without having graduated in Arts. When he came forward in 1367 as "particularis regis clericus," to defend the king against the pope's claim of tribute, he mentions the danger to which he thereby exposed himself "ab ecclesiasticis beneficiis privati" (Lewis, p. 365); which exactly suits the man who was Rector of Fylingham and Warden of Canterbury Hall, but whose right to the latter preferment was then under discussion in the pope's court. As his sentiments and character became developed, his bishop may have troubled him about his non-residence at Fylingham, which he was obliged at length to pay for in the shape of a licence, and afterwards by exchanging Fylingham for the less valuable living of Ludgershall, so as to get within an easy distance of Oxford. There is a passage in one of his writings, which perhaps describes his own case:—"Also

(1) Item lego domino Johanni Whyteclyve vicario de Maghefeld v marcas ad celebrandum pro animâ meâ. He is also appointed co-executor, and in the probate co-administrator, with Walter Dautry, rector of Retherfeld, the next parish to Mayfield.

if such Curates ben stirred to gone learn God's Law, and teach their Parishens the Gospel, commonly they shullen get no leave of Bishops but for Gold; and when they shullen most profit in their Learning, then shullen they be clepid home at the Prelates' will." ("Why poor Priests have no Benefices," Lewis, p. 294.)

Another correspondent of the Gentleman's Magazine (in the No. for August, 1844) produces evidence from the will of William de Askeby, archdeacon of Northampton, dated London, Nov. 11th, proved 13 Kal. Jan. (20 Dec.) 1371 (Reg. Wyttlesey, f. 119 *b*), that there was a *third* contemporary clergyman John Wyclif; for the testator leaves a bequest of "100s. vel unam robam meliorem Magistro Johanni de Wyclif, rectori ecclesiæ de Lekehamstede," Bucks, diocese of Lincoln, and appoints "Magistrum Johannem de Wyclif, rectorem ecclesiæ de Ludgersale," co-executor with John de Swynestede, Matthew de Merston, Robert, rector of Abyngton, and Hugo de Whiteacre; the rector of Ludgersale is also appointed in the probate co-administrator with Hugo de Whiteacre.

END OF VOL. II.









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